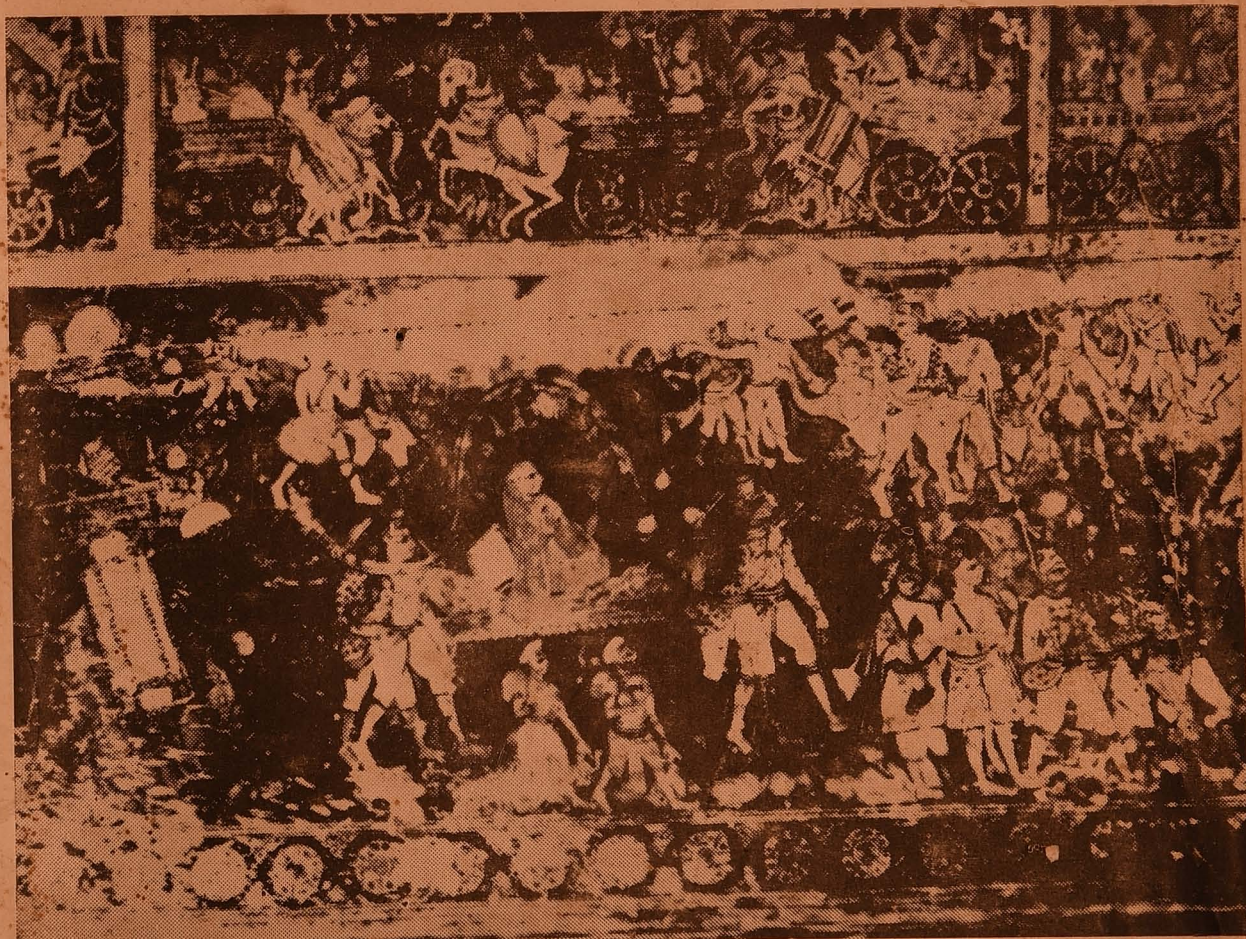


Administration and Social Life Under Vijayanagar

Part II SOCIAL LIFE



by

T. V. MAHALINGAM, M.A., D. Litt.

Professor of Ancient History and Archaeology (Retd.)

UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS

MADRAS

1975



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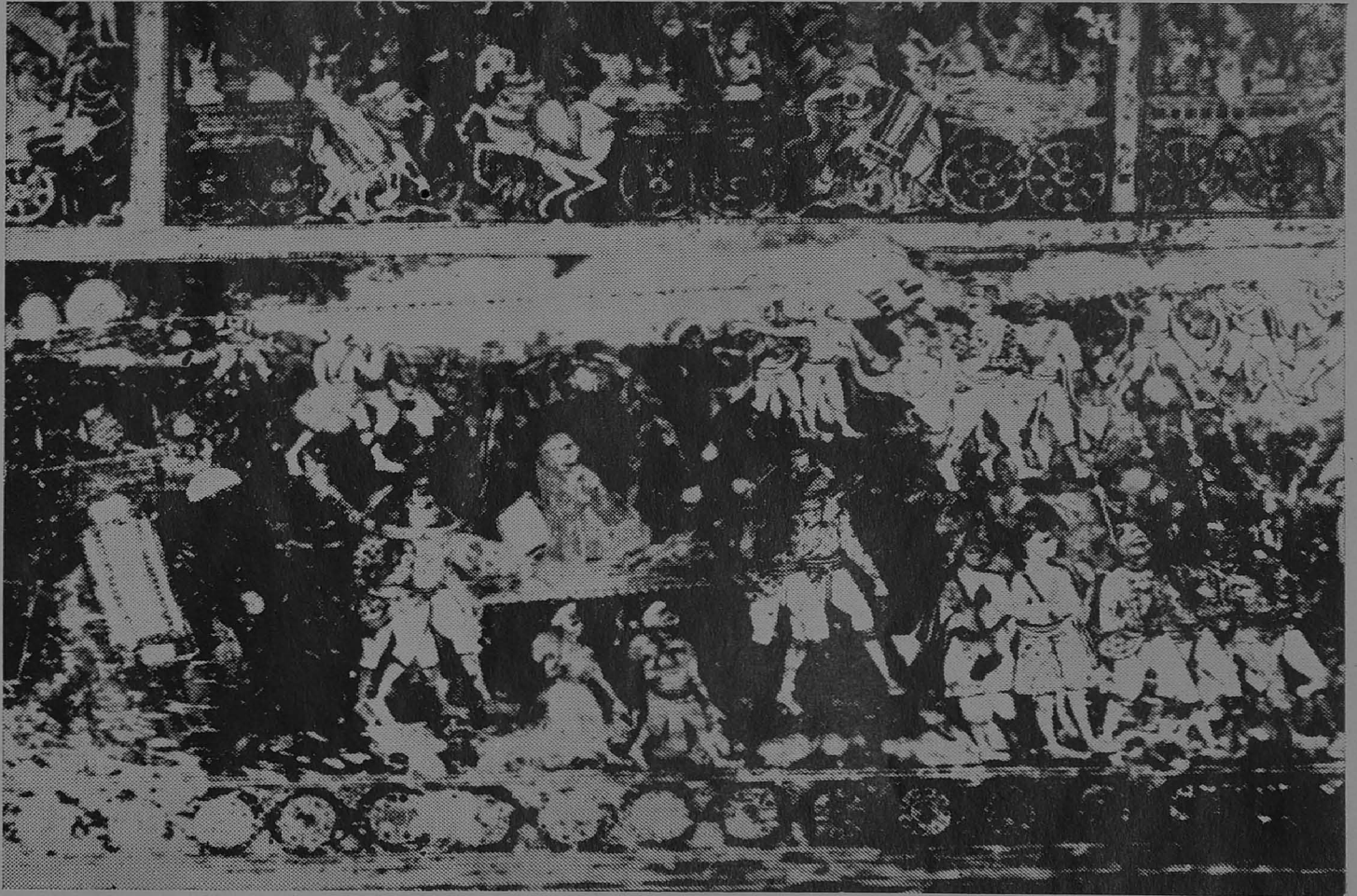
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Head of the Department
of Ancient History and Archaeology,
University of Madras, Madras-600 005.



Pampapathi temple — painted ceiling of Mahamandapa (Vijayanagar),
Vidyaranya and procession (closer view), Hampi Ruins, Bellary District.

— *By courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.*

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

The history of the Vijayanagar Empire occupies a period of well over three centuries (1336—1650 A.D.). It marks the culmination of the achievements, political and cultural, of the people of South India in days when they had not fallen under foreign domination. And the Empire at its greatest extent covered practically the whole of the modern Presidency of Madras, the Indian States in the area included, and extended for a time to Ceylon and parts of Burma. The outline of the history of this 'Forgotten Empire' was first presented by Robert Sewell in a celebrated book published in 1900.

Since then there has been a steady accession of much new material owing to the activities of the Archaeological departments in Madras, Mysore and Travancore, the publications of numerous works of literature and travel in various languages, the editing in *extenso* or calendaring of public records from the archives of different governments and the fresh study and interpretation of old collections of materials like the Mackenzie Manuscripts.

The study of Vijayanagar has necessarily occupied a considerable place in the work of the University department of Indian History and Archaeology since its inception in 1914. Its first Professor, Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, inaugurated the University Historical Series with a scholarly edition of some of the Sources of Vijayanagar History and made many striking contributions to the subject which are well known to all students. The expansion of the department in 1928 by the addition of a Reader and a Lecturer has made it possible to plan the work of the department on Vijayanagar History on a more extended scale. The present Reader, Dr. N. Venkataramanayya was already a specialist in Vijayanagar History when he joined the department in 1931, and very soon after, he published two books with the titles:

- (1) Vijayanagara, Origin of the City and the Empire.
- (2) Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara.

The present work of Mr. Mahalingam is calculated to supplement from the Tamil side the social and administrative studies begun in *The Third Dynasty* and I venture to express the hope that the book by the choice of its theme and the competence of its treatment will be found to fulfil this purpose.

Further work on the subject is being done, and a very considerable collection of "Further Sources of Vijayanagar History" is already in the press.

University of Madras,
30-8-1940.

K.A.N.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

(First Edition)

The following pages embody the results of the work that I did as a Research Student in the Department of Indian History and Archaeology of the Madras University between 1931 and 1934.

A systematic study of the administrative institutions and social conditions in the Vijayanagar Empire has been rendered possible by the valuable work carried on by the Archaeological Survey of India and the Archaeological Departments of Mysore, Travancore and Pudukkottai. A good part of the present work is based on the material gathered and published by them. I am also much indebted to the several scholars who have worked in the field of South Indian History and by their valuable publications made distinct contributions to the History of Vijayanagar as almost every page of this book will show.

Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri under whom I worked in the Department gave me immense help and advice in gathering of materials for and the writing of the book. Besides, while revising the manuscript and going through proofs as Editor, he offered me many valuable suggestions for all of which I am very much beholden to him. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, Reader in Indian History and Archaeology, revised the manuscript and helped me with useful criticisms for which I am extremely grateful to him. My thanks are also due to Dr. V. Raghavan of the Sanskrit Department who went through a part of the manuscript and offered me some helpful suggestions.

I am under obligation to the Archaeological Survey of India for giving me permission to publish seven select photographs of which it owns the copyright.

I am grateful to the Syndicate of the Madras University for sanctioning the publication of the work in the University Historical Series.

Finally it is with great pleasure that I acknowledge my obligations to the G.S. Press for the excellent manner in which they have carried out the printing of the book.

T.V.M.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The book *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar* was originally published in 1940 by the University of Madras. The companion volume to this book, *Economic Life in the Vijayanagar Empire* was also published by the University in 1952. Both of them have been out of print for a number of years, but there is a growing demand for them from many Universities and scholars. Therefore Dr. A. L. Basham, formerly Professor of South Asian History in the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London and now Professor of South Asian Studies in the Australian National University, Canberra, wrote to the Vice-Chancellor of the University suggesting that in view of the value of the publications a second edition of these two volumes in an integrated form may be brought out. Therefore I revised both the books for the second edition. Part I of the revised edition dealing with Administration in the Vijayanagar Empire was published by the University of Madras in 1969. The present work which forms Part II of the revised edition of the book deals with Social Life in the Vijayanagar Empire including Economic conditions. I am grateful to the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate of the University for issuing this part.

I am under obligation to the Archaeological Survey of India for giving me permission to publish nine select photographs of which it owns the copyright. Mr. C. E. Ramachandran, Reader, Department of Indian History, University of Madras, went through the proofs for a part of the book. Mr. R. Anandasivam, Assistant, working under me in the projects I have undertaken for the Indian Council of Historical Research, prepared the map and the exhaustive index. I am under obligation to both of them for their help. There are a number of printing mistakes in the book in spite of our best efforts to avoid them. We regret for them and crave the indulgence of the readers.

T. V. Mahalingam.

Madras,
20th January, 1975.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Amukta</i>	<i>Amuktamalyada.</i>
<i>A.S.R.</i>	<i>Archaeological Survey Report, Madras.</i>
<i>C.I.I.</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.</i>
<i>E.C.</i>	<i>Epigraphia Carnatica.</i>
<i>E.I.</i>	<i>Epigraphia Indica.</i>
<i>I.A. or Ind. Ant.</i>	<i>Indian Antiquary.</i>
<i>I.M.P.</i>	<i>A Topographical List of the Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency.</i>
<i>I.P.S.</i>	<i>Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State (Texts).</i>
<i>J.B.B.R.A.S.</i>	<i>Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.</i>
<i>J.I.H.</i>	<i>Journal of Indian History.</i>
<i>M.A.R.</i>	<i>Mysore Archaeological Report.</i>
<i>M.E.R.</i>	<i>Madras Epigraphical Report.</i>
<i>Nel. Ins.</i>	<i>A Collection of Inscriptions on Copper Plates and Stone in the Nellore District.</i>
<i>Q.J.A.H.R.S.</i>	<i>Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.</i>
<i>Q.J.M.S.</i>	<i>Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.</i>
<i>S.I.I.</i>	<i>South Indian Inscriptions.</i>
<i>T.A.S.</i>	<i>Travancore Archaeological Series.</i>
<i>T.T.D.I.</i>	<i>Tirumalai Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions.</i>

C O N T E N T S

CHAPTER	Page No.
VIII SOCIAL CONDITIONS	
Section I The Country and the People ...	1
II Social Divisions ...	14
III Social Institutions ...	31
IV Women ...	39
V Court Life ...	48
VI Housing, Food and Dress ...	55
VII Luxuries ...	64
VIII Games and Amusements ...	68
IX AGRICULTURE AND LAND TENURES	
Section I Articles of Agricultural Production ...	76
II Irrigation ...	82
III Methods of Agriculture ...	91
IV Systems of Land Tenure ...	105
X INDUSTRY, TRADE AND COMMERCE	
Section I Industries ...	113
II Articles of Trade ...	126
III Commercial Communities ...	133
IV Communication and Transport ...	152
V The State and Commerce ...	164
APPENDIX	
Weights and Measures ...	168
XI THE STATE AND SOCIAL WELFARE	
Section I Charity and Famine Relief ...	170
II Standard of Living ...	177

XII RELIGION		Page No.
Section	I Introductory	... 184
	II Hinduism	... 191
	III Jainism and Buddhism	... 203
	IV Christianity	... 209
	V Islam	... 211
	VI Religion of the Kings and the Spread of Sri Vaishnavism	... 213
	VII The Temple and the Matha	... 227
	VIII Festivals	... 238
	IX Village Gods and Deities	... 245
XIII EDUCATION AND LEARNING		
Section	I Education	... 248
	II Literature : Sanskrit	... 254
	III Telugu	... 279
	IV Kannada	... 289
	V Tamil	... 293
XIV ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE AND PAINTING		
Section	I Introductory	... 301
	II Hindu Monuments	... 305
	III Jain Monuments	... 330
	IV Indo-Saracenic Architecture	... 331
	V Painting	... 335
BIBLIOGRAPHY		... 341
INDEX		... 350

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

SECTION I

The Country and the People

From the earliest times India has primarily been a land of villages; and in the Vijayanagar Empire also they constituted the most important unit. But it is difficult to estimate the number of villages in the Empire, though one may be sure that they were close to one another.¹ The inscriptions of the period show that some of them became depopulated owing to various reasons, such as occasional oppressive taxation,² devastation on account of floods³ or the plundering raids of robber gangs. But taking the general course of history during the period, it appears certain that side by side with the decay and ruin of some villages a large number of ones were formed either by rehabilitation of the decayed ones or by the foundation of fresh villages either in uncultivated wastes⁴ or forest areas,⁵ and their grant as *sarvamānyams* to Brahmans or as *dēvadāna* or *dēvadāya* to temples. Thus there is sufficient evidence to show that during the Vijayanagar period the number of villages in the Empire was gradually on the increase.

The villages consisted of wet lands, dry lands, gardens, pastures, village sites and irrigation sources like tanks and lakes.⁶ In some places the main villages had a number of suburbs, *piḍāgais* or hamlets.⁷

1 In the area covered by the Vijayanagar Empire there are now about fifty thousand villages.

2. See *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar* (Second Edn.) Part I—*Administration*, pp. 93-5.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 82—4.

4. *M.E.R.*, 1913, para. 52.

5 432 of 1917; *Rep.*, 1918, para 48.

6. 59 of 1914; *Rep.*, 1915, para 44.

7. 586 of 1926; *Rep.*, 1927, para 92.

The boundaries of the villages were marked by stones set up for the purpose with particular marks on them such as the *triśūla* (trident).⁸ Such boundary stones were at times deified, and worship was offered to them at periodical intervals.⁹ Houses were constructed usually on the elevated parts of the village, each community living as far as possible, in a particular area.¹⁰ The humbler classes of people, particularly the non-caste people, appear to have lived in areas away from the main habitat of the village. Thus Barbosa refers to the Poleas as residing "in the fields and open campaign in secret lurking places" and the Pariahs "in the most desert places".¹¹ The Muslims appear to have lived in separate quarters provided for them.¹²

The observations of the foreign travellers who visited the Vijayanagar Empire show that there were in it many populous and flourishing towns very near one another. 'Abdur Razzāk says that when travelling between Mangalore and Bednūr he arrived "each day at a town or village well populated".¹³ Nikitin, the Russian traveller who visited the Empire some four decades after 'Abdur Razzāk and travelled through the north-western portions of it, observes that between large towns there were a good number of small ones, that he passed through three such towns each day and occasionally four, and significantly remarks, "so many *kos*, so many towns."¹⁴ Duarte Barbosa notes that there were in the Empire many great cities, towns, villages and fortresses,¹⁵ and this is supported by the statement of Paes that the whole country was thickly populated with cities and villages. Thus all accounts seem to agree that there were a large number of urban centres in the empire.^{15a}

Many of the towns were old; and some new ones sprang up in the Vijayanagar period. Various factors contributed to the development of cities and towns. Generally a religious centre or a place of pilgrimage attracted a good population and gradually developed into a city or town. The growing importance of a place on ac-

8. 432 of 1917; 213 of 1924.

9. See Francis, *South Arcot District Gazetteer*, pp. 92-93.

10. *Barbosa*, I, p. 202; see also 396 of 1911 and 311 of 1911.

11. *Barbosa*, II, pp. 65, 68 and 69.

12. Sewell, *op cit.* p. 256.

13. Elliot, *History of India*, IV, p. 104.

14. Major India in the fifteenth Century, p. 12.

15. *Barbosa*, II, p. 125.

15a. It may be noted that in the area covered by the Vijayanagar Empire, there are at present about 500 towns, big and small.

count of its expanding trade converted it into a town, followed sometimes by the founding of a fair. Again the choice of a particular place as the administrative headquarters of the government favoured the growth of towns. Occasionally, cities were founded by kings to commemorate some event. For instance, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya constructed Nāgalāpura in honour of his mother Nāgalādēvi and ordered his nobles to build for themselves palaces in the new city.¹⁶ Generally the towns were allowed to grow and were not planned and developed. Hence many of the towns were large villages covering wide areas. According to Nicolo dei Conti, the walls of the city of Vijayanagar were carried up to the mountains, on account of which it had a circumference of sixty miles.¹⁷ However, the towns may be distinguished from villages in two respects. Firstly, they usually depended for their daily supplies on the villages; secondly, a majority of the people in towns were usually engaged in manufacture and handicrafts which supplied the needs of the people even outside the towns.

Among the important and good "good sized" towns in the west coast were Ankola, Mergen (Mirjan), Honour (Honāvar,) Bhaticala (Bhatkal), Majandūr (Baindūr), Bacanor (Bārakūr), Barcelore (Basrūr), Mangalor (Mangalore) and Cumbola (Kumbla).¹⁸ Some other important places in the area were Saṅgītapura,¹⁹ Bhārangi²⁰ Uddhara (the capital of the eighteen Kampaṇas),²¹ Gerasoppe and Bidanūr (Bednūr).²² In the central part of the Empire were cities like Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa, Dvārasamudra, Ikkēri, Baṅkāpura, Raicūr, Adoni, Vijayanagar and Penukoṇḍa, while, in the east and south, were cities such as Koṇḍavīḍu, Śrīsailam, Udayagiri, Kālahasti, Tirupati, Candragiri, Pulicat, Mailāpūr, Kāñcīpuram, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, Cidambaram, Kumbhakōṇām, Nāgapaṭṭinam, Tañjāvūr, Śrīrangam, Madurai, Śrīvilliputtūr, Tirunelvēli, Rāmēśvaram and Anantaśayanam²³.

16. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 363.

17. Major *op. cit.*, p. 6; Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

18. *Barbosa*, I, pp. 185-97; Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 236; See also Faiary Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa*, I, p. 95 (tr. by Capt. Stevans).

19. *E. C.*, VIII, Sa. 163.

20. *Ibid.*, Sb. 152.

21. *Ibid.*, Sb. 152.

22. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 104.

23. An inscription from the Sagar Taluk mention forty-two towns (*E.C.*, VIII, Sa. 123)—While another inscription from Belur mentions some twenty six towns (*ibid.*, V. Bl. 175).

If the active commercial life of a country is an index of its teeming population, then it may be presumed that the Vijayanagar Empire was very populous. But in estimating the exact population of the Empire we have some difficulty, for there are no records to indicate the number of people in the area. Unlike the Mauryan government the Vijayanagar government did not maintain a census department, and therefore, for forming even a rough idea of the population in the Empire, we have to depend on the passing observations made by some individual contemporary foreign travellers who visited it. Such remarks are helpful to us only in assessing the population in comparison with the population of the respective countries from which they came, but do not help us to arrive at a correct estimate of the number of people in the Empire.

Nicolo dei Conti, who visited the Vijayanagar Empire in A.D. 1420 found that the number of people in it exceeded belief.²⁴ Some two decades later also, according to 'Abdur Razzāk, the Empire was so well populated that it was impossible to give an idea of it "without entering into the most extensive details".²⁵ To the mind of Barbosa it appeared that the west coast was so thickly populated that "it may well be called one town from Mount Dely to Coulam".²⁶ Likewise Paes also found in A.D. 1520 that the whole country was thickly populated with cities and villages.²⁷

Individual cities were brisk with a large population. Vijayanagar itself was, according to 'Abdur Razzāk, "a place extremely large and thickly populated" and such "that the eye has not seen nor the ear heard of any place resembling it upon the whole earth."²⁸ Nicolo dei Conti estimated its population at "ninety thousand men fit to bear arms",²⁹ while Barbosa remarks that it was a great city wherein dwelt people without number in great and fair palaces, was provided with many water tanks and that it had "great traffic and endless number of merchants and wealthy men". He also observes that the city had long streets with many open spaces, "where the folk are ever in such numbers that the streets and places cannot contain them".³⁰ Paes describes it as a city bigger than Rome

24. Major, *India*, p. 32.

25. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 109.

26. Barbosa, I, p. 194.

27. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

28. Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. IV, 105.

29. Major, *India*, p. 23.

30. Barbosa, I, pp. 200-202.

and remarks : "The people in this city are countless in number, so much so that I do not wish to write it down for fear it should be thought fabulous, but I declare that no troops, horse or foot, could break their way through any street or lane, so great are numbers of the people and the elephants." In another context he says : "of the city of Bisnaga they say that there are more than a hundred thousand dwelling houses in it, all one-storied and flat roofed".³¹ It has been suggested that taking that each house on an average contained five persons there were at least five hundred thousand people in the capital.³² This estimate, however, appears to be too modest, for it does not seem to take into account the citadel containing the king's palace and the houses of the courtiers and other residents in the area, besides the large retinue kept for military purposes, not to speak of the poorer classes of people in the city.

Though one gets such useful information about the populousness of the country, it is not possible to estimate the proportion of the urban population to the rural population in the Empire. At the present day "the growth of large cities constitutes perhaps the greatest of all the problems of modern civilization." As has been said above according to recent statistics there are about five hundred towns in the area once covered by the Vijayanagar Empire, besides about fifty thousand villages ; and the urban population is only a fraction of the rural population. The general tendency at the present day in the progress of the urbanisation of India is an increase in the population of towns with over fifty thousand people while the population of medium sized towns of ten to twenty thousand does not keep pace with the general increase in the population of the country. The static nature, if not the decadence of the small sized towns, and the rapid growth of the larger cities, may be said to be due to the influence of commercial and industrial development and their affording greater scope for employment as being centres of administration and education as also the lure of the city's companionships, amenities and amusements. But it may be presumed that the urbanisation could not have gone on in the Vijayanagar days at such a rapid rate as at present, largely on account of the lack of the modern means of transport and communication and the non-existence of large scale industrial enterprises.

31. See Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

32. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 14 *fn.*; with this may be compared the population of Paris in 1600, which was 400,000 and of Rome in 1520, which was 85,000 (*Ibid*).

the localisation of which at a few places is a feature of this industrial age. Thus it is reasonable to assume that the proportion of the rural to the urban population in the Vijayanagar Empire was greater than at present. The towns and cities depended on the villages for the supply of their daily wants. Only those, who could afford the luxuries of city life or had to stay in the cities in connection with their occupation, lived in urban centres.

Equally difficult is it to calculate, with the evidence available at present, the population in the Empire. But Moreland makes bold to calculate the number of people in it from a modern European analogy. Arguing that since five of the contemporary chroniclers, of whom four at least may be regarded as independent, put the normal strength of the army at about one million and two of them add that it could be increased to two millions if necessary and since according to the Portuguese accounts of the battle of Talikota (Rākṣasi Tangdi) the Deccan army consisted of half a million, and making allowance for the wastage of the invading armies which had marched some distance from their base to the scene of battle, he puts the total strength of the two armies at one million. He proceeds : " According to the published figures, France had arranged before the year 1914 to mobilise one out of 31 and Germany one out of 32, so that, if the recruiting organisation of the Deccan and Vijayanagar was as efficient as that of modern France and Germany, their united strength of a million would imply a population of about thirty millions, while the population would be greater if the efficiency was less."³³

It must be said that Moreland's calculation of the strength of the Vijayanagar and Deccan armies is not quite dependable. Reference has been made earlier to the accounts of the foreign travellers regarding the military strength of Vijayanagar.³⁴ The statements made by different chroniclers, who visited the Empire at different periods, show that the normal strength of the army in the Hindu kingdom was about a million, and it was increased during times of war.³⁵ Thus the total strength of the combined armies of the Vijayanagar and Deccan kingdoms must have been at least two millions. Again with regard to the proportion of the strength of the army to the population in the Empire, Moreland's calculation that for one soldier in the army there could have been a population of about thirty is also untenable. One cannot be quite sure if conditions

33. *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 19.

34. *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar* (Second Edn.)
Administration, pp. 142-43.

35. *Ibid.*

in Europe in recent years may be compared with those that obtained in Vijayanagar.

But an attempt may be made to estimate it in the following way. In the year 1822 a rough calculation was made of the number of people in the Old Madras Province. According to that the population of the Province and the District of North Canara in the old Bombay Province was about thirteen and a half millions. We have no figures for Mysore for the period, but in 1871 the population of the State was calculated to be about five millions. Considering the slow increase in population in the last thirties of the last century, it is reasonable to assume that the population of the State in 1822 might have been about three and a half millions. Thus in 1822 the total population of the area, once covered by the Vijayanagar Empire, may be assumed to have been about sixteen millions. Between 1880 and 1900, even after a century of comparative peace, the population of the same area was not more than twenty-five millions. The seventeenth and eighteenth century history of South India was largely marked by frequent wars and the outbreak of pestilence on account of which the population of the area could not have increased fast. So it may be reasonably assumed that the population in the Vijayanagar Empire may not have been far more than about fourteen millions. There is no reason to believe that the growth of population in the Vijayanagar days could have been as fast and steady as at the present day. Under medieval conditions the growth was necessarily slow. Among the causes for such slowness or even sheer stationariness may be mentioned the recurrence of famine, the frequency of pestilence, the destruction and decimation caused by wars and unsatisfactory sanitary conditions.

A remarkable feature of the populational development in the period was emigration to foreign countries and internal migration. It was always the spirit of commercial adventure that made some sections of people sail foreign countries for maritime trade particularly Burma, East Indies and the Malacca. But internal migration, both rural and urban, must be accounted for otherwise, such as economic, social, political and religious factors. Sufferings caused by drought, flood, famine and an oppressive financial policy made people migrate from the affected areas to those more alluring. Groups of persons belonging to a community or caste moved to places where they were received, often with grants of land. With the expansion of the Empire in the South and the organisation of its administration, a large class of dependents and fortune-seekers migrated to the provincial courts.

Classes of People :

From the economic point of view the population of the Empire may be broadly divided into two distinct groups or classes, the consumers and the producers. While the latter were engaged in different productive occupations and supplied articles of consumption for the people, the former, belonging, as they did, to many non-productive occupations, constituted the consuming classes in the Empire.

Among the consumers, mention may first be made of the nobles and great officers who held important positions in public administration, governed parts of the Empire and enjoyed good revenues as also many important privileges. The complicated machinery of administration necessitated the maintenance of a large secretariat ; and clerical service afforded employment to a proportion of the population of the country, as it happens even today. Then there was required an army of servants to collect the revenues and customs of the government. Another form of state employment was service in the army. Reference has been made earlier to the enormous strength of the army under Vijayanagar. It consisted of two parts, the imperial standing army and the large feudal levies that marched to battles. In this group may be classed the police force also.

The next important occupations to which people were called were professions and liberal arts. In ancient and medieval India there were no well defined professions such as law, education, journalism, etc., as at the present day. Much of the educational system was closely interwoven with religion and hence the necessity for a class of specially trained teachers was not felt. But there were many learned men in the Empire. Scholars well versed in the sacred lore were surrounded by batches of students who took their lessons from them. The eminent scholars of the day were patronised by the state by the grant of lands and villages for their maintenance. It was not unusual for a temple to conduct schools within its precincts for which teachers were engaged and remunerated by assignments of land, the income from which they could enjoy. Likewise, the *mathas* in the Empire were so many educational institutions in the country. Scholars in technical sciences like astrology, astronomy and medicine were also patronised by the courts. Some of the bigger temples of the day maintained each a hospital in which were employed physicians for affording relief to suffering humanity. Fine arts like architecture, sculpture, painting, dance and music received encouragement in the period and some people lived by such occupations. The innumerable monuments of the period, military, civil and religious, like forts, palaces, irrigation works and

temples, that stand to this day in different degrees of dilapidation testify to the encouragement, architecture and sculpture received then and the occupation they gave to some people. Painting was a fine art that was dominated largely by the influence of religion and the tastes of the courts and people, and painters who were conversant with the hereditary lore of the country were in demand during the period. Dance and music gave occupation to some people, particularly to the members of the fair sex. The different books written during the period on the theory and science of music indicate its wide popularity. Dance was practised from an early age by the *dēvarāḍiyāls* who were the repositories of that noble art. The stage which was also very popular gave good encouragement to dancing. Mention may be made here of the class of engravers who had a busy occupation in engraving on the walls of temples and copper plates the minute details of the official and private transactions made in the local area. They engraved the orders of the government both on the temple walls and on copper plates. It was towards the close of the sixteenth century that the Tamilian characters were cast and printing was introduced in South India.

A section of the population belonged to the religious classes. The ascetics and mendicants, those in charge of the *maṭhas* in the Empire — and there were many among them representative of the different religious sections and schools of thought among the population — and some wandering individuals belonged to this group. Besides, there were many who belonged to the priestly class and ministered to the spiritual and ritualistic needs of the people.³⁶ The medieval temple also employed a large number of people for different kinds of services in it.

The trading communities in the Empire constituted a good proportion of the population.³⁷ Among them were both Muslims and Hindus, besides in the later period of the history of the Vijayanagar Empire Europeans like the Portuguese, Dutch and the British. Among the Hindus, the Ceṭṭis were the most enterprising of the merchants. The Brahmans also took to this profession. The transport system in the Empire gave employment to a section of the population.

Certain classes of people in the Empire took great part in the social activities of the age such as games and amusements, and were

36. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 280.

patronised both by the rulers and the people. Among them were wrestlers, duellers, rearers of cocks, puppet-players and others.³⁸

An important function, to which a section of the population was called, was service, personal and domestic, in courts and private houses. The age was one of luxury, profligacy, pomp and show; and the princes entertained a large retinue of servants for different kinds of service in the palace. The policy was followed by the nobles and dignitaries in the Empire who employed servants for domestic work. The accounts of the foreign travellers who visited the Empire bear ample testimony to the large number of domestic servants employed in court. The harem of the kings consisted of many women. The queens had each a house, maidens, women of the chamber, woman guards and other servants.³⁸

Slavery

There is evidence to believe that the institution of slavery was prevalent in Vijayanagar. What the agricultural serf was in the rural areas, the slave appears to have been in the urban areas. While the former was attached to the soil, the latter was attached to the person of his master. The existence of slavery during the period is testified to by foreign travellers, like Abdur Razzāk, Nicolo dei Conti and Barbosa.⁴⁰ In Bidar there was a trade in the "black people."⁴¹ The Portuguese that came to the Empire, followed the custom of the country and employed slaves. Linschoten noted that such slaves were sold in the market like beasts while Pietro della Valle was surprised to see that the "greater part" of the people at Goa were slaves. Some inscriptions of the period also refer to slaves. A record of 1470 A.D. mentions a *basavaga* (bond-servant)⁴² while another refers to female slaves, and states that the Holeyas were dependents at the feet of the Vīra Baṇajigas.⁴³

Slaves were obtained from various sources. Some families sold themselves as hereditary slaves.⁴⁴ They were liable to change hands

38. Sewell, *op. cit.*, 247-49; Barbosa, I, p.208.

39. *Ibid.*

40. Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 112; Major, *op. cit.*, p. 29; Sewell *op. cit.*, p. 87; Barbosa, II, p. 125.

41. Major, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

42. *E. C.*, VIII, Sb. 258.

43. *Ibid.*, V, Bl. 75

44. *S. I. I.*, I, p. 54.

as chattels.⁴⁵ A debtor who was an insolvent and could not repay the loan to the creditor became his slave.⁴⁶ Captives in war were considered to be slaves.⁴⁷ Trade in slaves appears to have increased during times of famine. Barbosa says that when the people on the Coromandel coast were actually starving and many died of hunger, the people sold their children for four or five *panams* each, and that during such seasons the Malabar brought them great store of rice and cocoanuts and took away shiploads of slaves.⁴⁸ The famine, that raged in South India in 1630 was so severe that parents brought their children to the sea side for sale at five *panams* worth of rice. They were transported from that region to other parts of India and the East Indies and sold again to good advantage "if the gaines be good that ariseth from the sale of soules".⁴⁹ Besides, women declared inconstant by the *samoyācāryas* or religious leaders were liable to be sold in public. Wilks says that the rules of the system varied with the caste of the accused. "Brahman and Komati females were out casted and branded on the arm as prostitutes ; Females of other Hindu castes were sold without any compunction".⁵⁰ It is strange that in Malabar young men, who were vagrant and had "no employ, nor father nor mother nor master" with whom they dwelt, were forfeited to the Governor of the country who sold them as slaves.⁵¹ Though there was such traffic in slaves it appears they were generally treated well.⁵²

The people who constituted the producing classes may be grouped under two broad occupations, agriculture and industries. It deserves to be noted here that in Vijayanagar, as in other parts of the country and periods of its history, a large majority of the population lived on land and agriculture. The agricultural population was engaged on land only during parts of the year and had no regular work during the non-agricultural seasons. Such unemployment among them during some seasons in the year was, however, minimised by their taking to some rural handicraft or industry which gave the agricultu-

45. 248 of 1906.

46. Major, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

48. *Barbosa*, II, p. 125.

49. Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1630-33. Intro., pp. xxxiii and 331.

50. *Ind. Ant.* XIV, p. 234 *fn.*

51. *Barbosa*, II, p. 30.

52. *Ibid.*, II, p. 60.

rists a supplementary income ; thus the agriculturist turned a rural industrialist for some months in the year. Here a word may be said about the shepherds. Some people lived by rearing cattle in the Empire. There appear to have been two classes among them, the cowherds who kept cows and traded in milk, curd and ghee, and the Kurumbars who tended sheep. The government took interest in their occupation and in times of need, remitted the taxes payable by them.

Though the industries of medieval times differed from those of the present day in organisation and output, some people depended on them for their earning. As said above, even the agriculturists turned to them during the non-agricultural seasons of the year. Every village was a rural economic unit and was practically self-sufficient. Among those that followed an industrial occupation the more important were the artisans, weavers, and oil-pressers. Any decent village had its complement of artisans, known generally as the *Pāñcāḷas*, divided into five groups namely, black-smiths, gold-smiths, brass-smiths, carpenters, and idol makers. Craftsmanship was usually hereditary ; and in course of time the five communities got completely separated from one another. The village blacksmith was the supplier of the ploughshares, iron tyres for wheels and bullock shoes. The goldsmiths made articles of jewellery for the people who could afford to have them. The brass-smiths were the makers of the household articles. The carpenters supplied the little furniture of the houses, besides carts and other vehicles of transport. The idol makers made idols for the temples in the locality.

The weavers who were generally called *Kaikkōḷas* were an influential community who supplied the necessary clothing to the people. The industry of oilpressing was carried on in almost all important villages. The seeds, that were pressed for oil, were gingelly, cocoanut and castor.

The other important professionals were the potters, toddy drawers and leather workers. However, much information about them is not available. The washermen and barbers were also necessary functionaries in each village and town. A section of the population lived on the exploitation of minerals and work in the mines.⁵³

53. It may be of interest to note here the percentage of the distribution of the Indian population according to occupation or means of livelihood as compiled from the All India Census Report, 1931.

A. Production of Raw materials	..	65.84
1. Exploitation of animals and vegetation.	..	65.60

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

13

2. Exploitation of minerals	..	0.24	
B. Preparation and supply of material substance			17.56
1. Industry			
2. Transport	..	1.65	
3. Trade	..	5.53	
C. Public Administration and Liberal Arts	..		2.86
1. Public force	..	0.56	
2. Public Administration	..	0.69	
3. Professions and Liberal Arts	..	1.61	
D. Miscellaneous	..		13.74
1. Persons living principally on their income	..	0.16	
2. Domestic service	..	7.51	
3. Insufficiently described occupations	..	5.03	
4. Unproductive	..	1.04	
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			100.00
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SECTION II

Social Divisions

The social groups and communities in the Vijayanagar Empire had multiplied in the course of centuries ; and persons following a particular profession or trade came to constitute a definite community. There were minor differences among some of them : and on occasions they were seriously disputing among themselves for particular social rights and privileges, often customary in nature.

The establishment of a strong central government at the capital and the rigid control it exercised even over the outlying parts of the Empire resulted in the appointment of special officers or agents to rule over those areas. The Vijayanagar kings appointed karnāṭaka and Telugu generals as viceroys of provinces and rulers of districts in the Tamil area; and they took with them large retinues of followers and dependents. As observed earlier, such colonisation of the different regions in the Empire by communities of people foreign to them exercised a lasting influence on the people and society of the respective regions; likewise the colonising community itself came under the influence of the local social groups.

As Hindus born and bred up in the orthodox Hindu tradition, the Vijayanagar kings felt it their duty to protect the institution of caste or *varṇāśramadharmā* especially against the Muslim menace. The kings and their subjects felt that the strengthening of the bond of union among themselves was quite essential for preserving their religion, for, according to them, the caste system was inextricably interwoven with religion. The anxiety of the rulers to maintain the social solidarity of the Hindus is clearly seen in the titles they assumed, such as the supporter of the four castes and orders,⁵⁴ protector of the *Varṇāśramadharmā*,⁵⁵ upholder of the duties of all

54. *E. I.*, III, p. 125.

55. *E. C.*, VIII, TL. 11.

castes,⁵⁶ the protector of all the castes in the empire etc.⁵⁷ The interest of the kings in maintaining the social order of the traditional castes is seen in the concluding verses in the *Jāmbavati kalyāṇam* of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya where the royal poet says :

*Dharmam pādacatuṣṭayena kṛtavat sthairyam samālam batām
Cāturvarṇa upaitu karma satatam svasvādhi-kārocitam
Śeṣakṣmādharaṇāyakasya kṛpayā saptārṇavīmadyagām
Rakṣan gāmiha Kṛṣṇarāyaṇṛpati jīyāt sahasram samāh*⁵⁸

Brahmans :

As in ancient India, so in the Vijayanagar days, one of the most respected communities in the society was that of the Brahmans. Almost every foreign traveller who visited the Vijayanagar Empire was struck by the respect the Brahmans commanded and the simple life they led. Abdur Razzāk remarks : “The Brahmans are held by him (Dēva Rāya II) in higher estimation than all other men.”⁵⁹ Paes says that Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya paid much honour to the Brahmans and held them in great favour.⁶⁰ Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya himself says : “Charity is for the protection of the *Dvijas*.”⁶¹ The Brahmans enjoyed certain privileges; and they were not liable to be put to death whatever crime they committed.⁶² Hence it is that according to the account of Nuniz, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya did not put to death Sāluva Timma for his alleged murder of Prince Tirumala.⁶³

Brahmans were found in almost every walk of life. A few of them were priests and were attached to temples. Paes says about them : “Those who have charge of the temples are learned men, and eat nothing which suffers death, neither flesh nor fish, nor anything which makes broth red, for they say that it is blood.”⁶⁴ Some were owners of estates and lived on the income from their lands.⁶⁵ A few others took to trade and settled down as merchants, while still

56. *E.C.*, VI, Kp. 32.

57. *Ibid.*, VIII Tl. 14.

58. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 143.

59. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 105.

60. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 246; for the observation of Nuniz see *ibid*, p. 390

61. *Amukta*, canto IV, V. 276.

62. *Barbosa*, I, p. 217.

63. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 361; see pt. I, pp. 31, 131, 135.

64. *Ibid.*, pp. 231-38; see also *Barbosa*, I, p. 217.

65. Sewell *op. cit.*, p. 245.

others remained as inmates of monasteries which possessed good revenues.⁶⁶ The latter spent a good part of their time in serious study and contemplation.

But some Brahmans were active politicians, administrators and generals. The history of the Empire is full of instances to show that there were efficient Brahman ministers who guided the destinies of the vast Empire. Mādhava and Sāyaṇa were able Brahman ministers under Bukka I and Harihara II. Vīra Vasanta Mādhava who extended the Empire in the West up to Goa was a Brahman. During the days of Dēva Rāya I and Dēva Rāya II the Brahmans retained their unique place in society; among them mention may be made of Viṭṭhaṇṇa Uḍaiyār and Aṇṇamārādhyā. There were a number of able Brahmans occupying positions of importance in the state in the reign of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya. A few of them that deserve mention are Sāluva Timma, Nādeṇḍla Gōpa Mantri, Sāluva Gōvinda Rāja, Rāyasam Koṇḍamaraśu, Timmaraśu, Ayyapparaśu, Karaṇika-Mangaraśayya, Bācaraśayya, Karaṇika Lakṣmīnārāṇa and Sāluva Narasingarāya Daṇṇāyaka *alias* Śellappa.

Van Linschoten writes about the Brahmans: "The Brahmans are the honestest and most esteemed Nation among the Indian Heathens; for they doe alwaies serve in the chiefest places about the king as Receivers, Stewards, Ambassadors and such like Offices. They are of great authority among the Indian people, for that the King doth nothing without their counsell and consent."⁶⁷ These Brahmans were called *Niyogis* in the Telugu area.

Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya has adduced certain important reasons for appointing Brahmans to such places of consequence in the state: "Because a Brahman would stand to his post even in times of danger and would continue in service though reduced to becoming a subordinate to a Kṣatriya or a Śūdra. It is always advisable for a king to take Brahmans as his officers."⁶⁸ "That king can lay his hand on his breast and sleep peacefully who appoints as masters of his fortresses such Brahmans as are attached to himself, are learned in many sciences and arts, are followers of *Dharma*, are heroic and have been in his service since before his time, who make arrangements for storing in those fortresses tigers' cheese (*pulijunnu?*) and other (rare)

66. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

67. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, pp. 255-6.

68. *Amukta* canto IV, V. 217.

articles to last for a generation. . . . who increase his treasures by multiplying his income and lessening expenditure, and by seeing that the people are without trouble who see that neither he nor his subjects suffer and who give trouble only to his enemies.”⁶⁹ Thus Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya strongly recommends the appointment of Brahmans to important administrative posts. Sometimes the *Rājagurus* followed the kings on their expeditions. Thus Vyāsa Rāya is said to have gone to the South along with Sāluva Narasimha.⁷⁰ Epigraphy also shows how the Brahmans led contingents of the army to the battle-field. Thus one Āpatsahāyan of Tirukkaḍaiyūr took part in the Raicūr campaign of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya.⁷¹ In the latter period of Vijayanagar history also, the Brahmans maintained their high position and status in the social polity. They received great respect and a large number of grants were made to them by the rulers.

The *Mahīśūra Narapati Vijaya*, a manuscript work of the seventeenth century, however, attributes to Rāma Rāya anti-Brahmanical tendencies. The work states :

*Jāmātābhūn Mahīpālah Rāma Rāya iti smṛtaḥ
Sa kāmavaśamāpannah nityam dyūteca niṣṭhitah
Brāhmaṇām gurūṇāmca nityam apriyam atanof*⁷²

But such an estimate of Rāma Rāya seems to be exaggerated, for neither contemporary inscriptions nor the literature and chronicles of the period say anything about his anti-Brahmanical tendencies. Further the author of the work appears to have been a Madhva disappointed in his expectations and at the fact that Gōvinda Dēśika was replaced by Tātācārya in the exalted position of being the *guru* of the king. Obviously the author of the work was a partisan and wanted to paint Rāma Rāya in black colours on account of his preference to Tātācārya.

Vēmana, a poet of the seventeenth century⁷³ says : “If a man still has in his heart the principles of a paraiar and yet scorns paraiars how should he become twice-born while devoid of every good

69. *Amukta*, canto IV, v. 261.

70. *Vyāsayogīcaritram of Somanātha*, Intro. XCI-XCV, 40, referred to by Saletore, *op. cit.*, 11, p. 126.

71. 47 of 1906; *Rep.*, 1907, para. 59.

72. *M. A. R.*, 1907, para 53.

73. See *The Verses of Vemana*, translated by Brown, Preface p. iii.

quality? There is no greater sin than that of falsehood; this is an abomination perpetually in the mouth: what vagabonds are several who call themselves twice-born? The lords of the earth (*i.e.* Brahmans) say 'We are pure; we are learned in the scriptures'. They scorn all who are in their natural state. Truly the poorest palmer is better than such boasters."⁷⁴ But it must be noted that Vēmana being a moralist and reformer had scant regard for the institution of caste and the position the Brahmans enjoyed. Therefore the words of Vēmana cannot be taken to reflect the general tendency of the times.

The Brahmans generally led very simple and pious lives in their villages, studying the Vedas and Śāstras, discussing and teaching abstruse philosophical subjects and performing the daily rites they were expected to do. About their dress Linschoten says: "They goe naked, saving only that they have a cloth bounded about their middles to hide their privie members. They weare sometimes when they go abroad, a thinne cotton linnen Gowne called cabaia lightly cast over their shoulders, and hanging down their grounds like some other Indians. . . . Upon their heads they wear a white cloth, wound twice or thrice about, therewith to hide their haire, which they never cut off, but weare it long and turned up as the women do."⁷⁵ The foreign travellers were also struck by the sacred thread worn by the Brahmans and the ashes of 'knows excrements' with which they used "to dawbe their forehead and nose."⁷⁶ They wore also ear ornaments.

But certain traits in the character of some Brahmans evoked the resentment of the foreign travellers. Barbosa, for instance, says that they were great eaters and never worked except to eat well. He observes: "They will start at once on a six days' journey"⁷⁷ only to get a good meal.⁷⁸ Nuniz too notes: "The king always gives large sums in charity; in the palaces there are always two or three thousand Brahmans who are his priests, and to whom the king commands to give alms. These Brahman priests are very despicable

74. *The Verse of Vembana*, Bk. III, vv. 164-166, pp. 170-71. In another place he says: "After going through all his studies and attaining consummate wisdom, after making nothing of divinity, the moment he (the Brahman) sees a fair woman he forgets all his sanctity". (*Ibid.*, v. 270, p. 200)

75. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, pp. 255-256.

76. Casparo Balbi, Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, p. 148.

77. Twenty or twenty-four miles, Ramusio; eight leagues, Spanish.

78. *Barbosa*, I, p. 217.

men ; they always have much money and are so insolent that even by using blows the guards of the door cannot hold them in check.”⁷⁹ Though instances are not wanting to show that the Brahmans served the state as administrators and generals, a large majority of them led peaceful and quiet lives and hence paes remarks that “ they have little stomach for the use of arms.”⁸⁰

The Vipravinōdins :

A marked feature of the social history of the later Vijayanagar period is the rise of a social consciousness among the different communities of the Empire. It was a period when attempts were made by them to strengthen the bonds of social solidarity among themselves. Each community clamoured for some special privileges and honours which were to distinguish it from the others.

One such attempt was made by a community of people who were known as the Vipravinōdins. Brown thinks that they were a class of Brahman jugglers. But H. Krishna Śāstri points out that in the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Districts they were no longer Brahmans but Śūdras, a phenomenon which he attributes to the demoralising effect of their occupation.⁸¹ They were so widespread in the Empire that an inscription mentions them as living in Vidyānagara, Bedakōṭa, Kaṭaka and Drāviḍa dēśa.⁸² Some of the inscriptions relating to them belong to the sixteenth century. In A.D. 1554-55 some Vipravinōdins undertook to perform the Kārtikapūja of God Hanumanta in the village Ranganahāḷu.⁸³ Two years later a few of them made a grant of their income from the village of Cinahōtūru for the *Dhanurmāsya* worship of God Cennakēśava in the same village.⁸⁴ In A.D. 1556-57 a few of them belonging to various *śākhas* and *sūtras* made a gift of taxes to the *Mahājanas* or Cauḷūru.⁸⁵ It is curious that all these inscriptions belong to the second

79. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 379-80.

80. *Ibid.*, p. 280.

81. *M. E. R.*, 1913, para. 60. See N. Venkataramanayya, *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara* for yet another view of their origin and spread in the Vijayanagar Empire.

82. 694 of 1917.

83. 402 of 1920.

84. 403 of 1920.

85. 586 of 1912; for a grant to a temple for the merit of the Vipravinodins see 97 of 1912 and 395 of 1920; also *Rep.* 1932-33 para. 57; 271; of 1935-6; *Rep.* para. 70.

half of the sixteenth century. It is reasonable to assume that there were then attempts made by some classes of people to rise in the social scale and among them the Vipravinōdins were one.

Artisans :

The *Pāñcālas* or the artisans are the next community to attract our notice. They were the black-smiths, gold-smiths, brass-smiths, carpenters and idol makers. An inscription of the time of Dēva Rāya I states that there were seventy-four divisions among the *Pāñcālas*.⁸⁶ The members of the community were often fighting for certain rights and privileges. In A.D. 1525-26 one of the disputes between the gold-smiths and the black-smiths was decided at Attūr in the Ramnad District and lands were assigned to them.⁸⁷ Similarly when in A.D. 1555 a quarrel arose in the Karnāṭaka area between the cultivators and the *Pāñcālas* regarding certain social privileges and rights, it was decided by the Vēdānti Rāma Rājayapa, the eighty-eight Śrī Vaiṣṇava Brahmans, Bandarasaṃyā, the agent of Rāma Rāja Tirumala Rājayya and Śenaba Śeṭṭi, the agent for the affairs of Rāmappayya. According to the decision, the southern street of Bēlūr was fixed for the *Pāñcālas*, stones were put up at the four boundaries (specified) within which they were allowed to erect rows of houses, carry on their caste observances and make jewellery, enjoying in the temple of Cennigarāya the same privileges and positions as were granted to the *Pāñcālas* at the car festival in Vidyānagara. This decision was based on a previous one made by Rāma Rājayya Tirumala Rājayya.⁸⁸

On a particular occasion the quarrels between them assumed such serious magnitude, that they separated from each other with the help of a piece of social legislation. The two inscriptions, which refer to the quarrel and its settlement at Kaḷḷaḍaikkuricci in the Tirunelveli District in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, “register a royal writ granted by Vīrappa Nāyaka of Madurai to the five sub-sects of the artisan community facilitating their separation from each other and the consequent dismemberment of the community. The reasons for this separation are not stated. . . . The order

86. 804 of 1917; the record is dated /S.100303 Hevilambi. The date is obviously undependable.

87. 44 of 1916.

88. E. C., V. Bl. 5.

does not seem to have proceeded from the king himself, but to have been the result of the initiative taken by the sub-sects themselves. . . . The writ was a privilege granted in the presence of Uḍankūṭṭam Aṇaiṇjān Uḍankūṭṭam Pāḍaganānaiṇjān Kulaśēkharan Āsāri who was evidently the leader of the Kaṇmāḷa community.’⁸⁹ The temple authorities at Brahmadēśam also declared the same for the benefit of their subordinates.

One interesting feature of the social history of the Vijayanagar period was that various social groups in the Empire vied with one another for securing certain social privileges and honours at public festivals and in temples. The artisans were no exception to this. in A.D. 1573 Venkaṭappa Nāyūḍu, the Secretary (*mudakarta*) of Velugoṭi Timappa Nāyanigāru, the agent of Śrī Raṅga Rāya, made certain arrangements for showing respect during the festival days of Paḷlikoṇḍanātha of Nellore to the *Pāñcāṇas* (the five classes of artisans) who came in the car at Tirupati; and to the observance of this etiquette the *sthala karaṇams*, *kāpus*, *śeṭṭis* and *Pāka Redḍis* (Redḍis of Pākanāḍu) were made to agree.⁹⁰ According to a record in the Udayagiri Taluk, Timma Rāju, son of Rāma Rāju Kōnēṭayya dēva, built a *gopura* and a *maṇṭapa* to God Raghunāyakalu. The inscription also records that when the car was passing along the streets, with the *naṭṭuvas* and servants inside the car, a member of the *Pāñcāṇas*, wearing a cloth round the head and another loosely round the waist and having only a sandal mark between the eyebrows and not chewing betel, should go round in front of the car with a chisel, a mallet, a nail and a sickle in his hands, and it also states that the formality was to be observed without failure.⁹¹

In the cyclic year Āṅgīrasa, during the time of Śrī Raṅgadēva Mahārāya (A.D. 1632-33) the *nāṭṭār* of the village of Tiruvāmāttur in the South Arcot District gave an undertaking to the *rājakāryabhaṇḍāra* that the artisan communities (*Kaṇmāḷar*), carpenters, black-smiths and gold-smiths of several villages in the northern *parru* (ward) would no more be ill-treated or deprived of their privileges, that the rights and privileges similar to those enjoyed by their classes in Paḍaivīḍu, Śeñji,

89. 309 and 378 of 1916; *Rep.*, 1917, para 55.

90. *Nel. Ins.*, II, Nl. 54.

91. *Ibid.*, III, Ud. 20; *M.E.R.*, 204 of 1892; *V. R.*, *I.M.P.*, Nl. 771:

Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and Kāñcīpuram would be accorded to them, and that, if they should violate the promise, they would pay a fine of twelve *pons* and suffer the twelve disgraces (*kurrams*) in consequence.⁹² There were, however, a few other places where the artisans enjoyed certain privileges over and above what their brethren enjoyed elsewhere. Hence the *Nāṭṭavar* of Idaiyārrupārru and Idaiyāru, who were represented by their respective chiefs Koṅgarāyar, Nayinār Kacciya Rāyar and Koṇḍamanāyakkar, gave an undertaking to the king through Kṛṣṇama Nāyakkar and Rāyasam Tirumalaiyan that they would withdraw from the *Kāṇmālas* certain social privileges such as the use of *pāvāḍai* and *parivaṭṭam* hitherto enjoyed by them, and thus place them on the same status as their brethren at Paḍaivīḍu, Śeñji and Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.⁹³ Likewise an inscription at Tirunāmanallūr^{93a} records an agreement given by the *nāṭṭār* of the place to the king's agents and the *sanketis* of the several divisions withdrawing the social privileges mentioned above, besides the *mugamtudai* from the masons, carpenters and smiths of Tirunāvalūr śīrmai and Kuppa śīrmai, merely giving them the same status as that enjoyed by the same classes in Paḍaivīḍu, Śeñji and Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.⁹⁴

Kaikkōlas :

The Kaikkōlas were another influential community in the Vijayanagar Empire. They lived generally around the temple precincts, probably in separate streets. An inscription, for instance, at Māḍambākkam mentions the street of the Kaikkōlas.⁹⁵ It has been seen how the Kaikkōlas had some voice in the temple administration and in the levy of local taxes. As weavers they carried on their industry on a small scale. Like the artisans, the Kaikkōlas also clamoured for certain social privileges. The Kaikkōlas of Kāñcīpuram and Viriñcīpuram enjoyed the privilege of using *daṇḍu* (palanquin) and *śangu* (conch). In A.D. 1485-86 the same privileges were extended to the Kaikkōlas of Vaḷudilambaṭṭu rājya by Aramaḷatta Nāyaṇār in consultation with Kongarāyar, Kangarāyar and Kaccirāyar.⁹⁶ It

92. 65 of 1922; *Rep.*, para 54.

93. 293 of 1928-29; *Rep.*, para 66.

93a. In South Arcot District.

94. 273 of 1939-40; *Rep.*, para 101.

95. 319 of 1911.

96. 162 of 1918; 473 of 1921; 291 of 1928-29; *Rep.*, 1929, para 62.

seems that little before these privileges were granted to the Kaikkōlas of Valudilambattu rājya, the Kaikkōlas of Kāñci were granted similar privileges in response to their representation to Aramaḷatta Nāyiṇār.⁹⁷ In A.D. 1503-04 the privileges of having *danḍu* and *śangu* 'on all good and bad occasions'⁹⁸ were extended to the Kaikkōlas of the three villages of Tribhuvanamahādēvipaṇṇu, Naḍuvukarai paṇṇu and Nenmali paṇṇu as the weavers of the country situated on the bank of the river Peṇṇai were privileged to have. The inscription which records this further specifies that those who objected to this right were to undergo the punishment fixed for it in an inscription engraved at Seḷinganallūr.⁹⁹ Similarly during the time of Śūrappa Nāyaka, 'the agent of Sadāśiva in the Tiruvadirājya. the Ilaivāṇiyar agreed to accord the same privileges and rights to the Kaikkōlas of the place as were in vogue according to a previous stone inscription which had been effected by some person.'¹⁰⁰

97. 422 of 1925; the date given here is evidently wrong. The inscription is dated S. 1409 Viṣvāvasu, Simha. The other two inscriptions already referred to state the Viṣvāvasu was current in Ś. 1407. Further according to 473 of 1921 and 291 of 1928-29 the Kaikkōlas of Valudilambattu rājya were given the privileges which had been granted to those of Kāñcipuram and Viriñcipuram. This would show that the grant of privileges to the Kaikkōlas of Kāñci must have been earlier. Hence the date of the inscription is misleading.

98. The phrase 'on good and bad occasions' indicated that the communities had the right of exercising these privileges only on ceremonial occasions, auspicious or otherwise.

99. 368 of 1917; *Rep.*, 1918 para 70. Details, almost similar are contained in an inscription at Villiyanūr near Pondicherry. It records that the Ilaivāṇiyars claimed certain *birudas* of the Kaikkōlas and having won over the king's officers by bribes engraved the document in the temple. The Kaikkōla and Devāṅga weavers left the place in protest. Therefore the king's officers made necessary enquiries in the matter and after referring to their communal copper plates deposited at Kāñchīpuram, decreed that the Kaikkōlas were entitled to the use of the *birudas* and recorded the same in an inscription engraved in the temple. (201 of 1936-37; *Rep.*, para 61. 237 of 1902 (*S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 865) contains details of an agreement of an earlier period).

100. 41 of 1922. The Ilaivāṇiyars are a caste whose sole occupation is the cultivation of the betel creeper and selling of its leaves. They were, different from the *Vāṇiyars* (oilmongers). According to a tradition the oilmongers were produced of 1000 *ṛṣis* of whom five hundred were invested with the sacred thread. They became extinct in due course, and hence the other group of five hundred were reclaimed by the ancestors of a Brahman family. In grateful recognition of the same a representative of the family is recognised even now as the high priest of the Vāṇiyar caste. The thousand *ṛṣis* of the Vāṇiyar caste would remind one of the thousand families of the Telikivevaru of the Telugu country. (*M. E. R.* 1911-12, *Rep.*, para 72).

Barbers :

The community of barbers received special privileges at the hands of the government during the days of Sadāśiva. The exact reasons why Sadāśiva and his minister Rāma Rāya favoured them are not known. An inscription of A.D. 1545 states the Rāma Rāja Oḍeyār being pleased with the barber Koṇḍōja exempted the barbers of the country (Tumkūr District) from certain taxes.¹⁰¹ Another record of A.D. 1547-48 states that Timmōja Koṇḍōja and Bhadri of (the town of) Badāri having propitiated the king Sadāśiva he, "in connection with a request they had made", granted them a tax as a *mānya*.¹⁰² Another inscription of A.D. 1555 says that Timmōja Koṇḍōja made application to Rāma Rājayya who in turn applied to Sadāśiva and he remitted to him and his family certain taxes within the four boundaries of his kingdom.¹⁰³ The Telugu poet Rudrayya says in his *Nirankuṣopākhyānam* that he secured an interview with Sadāśiva through the influence of Koṇḍōju, a favourite barber of the king, who was instrumental in obtaining remission of the taxes imposed on them.¹⁰⁴ In such a remission were included forced labour, fixed rent, land rent, *mahānavami* torches, *birāda*, etc.¹⁰⁵

101. E. C., XII, Tp. 126.

102. I. A., X, p. 65.

103. E. C., XI, Mk. 6.

104. M. E. R., 1926, Rep., para 43.

105. E. C., XI, Mk. 6. A large number of inscriptions refer to these remissions; (E. C., VI, Tk. 13; *Nel. Ins.*, II, Kn. 20; E. C., XI, Hk. 110; 318 of 1905; 472 and 514 of 1906; 218 of 1913; 475 of 1915; 354 of 1920; 352 of 1926; 70 of 1943-4 etc.) As said earlier the cause for such remissions is hard to find. It is generally said that Rāma Rāja, who was very much pleased with the barber Koṇḍōja for his skill in shaving the chin. (H. Krishna Sastri, *A.S.R.*, 1908-09, p. 198, fn. 5). Saletore, however, tries to give an explanation for the special predilection the king and the minister had for the barbers. He suggests that they might have helped in putting down the power and influence of the Kurumbars in the Karanāṭaka district, and to support his contention he remarks that "the inscriptions dealing with the remissions centre round Badami, and extend over region which cover the Kaladgi, Chitaldroog and Tumkur Districts". But as has been seen taxes were remitted in favour of the barbers in many Tamil and Telugu districts as well. Such liberal remissions might have been made in their case also on the ground of their belonging to the same community. Saletore takes care to add: "future research may enable us to know the exact circumstances and the occasion which ushered in the barbers in the story of the Kurumbars." (*Soc. and Pol. Life*, Vol. II, pp. 47 and 48, fn. 1).

Dombaras :

The Dombaras were a community generally of acrobats. Foreign visitors like 'Abdur Razzāk and Linschoten have left some account of them. The Dombaras used largely tamed snakes and elephants for earning money and they were trained in witchcraft and soothsaying. The Persian ambassador describes how these acrobats played on bars and used tamed elephants in their work. They gave great entertainment to the common people and nobles who had gathered at the capital for the *Mahānavami* festival.¹⁰⁶ Their houses were very small and low, covered with straw and had no windows. Mats of straw, fig leaves and earthen pots for cooking purposes were a common sight in their houses. The acrobats sometimes pooled their resources and made certain joint grants to temples. According to an inscription of Ś.1451, two members of the Dombara caste granted to the temple of Tiruvengalanātha the money which they had been getting every year as donation (*tyāgam*) from the villages. The members of the caste also made an agreement that they would not exhibit their performances in the villages.¹⁰⁷

Right Hand and Left Hand Castes :

Many of the communities in the Empire were divided into two main groups as the *Valangai* and the *Iḍangai* or Right hand and Left hand groups. A few inscriptions state that each group consisted of ninety-eight sub-sects. Though one gets the names of some sects in each group the names of all the ninety-eight sects are not known. But side by side with these, there is reference to groups of eighteen professional castes. Perhaps the ninety-eight sects were the subdivisions of these eighteen castes.¹⁰⁸

106. For a detailed account of their feats see Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 118-19; and Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, pp. 247-48.

107. 309 of 1926; Rep., para 41. A tax called *Dommaripannu* was collected either by them or for them. (115 of 1945-46; 7 of 1946-47, etc.).

108. Buchanan, who visited Mysore towards the close of the eighteenth century, found the following castes among those that constituted the Left hand and Right hand classes.

Left hand classes :

1. Pancala.
2. Bericetty merchants.
3. Devanga—a class of weavers.
4. Heganigarū—those who use two oxen in the mill.
5. Paliwanlu—two tribes of cultivators who are not of Karna-taka origin.
7. Madigarū—tanners or shoe makers.

The Pancalas commanded the whole party; and the Madigarū were the most active combatants in all disputes among the two divisions.

The origin of these two groups has been examined by some scholars, but no definite answer has been given to this interesting question. The problem is difficult as in each group there are found members of different castes, occupations and trades, and curiously enough the Brahmans and a few other communities who could come under the Kṣatriya and Vaiśya castes kept themselves away from these two groups. The ninety-eight sects under each of the two divisions were generally of the industrial classes. To add to these there are different traditions about their origin.

T. W. Ellis thinks that the intercourse with foreign nations had brought certain changes in the habits of a section of the people of South India on account of which the landed proprietors who were generally conservative, had a dislike for them. Such social dissensions brought about the *Valangai* and *Idangai* classes, "the former including the whole of the agricultural tribes, who endeavour under a different order of things, to maintain their ancient pre-eminence, the latter including chiefly the trading and manufacturing tribes, who endeavour, and in modern days generally with success, to evade it."¹⁰⁹ Gustav Oppert is of opinion that it was the grouping of the industrialists *versus* the agriculturists, the former under the Jains the latter under the Brahmans,¹¹⁰ though the latter themselves kept aloof from these classes.

M. Srinivasa Ayyangar suggests a few more theories. He thinks that the division of the society into the two groups was due either to the desire of the lower orders to rise in the social scale or the antipathy between the Jains and the Brahmans.¹¹¹ Though these considerations would have contributed a little to the division of the people into two groups, it was the question of certain privileges enjoyed on certain socio-religious occasions which were largely res-

Right hand classes :

1. Banajigaru of many trades.
2. Wodigaru—cultivators of the Sudra caste and of Karnataka extraction.
3. Jotiphana—oilmakers who use one bull in mill.
4. Rangaru—Calico printers and tailors.
5. Ladaru.
6. Gujarati.

109. T. W. Ellis, *Kural*, p. 44, quoted in the *Madras Journal of Lit. and Sci.*, 1887-88; *Org. Inhabitants of Bharatavarsha*, pp. 85ff.

110. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

111. *Tamil Studies*, pp. 73, 92, 108; for the views of L. D. Barnett see *E.I.*, XV, p. 81.

possible for their quarrels. About the occasions when they disputed among themselves Abbe Dubois says: "Perhaps the sole cause of the contest is the right to wear slippers or to ride through the streets in a palanquin, or on horseback during marriage festivals. Sometimes, it is the privilege of being escorted on certain occasions by armed retainers, sometimes that of having a trumpet sounded in front of a procession, or of being accompanied by native musicians, at public ceremonies. Perhaps it is simply the particular kind of musical instrument suitable for such occasions that is dispute; or it may be the right of carrying flags of certain colours or of certain devices during these ceremonies."¹¹²

The *Valangai* and *Idangai* classes living near Pondicherry contended among themselves on certain privileges like the use of *śavalakkaḷi*, white umbrella, white horse and the five *śembus*.¹¹³ Similarly the *Idangai* and *Valangai Kaifiyat* gives an interesting legend of the conflict between them over certain social privileges like the right of the usage of a *garuḍa* banner, and how it was settled.¹¹⁴

In the Vijayanagar days, also, these groups had frequent conflicts among themselves, and according to an inscription of A.D. 1383-84 one such lasted for four years.¹¹⁵ An incomplete record at Malayampattu¹¹⁶ records the settlement of a dispute between the *Idangai* and *Valangai* sects in which there was loss of life on both

112. *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, I, p. 26.

113. Wilson, *Mac. Coll.* p. 428. 'Account of the *Idangai* and *Valangai* Caste people', Taylor, *Tamil Local Tracts*.

114. Taylor, *Cat. Rais*, III, p. 7. "This relates to the great dispute between the Vaishnava Brahmans with their followers who have the epithet right-hand and Saiva Brahmans, with their followers termed left-hand. The dispute is stated to have arisen from the usage of a *Garuda* banner, or flag bearing the eagle or kite of Vishnu as a device. The right of bearing this banner and the question to which of the two classes it belonged created so hot a dispute that the matter was referred in arbitration to Vickrama-Coladeva Perumal That prince caused the old copper plate records at Conjeevaram to be disinterred and examined and legal authorities to be consulted. As a consequence the claim of the Saiva to the *garuda* banner was admitted; but another result was the more accurate distinction and definition of what rights and privileges were proper to the two classes; and what were not so. The book further contains an enumeration of the classes or castes into which the two lines of Vaishnavas and Saivas became divided; and of the Paraiars and others who range under the right-hand classes. These castes on both sides, are stated to be ninety-eight. The subdivisions are those of persons having castes; that is, not Paraiars."

115. 422 of 1905.

116. In the North Arcot District.

sides.¹¹⁷ In A.D. 1438-39 the people of a certain locality made an agreement among themselves that if the members of either *Valangai* or *Idangai* class caused any disturbance or fought with each other during public festivals, "the said persons must be killed on the spot, with spears, without ceremony".¹¹⁸ Feelings between the two groups were so bitter that in A.D. 1440-41 an agreement was made about the social conduct among the *Valangai* and *Idangai* classes of two of the eighteen subdivisions residing around Irungōlapāṇḍivaḷanāḍu on the northern bank of the Kāvēri.¹¹⁹

Members of these sects appear to have been liable to the payment of a communal tax, as may be inferred from the reference to the *Idangaivari*.¹²⁰ The corporate activity of these groups led them to form associations among themselves and negotiate with the government as an organised body. They fixed the amount of taxes they would pay to the government, and as mentioned earlier even went on one occasion to the extent of threatening to inflict corporal punishment on the Brahmans and tax-collectors who demanded more than what they had decided to pay.¹²¹

As said earlier the occupation of the Tamil country by the Telugu and Kannada people led to the rise of certain social problems. Their colonisation of Tamil India told hard on the social status of the earlier inhabitants ; for since they followed their masters and settled down in the Tamil country with them they commanded a higher social status as conquerors over the Tamil people. M. Srinivasa Ayyangar suggests that this contributed to the earlier inhabitants giving up their original occupation and taking up menial work, and cites the instance of the Semmans who on the advent of the Telugu and Kannadiga Maḍigas and Cakkiliyans appear to have given up their profession of leather craft and taken to menial service in villages and tailoring and lime selling in towns.¹²²

117. 185 of 1921.

118. Taylor, *Cat. Rais*, III, p. 305.

119. 253 of 1926.

120. 4 of 1906; 215 of 1910.

121. 92 of 1918; see also 59 of 1914, etc. For further particulars about the two classes see an article by C. S. Srinivasachari in the *O.J.A.H.R.S.*, IV, pp. 77-85; Richards, *Salem Gazetteer*, Pt. I, p. 125, fn. 2; Oppert, *Or. Inh. of Bharatavarsha*, p. 90, fn. 59.

122. *Tamil Studies*, p. 85.

Tōṭṭiyans :

The first among such colonists that deserves some examination are the Tōṭṭiyans or Kambalattārs. Originally shepherds, they became petty poligars in the south.¹²³ Polyandry and post-puberty marriages prevailed among them; and very often the bridegroom was younger than the bride. Female morality was very loose among them, and in fact a woman was allowed to have marital relations even with the father or other male relations of her husband. Divorce and remarriages of widows and in certain cases *safī* were also allowed. The Tōṭṭiyans were generally Vaiṣṇavas but their deities were Jakkanna and Bommakka who committed *sahagamana*.¹²⁴

The Tōṭṭiyans had their own organisation. About A.D. 1369 the Tōṭṭiyans of Puḷḷiyūr had decided that whoever did not pay a particular contribution was to be an outcaste "from the *nāḍu*, the assembly, *pāñcālam*, the *parai* and the eighteen *nāḍus*."¹²⁵

Another group of people who colonised the south were the Saurāṣṭras who hailed probably from Gujarat. They seem to have migrated to the south during Vijayanagar times. Largely dependent on royal patronage and being able to supply fine clothing for the nobility, they soon became a flourishing community in South India. They lived in Vijayanagar for a fairly long time, and when the new empire expanded to the south, they also moved down and settled round Madurai and some other places. Like the members of many other communities, they tried to rise in the social scale. They assumed Brahman caste names, and spread certain legends that they were originally Brahmans but subsequently lost their status and degenerated. They had disputes with the Brahmans over certain social rights, and at times the state was forced to interfere in them. For instance, during the regency of Mangammāl "eighteen of the members of the Saurāṣṭra community were arrested by the Governor of Madurai for performing the Brahmanical ceremony of *Upākarma* or renewal of the sacred thread. The queen convened a meeting of those learned

123. Nelson calls the immigrants Vaḍugas and divides them into Kavarrars, Gollas, Reḍḍis, Kammavars and Tōṭṭiyans or Kambalārs of whom the last three were agriculturists. *Madurai Manual*, Pt. II, p. 80.

124. See *Ind. Ant.*, 1915, pp. 135-7 for an account of them by V. Rangachary; see also Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, VII, pp. 183-197.

125. *E.C.*, IX, Ht. 103 (a).

in the *Śāstras* to investigate the Paṭṭunūlkārans' rights to perform such ceremonies. This declared in favour of the defendants and the queen gave them a palm leaf award accordingly which is still preserved in Madura.'¹²⁶

Reddis :

The Reddis of the Telugu country who were generally agriculturists settled in the Tamil area in the Vijayanagar days. They were divided into two classes, Pangala Reddis and the Paṇṭa Reddis.

There were many such waves of immigrants of different castes and communities from the north into Tamil areas and among them may be mentioned the Telugu Brahmans, Uppilians (salt manufacturers), Telugu spinners and dyers, Śēṇians (Telugu weavers), barbers, leather workers, washermen, Oḍḍans, Dombans, etc.

126. *Mad. Gar.*, p. 111, since then the Saurāṣṭras followed "many of the customs of the Southern Brahmans regarding food, dress, forms of worship and names, and have recently taken to the adoption of Brahmanical titles such as Aiyar, Ācārya, and Bhāgavatar". *Ibid.*

SECTION III

Social Institutions

1. *Marriage :*

Marriage is one of the most important institutions in the social life of any people. Though it is a religious sacrament among the Hindus, it has great social importance too.

While ancient *Dharma śāstras* mention eight kinds of marriages, there is no evidence to show that all of them existed in the Vijayanagar days. *Kanyādāna* was the only form of marriage that was widespread and popular.

In this connection certain incidental features of matrimony, like the dowry system and child marriage, may be examined here. The system of giving dowry was prevalent in the Vijayanagar days, though there appears to have been much resentment against it. A number of inscriptions testify to the existence of the system. A record of A.D. 1379 registers the grant as dowry of the village of Pangapalli in the one-third share of Pulliyūrnāḍu belonging to one Nambi Iravi śeṭṭiyār to his daughter's sons, Iraviyanaṇṇan, Kēśava śeṭṭiyār and others.¹²⁷ Sometimes money for expenses at a marriage was then, as even now, raised by the sale of property. Thus in A.D. 1404 one Acapa's son, Viṭṭappa, sold the village of Kandavalli together with other lands "on account of marriage."¹²⁸ In about A.D. 1424 the Āḷva Prabhu Bommiyakka Heggaditi's son sold some land to the *Sthānika* (temple priest) Dēvappaṇṇa Ayya's son Boṇṇa Ayya on account of marriage.¹²⁹

127. *E.C.* IX, Ht. 108 and 109.

128. *Ibid.*, VIII, Tl. 134.

129. *Ibid.*, 175.

Villages often made rules against lands within their limits being alienated to outsiders as dowry; thus the residents of the village of Māṅgaḍu (Chingleput District) made an agreement among themselves that lands must not be given as *strīdhana* to any outsider.¹³⁰

The evil of bride price was felt by the Brahmans to be so great in the Paḍaivīḍu kingdom during the time of Dēva Rāya II. that the Brahmans of the locality belonging to various sub-communities made an agreement among themselves which has the character of a piece of social legislation. The inscription recording this piece of legislation runs as follows: "The great men of all branches of sacred studies of the kingdom (*rājyam*) of Paḍaivīḍu drew up, in the presence of (the God) Gōpinātha (of) Arkapuṣkarāṇi, a document (which contains) an agreement fixing the sacred law. According to (this document) if the Brahmans of this kingdom (*rājyam*) of Paḍaivīḍu, (viz.) Kannaḍigas, Tamiṇas, Telungas, Ilāṭas, etc., of all *gotras*, *sūtras* and *śākhās* conclude a marriage, they shall from this day forwards do it by *kanyādāna*. Those who do not adopt *kanyādāna* (i.e.) both those who give a girl away after receiving gold, and those who conclude a marriage after having given gold, shall be liable to punishment by the king, and shall be excluded from the community of Brahmans. These are the contents of the document which was drawn up."¹³¹ One interesting point to be noted here is the fact that it was an agreement for reform made by the Brahman community of the Paḍaivīḍu *rājyam* on its own initiative. The state did not interfere in it, except to enforce the voluntary agreement arrived at by the Brahmans.¹³²

It is clear that "the evil practice of bargaining for marriage by one, at least, of the parties was as rampant in Ś. 1347 (A.D. 1425) as it is today"¹³³ We do not know, however, whether the marriage reform in the Paḍaivīḍu *rājya* was copied by the Brahmans in the other parts of the Empire.^{133a}

130. 354 of 1908; *Rep.*, 1909, para 67.

131. 47 of 1887; *S.I.I.*, I, No. 56, pp. 82-84.

132. See *contra*. S. K. Aiyangar, *Q.J.M.S.*, VI, p. 49.

133. *A.S.R.*, 1907-08; p. 230.

133a. With the above arrangement may be compared another of almost a similar nature recorded in an inscription from Kōvilūr in Ramnad District. The lithic record which is dated Ś 1303 (A.D. 1382) during the rule of Sāvana Uḍaiyār states that one Nāyanār Gāṅgevarāyar, obviously an officer of the ruler arranged for an assembly of the inhabitants of the *agaras* (*agraras*), the *Bhatlas* of distant territories and the other people of the villages for the purpose of deciding upon certain regulations about *kanyādanā* among the Brahmans. The new regulations limited the payment for the jewels of the bride at eight *Kalañju* of gold and eight *Kalñju* of silver. Breach of the rule was punishable with excommunication (*ARE* 526 of 1962-63; Intron., p. 33).

In respect of some *maryāda*, too, the people made an agreement among themselves in A.D. 1553. In that year the people of all lands from Koṇḍapaḷḷi to Rājamahēndrapuram decided that the *ōli maryāda* in the first marriage should be 21 *cinnam* of gold, that the bridegroom's party should give $12\frac{1}{2}$ of silver and the bride's party $20\frac{1}{2}$ of gold.¹³⁴

Likewise an inscription at Nandavaram in the present Kurnool District dated Ś. 1492 (A.D. 1570) records a resolution of the *vidvan-Mahājanas* that they would not take dowry for marriages of girls (*kanyāśulka*) in their community.¹³⁵ Another record of the time of Sadāśivadēva Mahārāya found at the same place appears to refer to the prohibition of taking or giving dowry marriages among them (*vidvanmahājanas*) in the village.¹³⁶

In accordance with the injunctions of the ancient Hindu scriptures the Brahmans in the Vijayanagar Empire married their girls at a comparatively early age. Linschoten who observed this custom during the time of his visit says : "When the woman is seven yeeres old and the man nine yeeres they doe marrie; but they come not together before the woman be strong enough to beare children."¹³⁷ This practice of the Brahmans was in a large measure followed by a few other communities. Thus according to Ferishta, Nehal, a farmer girl, had been betrothed to a youth of her own caste in childhood "agreeably to the custom of Hindoostan."¹³⁸

2. *Satī* :

Another equally important social practice in the Vijayanagar days was *sahagamana* or *satī*. There are a number of *satikals* or *māstikaḷs* in the Kannada district where are found sculptured representations of women committing *satī*, and under some of them are inscribed a few words, recording under what circumstances the *sahagamana* was performed. Almost every foreign traveller who visited Vijayanagar noticed the prevalence of the practice of *satī* and has left an account of it. Barbosa (1514), Nuniz (1535-6), Caesar Frederick (1567), Linschoten (1583), Barradas (1614), Pietra della Valle

134. 337 of 1892; *Mac. Mss.* Bk. XVI, (15-3-4), p. 12, *Oli* is the same as bride price. The term is generally used with reference to the humbler classes.

135. 4 of 1943-4.

136. 13 of 1943-4.

137. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 256.

138. Briggs, *The Rise*, II, p. 380.

(1623)—all these give very vivid and realistic pictures of how *saff* was performed. But they differ in certain details of the manner in which it was committed; three explanations may be suggested for such differences: (i) The method followed by one class of people might have differed from that pursued by another owing to their customary differences, for every community in the Empire could have had a particular custom in all such matters. (ii) Some changes may have crept into the custom with the passage of time. (iii) The custom may have differed from place to place, and the travellers, since all of them did not visit one and the same place, nor were they contemporaries, could have left divergent accounts of the custom as they saw it.

Barbosa says that if the woman was poor and of 'low birth' she threw herself along with the burning corpse of her husband and perished in the flames, but if she was a woman of high rank, she did not burn herself immediately, but performed certain ceremonies before she fell into the flames. She spent some time in festive music, singing, dancing and banquets, after which she dressed herself richly and distributed the remaining property to her sons, relatives and friends. After this she was mounted on a light grey or white horse and led through the streets till she reached the burning ghat, where a fire was lit for her; she removed all her clothes except a small piece which covered her waist, made a short speech telling the people gathered together there that she was immolating herself for the love she bore for her husband, though she was not bound to do so. Then she poured on her head oil after which she fell into the flames and perished.¹³⁹ Nuniz also gives almost the same details; however, he adds that after the corpse of the husband had been set fire to, a Brahman performed over her certain ceremonies 'according to their law' after which she distributed all her jewels among her relatives and wore a yellow robe. Soon she went with great enthusiasm to the fire pit which she came round thrice, mounted a few steps which had been erected for the purpose and stood on the top of them holding a mat in her hand which prevented her from seeing the fire. The people assembled threw into the fire a cloth containing rice, and another containing betel leaves besides her comb and mirror. Finally, she took leave of them, poured

139. *Barbosa*, I, pp. 213-16.

a pot of oil on her head and fell headlong into the flames.¹⁴⁰ The rice and betel were for his dinner; it is possible too, that the oil she poured on her head was intended for her toilet, though it served the immediate purpose of shortening her own suffering."¹⁴¹

Caesar Frederick says that the wives committed self-immolation two or three months after the death of their husbands. on the particular day on which she was to burn herself, she dressed herself like a bride and was carried round the city either on horse-back or on an elephant or else was borne by eight men on a small stage to the place where dead bodies were burnt. She held feasts after which she bathed in the river to wash away her sins; later she wore a yellow robe and got upon a pinnacle erected for the purpose. She then poured oil over her head and threw herself into the flames that had been lit.¹⁴²

Though women of a few communities performed *sati* by burning themselves either along with their husbands or in fire lit a few days later for the purpose, some others, specially the Lingāyats performed it by being buried alive with their dead husbands. Nuniz describes this method: "These go with much pleasure to the pit inside of which are made two seats of earth, one for him and one for her, and they place each one on his or her own seat and cover them in little by little till they are covered up; and so the wife dies with the husband."¹⁴³ Barbosa says that it was the people who wore the *Tambarane* round their necks that buried the wives along with their dead husband: "They dig a great hole deep enough to come up to her neck, and place her in it alive, standing on her feet and begin to shovel in the earth around her trampling it down with their feet until she is covered up to the neck with well trodden earth. Then they place a great stone over her and there she stays dying alive and walled up in clay and they carry out other cere-

140. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 391-93. P. V. Jagadisa Ayyar says that the Brahmans of the by-gone age knew of a plant the juice of which when mixed with sandal paste and rubbed freely over the body of the would-be *sati* made her insensible to heat. He thinks that the people would have used the juice of such a plant. See his *South Indian Customs*, p. 93.

141. Edward Thompson, *Suttee*, p. 43.

142. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, pp. 94-96; for other descriptions, see Linschoten, Purchas, *Ibid.*, pp. 256-7; Barradas, Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 224; Pietro della Valle, *Travels*, II, pp. 266-67.

143. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 392-93.

monies for her."¹⁴⁴ Caesar Frederick observes that it was the custom among the 'base sort of people' to bury the wives along with their dead husbands and strangle them by the neck before closing them with mud.¹⁴⁵ Gaspero Balbi who saw this custom in A.D. 1582 says that it obtained among the goldsmiths.¹⁴⁶ This kind of *satī* is also mentioned in the inscriptions of the period. An inscription dated Ś 1327 (A.D. 1405) refers to the *agnipraveśa* made by a Gangasāni, daughter of a Bayiri śeṭṭi of Pamini at Penugonḍa where her husband Rāmadēva Nāyaka died. To commemorate her act a *vīrakai* (hero-hand) was set up at Vanavolu.¹⁴⁷

The classes of people who performed *sahagamana* were generally the nobility in the Empire who were made up of the king, the knights and fighting men. According to inscriptions which are many the classes of people who were called the *gaḍas* and the *nāyakas* also performed *sahagamana* or *satī*.¹⁴⁸ Lastly Brahman widows also appear to have performed *satī*. In fact the description of its performance given by Linschoten refers to the practice of the Brahman community.¹⁴⁹

The performance of self-immolation, though very popular and wide-spread in the Vijayanagar days, does not appear to have been enjoined upon the widows. It seems that it was dictated by considerations of marital affection and done voluntarily. Barbosa definitely says that many of the women, even just before their immolation wore a cheerful countenance and asked the people assembled there to consider what they owed to their wives who being *free to act* yet burnt themselves alive for the love of them.¹⁵⁰

According to an inscription in the Sorab taluk in the Shimoga District, the wife of one Bomma Gaḍa performed *sahagamana*

144. *Barbosa*, I, pp. 218-9.

145. *Purchas*, *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 96.

146. *Ibid.*, p. 148.

147. 809 of 1917; *Rep.*, para 88. See also *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 165, 496, etc.

148. *E.C.*, XI. Dg. 116; VII, Sk. 302; VIII, Sa. 8; etc. It is interesting to note that *sati* seems to have largely prevailed in the Shimoga District in particular.

149. *Purchas*, *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 256-57.

150. *Barbosa*, I, p. 215. The *italics* are ours.

'with great desire'¹⁵¹. Again according to a record of A.D. 1376 when one Bāchi of Āvali expired, his junior wife Muḍḍi Gaurī performed *sahagamana*.¹⁵² This inscription, however, does not say anything about the senior wife. This suggests that the performance of *sahagamana* was left to individual choice.

Though *satī* was only voluntary, it is difficult to account for its wide popularity in the Vijayanagar empire. Examining this question, Hervey remarks : "Excessive jealousy of their female connexions, operating on the breasts of Hindoo princes, rendered those despots regardless of the common bonds of society and their incumbent duty as the protectors of the weaker sex, and in so much that with a view to prevent every possibility of their widows forming subsequent attachments, they availed themselves of their arbitrary power and, under the cloak of religion, introduced the practice of burning widows alive under the first impression of sorrow or despair, immediately after the demise of their husbands."¹⁵³ The glorification of a dead person might have been another cause for the wide prevalence of *satī*. Hindu society attaches great importance to a male member, and naturally the women who live for and through him have no purpose to serve in this world after the death of their husbands. According to them "widowhood was an experience so desolate and crammed with misery that it was better to perish in the flames that consumed the husband's corpse".¹⁵⁴

The performance of *satī* was commemorated by the erection of what are known as *satikals* on which are seen sculptured representations of the widows who committed *satī* on the death of their husbands. They "are generally sculptured with a pointed pillar or post from which projects a woman's right arm, bent upwards at the elbow. The hand is raised with fingers erect, and a lime fruit is usually shown placed between the thumb and fore-finger." This is what is alluded to in the old inscriptions, where the women are said

151. E.C., VIII, Sb. 495.

152. *Ibid.*, Sb. 106.

153. *Some Records of Crime*, II, p. 506, quoted by Edward Thompson, *suttee*, p. 45.

154. Edward Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

to "have given arm and hand."¹⁵⁵ The *satikal* has generally two panels. The lower one represents the husband with one or two wives and in the upper one is seen a Linga or a conch the symbols respectively of Śiva and Viṣṇu, by the side of which the husband stands with his wives thus showing they had all reached heaven. About the raised hand in the *satikal*, Rice says: "The human arm I have heard called *Madana-kai*, the hand or arm of Madana, that is of Cupid, love or passion".¹⁵⁶

The question whether *sahagamana* was voluntary or compulsory is linked with another equally important question—the tonsure of the widow on the death of her husband. This is a curious custom that has crept into the Hindu society especially among the Brahmins. From what Barbosa writes about this practice, it is clear those who did not perform *sahagamana* were held in great dishonour, and their kindred shaved their heads and turned them away as disgraced and a shame to the families.¹⁵⁷ Linschoten also describes this practice as follows: "And if it chance, as not very often it doth, that any women refuseth to be burnt with her Husband, then they cut the haire cleane off from her head; and while she liveth she must never after weare any Jewels more, and from that time she is despised and accounted for a dishonest woman."¹⁵⁸ Thus the shaving of the head was meant as a punishment for those who violated the customary practice of committing *satī*.¹⁵⁹

155. Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, p. 38.

156. *Mys, Ins.*, p. xxvi and fn. 1; Saletore, *Soc. and Pol. Life in the Vij. Emp.* II, p. 96 and fn. 2.

157. *Barbosa*, I, p. 216.

158. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 257.

159. It is difficult to say when this practice came into vogue. The ancient Hindu Law-givers do not mention the practice of the removal of the hair by the widows. Manu for instance ordains as follows: A faithful wife who desires to dwell (after death) with her husband must never do anything that might displease him who took her hand, whether he be alive or dead.... Until death, let her be patient of hardships, self-controlled and chaste, and strive (to fulfill) that most excellent duty which (is prescribed) for wives who have one husband only (*Manu*, IV. 156-58). But it is only for specific offences like the adultery of a Brahman woman with a Śūdra that she was punishable with the shaving of her head and the anointing of her body with butter, and in that condition being placed naked on a donkey and paraded through the streets. (*Vastuśāstra*, XXI, 1, p. 109).

SECTION IV

Women

In considering the status of women in a particular age it would be convenient to study them under two groups, family women and courtezans. It was seldom that the family women, who were of a retiring nature, came out to take active part in social get ups and festivals held at Vijayanagar; and it was only the courtezans who resided in considerable numbers at the capital that took part in them. The courtezans themselves may be divided into two groups, one living independently at the capital and taking part in social functions, and the other, the dancing girls attached to temples who depended on them for their livelihood and had almost nothing to do with court ceremonies and festivals.

Curiously enough no foreign traveller who visited Vijayanagar has left any detailed description of family women. Paes, however, gives a short but correct account of them. He says : " They (the Brahmans) are all married and have got very beautiful wives; the wives are very retiring and very seldom leave the house. The women are of light colour, and in the caste of these Brahmans are the fairest men and women that there are in the land; for though there are men in other castes commonly of light complexion, yet these are few."¹⁶⁰

It is the harem that has attracted the notice of many foreign travellers. Like all oriental rulers, the Vijayanagar kings had a large harem. Though it was large, only a few in it were the royal queens and hence had a higher status. The kings had many wives,¹⁶¹ but among them were a few principal ones. Thus Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya had twelve lawful wives of whom three were the principal ones, "the sons of each of these three being heirs of the kingdom".¹⁶² Venkaṭa-

160. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

161. *Barbosa*, I, p. 208.

162. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

pati II had four wives.¹⁶³ Barbosa says that there existed so much envy and rivalry among these women for the king's favour, that some killed others and some poisoned themselves.¹⁶⁴ But Paes says that the principal wives of the king had "each the same, one as much as the other, so that there may not be any discord or ill-feeling between them, and all of them were great friends, each one living by herself".¹⁶⁵

The wives had each a house, maidens; women of the chamber and women guards and servants. All of them were women except the eunuchs who were also employed to serve them. No man was allowed to see them unless he was very old and of high rank, and specially permitted by the king. The wives of the king were usually carried in closed litters, so that they could not be seen, and were closely followed only by the eunuchs. Every one of them had enormous wealth and jewels, and had each many maidens "adorned as richly as could possibly be with many jewels and rubies and diamonds and pearls and seed pearls."¹⁶⁶ Paes describes how the kings used to order their wives to come to them. He says that the king ordered an eunuch to go and call a particular wife; and staying outside the women's apartments the eunuch informed the women guards who passed on the message to the queen, after which either she went to the king's palace or he came to her chamber.¹⁶⁷

The women employed in the palace had their houses within the palace precincts. Barbosa says that they were all gathered inside the palaces, where they had in plenty all that they required including many good lodgings.¹⁶⁸ Paes also speaks of the houses of the wives of the king and other women who served them.¹⁶⁹

Our authorities differ on the number of women in the harem, but it appears to have contained many women. Nicolo dei Conti

163. Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, pp. 495 and 502.

164. *Barbosa*, I, p. 208.

165. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 249. (The popular theme of literary compositions during this age was the rivalry of fellow wives—Tirumalādevi, the queen of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya could be jealous of Sangā. Barbosa is perhaps nearer the truth than Paes.)

166. *Ibid.*, pp. 247-48.

167. *Ibid.*, p. 249.

168. *Barbosa*, I, p. 208; Sewell, *ibid.*, p. 129.

169. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 264-65.

speaking about the Vijayanagar king in A.D. 1421 says : " He takes to himself twelve thousand wives, of whom four thousand follow him on foot wherever he may go and are employed solely in the service of the kitchen. A like number more handsomely equipped ride on horseback. The remainder are carried by men in litters, of whom two thousand or three thousand are selected as his wives on condition that at his death they should voluntarily burn themselves with him which is considered to be a great honour for them."¹⁷⁰ 'Abdur Razzāk, describing the harem of Dēva Rāya II, says that there were "as many as 700 princesses and concubines" in it.¹⁷¹ Paes however says there were twelve thousand women in Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's harem.¹⁷² Nuniz says they numbered over four thousand in the days of Acyuta Rāya.¹⁷³

The members of the royal harem were women of position, some of them being the daughters of the great lords of the realm ; while some of them served as concubines, some served as handmaids. Barbosa says that the fairest and most healthy women were sought throughout the kingdom for doing service to the king cleanliness and neatness. According to him these women afforded great pleasure to the ruler by signing and playing¹⁷⁴. No male child was allowed to remain with these women after attaining the age of ten. 'Abdur Razzāk says that when any beautiful girl was found in any part of the kingdom, after the consent of her father and mother had been purchased, she was brought in great state to the harem after which no one could see her; but she was treated with great consideration.¹⁷⁵

The services rendered by women in the palace were many. Barbosa says that they did all the work inside the gates and held all the duties of the household.¹⁷⁶ Evidently his remarks apply only to a few of them, who were specially engaged for certain purposes. Nuniz is clear on this point when he says : " The King has other women

170. Major, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

171. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, 114.

172. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

173. *Ibid.*, p. 382.

174. *Barbosa*, I, p. 208.

175. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 114-115. See in this connection Briggs, *The Rise*, II, pp. 380-81 where Nehal, the Mudgal beauty, refused to receive the golden necklace presented to her by Deva Rāya I, for she feared that "whoever entered the harem of Beignuggur was never afterwards permitted to see even her nearest relatives".

176. *Barbosa*, I, p. 208.

besides. He has ten cooks, for his personal service, and has others kept for times when he gives banquets; and these ten prepare the food for no one save for the king alone. He has a eunuch for guard at the gate of the kitchen, who never allows any one to enter for fear of poison. . . . Women and eunuchs serve him at table.”¹⁷⁷ They were also employed for many other services within the palace and at times outside it. Some were bearers who carried on their shoulders not only the king’s wives but also the king in the interior of the palace, for the king’s houses were large and there were great intervals between one house and another. According to the Portuguese chronicler, there were, besides women who were wrestlers, not to speak of others who were astrologers and sooth-sayers: there were still others who wrote all the accounts of the expenses that were incurred inside the gates of the palace, and a few others whose duty it was to note down all the happenings in the kingdom and compare their books with those of the writers outside; besides all these there were women musicians in the palace who played on instruments and sang.¹⁷⁸ Referring to them Paes says: “There are women who handle sword and shield, and others who wrestle, and others who blow trumpets, and others pipes; and others instruments. . . .; and in the same way they have women as bearers (*bois*) and washing-folk and for other offices inside their gates just as the king has the offices of the household.”¹⁷⁹

Nuniz says that women held offices of responsibility in the state.¹⁸⁰ If what he says is true, it is strange that the other foreign travellers who visited Vijayanagar do not mention it. But from the evidence of Nuniz one may assume that women were employed for the management of the zenana. It is highly doubtful if women were appointed to offices of responsibility in the government.

Many women accompanied that army. Sometimes the queens themselves followed the army to the battlefield. When, for instance, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya laid seige to the fort of Koṇḍaviḍu in A.D. 1515, his two queens Cinnadēviammā and Tirumaladēviammā were with him. He also visited the temple of Amarēśvara in their company.¹⁸¹ It has been noted earlier that, according to Barbosa, the king order-

177. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 382-83.

178. *Ibid.*, p. 382.

179. *Ibid.*, pp. 248-49 and 382, *fn.* 1.

180. *Ibid.*, p. 383.

181. *A.S.R.*, 1908-09.

ed all men on occasions of war to attend with their wives and sons and households, for as he said "men fight better if they have the responsibility of wives and children and household goods on them."¹⁸² There must have been other women also, for Nuniz, while describing the army that marched to Raicūr, says that twenty thousand public women accompanied the army with the king.¹⁸³

The presence of these women was essential in festivals. In the celebration of the *Mahānavamī*, for instance, they played an important part. The courtezans and *bayaderes* (the dancing girls of the temple and palace) remained dancing in front of the temple and idol for a long time, in the morning of each of the nine days of the festival. On another occasion in the course of the same festival, twenty-five or thirty women door-keepers with canes in their hands and whips on their shoulders, and followed by many eunuchs and women playing many trumpets, drums, pipes and viols, and many other kinds of music, and women porters richly dressed, came out to the place where the festival was conducted and thrice came round the state horses used in it. After the state horses and elephants had been taken away from the arena there came thirty-six of the most beautiful of the king's "wives", covered with gold and pearls and much work of seed pearls, and in the hands of each of them was a vessel of gold with a lamp of oil burning in it; and with these women came all the servant maids and the other "wives" of the king with canes in their hands tipped with gold and with torches burning. They were fair and young, aged between sixteen and twenty, and were the maids of honour of the queens.¹⁸⁴

Apart from these, there lived at the capital many courtezans. 'Abdur Razzāk was very much struck by "the beauty of the heart ravishers, their blandishments and ogles." Every one of them was covered with pearls, precious stones and costly garments, and had each one or two slave girls standing before her who invited and allured to indulgence and pleasure. There were many such brothels within the several fortresses at the capital.¹⁸⁵

182. *Barbosa*, I, p. 225. See *ante*, p. 165.

183. *Sewell*, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

184. *Ibid.*, pp. 262, 267, 273-74 and 378.

185. *Elliot*, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 111-12.

Many of the courtezans possessed enormous wealth. Barbosa while estimating the wealth of a particular woman says : "Some of them are so rich that a short time ago one of them dying without son or daughter, made the king heir to all her property, who when he sent to collect what she had left found that a sum of seventy thousand *parados* remained as well as another twelve thousand which, during her life, she had set apart and left to one of her handmaids whom she had brought up from childhood ; wherein there is no great marvel, for this kind of merchandise is the greatest and richest found in this world."¹⁸⁶ Paes too was surprised to see that they had enormous wealth ; for according to his account there were women among them who had lands that had been given to to them with litters and maidservants. He says that there was a woman at the capital who was said to have a hundred thousand *parados*.¹⁸⁷

According to the accounts of 'Abdur Razzāk and Paes they lived in the best streets in the city and were of very loose character. Their streets had the best rows of houses. About them the Persian ambassador remarks : "After the time of mid-day prayers they place at the doors of these houses, which are beautifully decorated, chairs and *settees*, on which the courtezans seat themselves. Any man who goes through this place makes choice of whom he will."¹⁸⁸ Paes also says : "They are very much esteemed, and are classed amongst those honoured ones who are the mistresses of the captains ; any respectable man can go to their houses without any blame attaching thereto."¹⁸⁹

These women enjoyed certain special privileges. They were allowed to enter even the presence of the wives of the king and they stayed with them and even chewed betel with them, "a thing no other person may do, no matter what his rank may be." They were allowed to use betel even in the presence of the king.¹⁹⁰

Barbosa describes how they pleased the king. He says that "they (the women) sing and play and offer a thousand other plea-

186. *Barbosa*, I, p. 226; Dames calculates the amount at £32,000 in modern money. (See *fn.* 1, p. 226).

187. *Sewell*, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

188. *Elliot*, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 111-12; and Major, *India*, p. 29.

189. *Sewell*, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

190. *Ibid.*, pp. 242 and 269.

asures as well to the king. They bathe daily in the many tanks kept for that purpose. The king goes to see them bathing, and she who pleases him most is sent for to come to his chamber.¹⁹¹ This description of the visit of the king to the tanks when these women were bathing may be compared with that contained in the *Madhurāvijayam* where Gangādēvi describes how Kampana, her husband, sported with the courtezans and other women among whom Gangādēvi herself was one, during the time of their bath.¹⁹²

A tax was levied on the prostitutes, and the amount which came to 12,000 *fanams* went to pay the wages of the policemen.¹⁹³ This levy on the prostitutes shows that the Vijayanagar state had recognised prostitution as a profession.¹⁹⁴

Apart from the courtezans who were attached to the palace and those that lived carrying on independent profession at the capital, there were others, as noticed earlier, who were attached to temples, where they did important service. Perhaps on account of the fact that they had not much to do with the court ceremonials, the foreign travelers who give an account of the courtezans in glowing terms and vivid colours, have not much to say about this class of dancing girls. Only some casual remarks are made about them. Paes, while describing certain temple festivals, says that whenever the festival of any of the temples occurred the people dragged along certain triumphal cars and with them went dancing girls and other women with music.¹⁹⁵ Emanuel de Veiga, a Jesuit who saw a festival procession at Tiruvārūr, says that there were thirty women dancers going before it. According to him they had devoted themselves to the idols in perpetual service; he says: "They may not marrie, but prostitute themselves for the most part, all goodly and richly arrayed and carrying lampes burning."¹⁹⁶ Pietro della Valle also notes the practice of the dancing girls accompanying the processions singing and dancing.¹⁹⁷

They danced and sang before the deities daily at specified hours.^{197a} Their service was considered to please God and hence they are known as *devaradiyāls*. Such service was hereditary.

191. *Barbosa*, I, p. 208.

192. *Madhurāvijayam*, canto VI, pp. 56-65.

193. Elliot, *op. cit.* IV, p. 112.

194. See Vincent Smith, *Oxford Hist. of Ind.*, p. 314.

195. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

196. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, pp. 220-21.

197. *Travels*, II, pp. 259-60.

197a. Barbosa says about them: "There are some temples which have a hundred or more women of good birth in them; and some unmarried women put themselves there of their own free will. They are forced to play and sing before the idols for certain hours everyday." *Barbosa*, I, p. 216).

They were generally remunerated from the temple funds. For example, according to a record at Tēkal, some lands were granted to two dancing girls for reciting the *Tiruppallāṇḍu* by the authorities of the temple of Tēkal and one Śokka Perumāḷ-dāsar. The temple authorities and the Dāsar also pledged themselves to rescue them in case any one seized and carried them away owing to their accomplishments in dancing and music.¹⁹⁸

At times deputations to the king were led by the *dēvadāsis* on behalf of the temples they were serving in. According to an inscription of A.D. 1433-34, one Aramvaḷatta Nācciyār, the elder sister of a Kaikkōḷa, attached to the temple of Agnēśvara at Māḍam, sought an interview with king Dēva Rāya II on behalf of a temple and secured from him a copper-plate grant embodying a *sarvamānya* gift of a village. In return for her services the *rudramāhēśvaras* of the temple granted her one *paḍakku* of grain every day and two *paṇams* of money per month.¹⁹⁹

Any description of the women in the Vijayanagar Empire will not be complete without an account of their literary attainments. Barbosa says that they were taught from their childhood to sing, play and dance, to turn about and make many light steps.²⁰⁰ Apart from their knowledge of these arts, many of them were very learned. Gangādēvī, the wife of Kampaṇa and authoress of the *Virakamparāyacaritam*, deserves an honourable place among such literary celebrities. When Acyuta Rāya made a gift of *suvarṇamēru*, a Sanskrit verse was composed by one Voḍūru Tirumalammā, who has been identified with Tirumalāmbā, the authoress of the *Varadāmbikā-pariṇayam*, which describes the marriage of Acyuta Rāya with Varadāmbā.²⁰¹ Rāmabhadrāmbā, the authoress of the *Raghu-nāthābhyudayam*, says that there were in the court of Raghu-nātha of Tañjāvūr many accomplished women proficient in composing four kinds of poetry (*citra*, *bandha*, *garbha*, and *asu*), and capable of explaining the works written in various languages. They were skillful in the art of *śatalekhini* and in filling up literary verse puzzles

198. E.C., X, Mr. 19, M.A.R., 1913-14; para 111.

199. 229 of 1919; Rep., 1919, para. 38.

200. Barbosa, I, p. 208.

201. 9 of 1904; 708 of 1922; M.E.R., 1923, para 81; M.A.R., 1920, para 89

(*padya-pūraṇam*). They were able to compose verses at the rate of one hundred in an hour (*ghaṭikaśata*) and to compose poetry in eight *bhāṣas* (Sanskrit, Telugu and six Prākṛts). They knew how to interpret and explain poems and dramas (*kāvya*s and *nāṭaka*s) composed by famous poets and to explain the secrets of the music of the two sorts (*Karnāṭa* and *Deśa*). They were able to sing very sweetly and play on the *vīṇā* and such other musical instruments as the *Rāvaṇahasta*.²⁰²

202. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 291; see *infra*, Sec. on games and amusements.

SECTION V

Court Life

The grandeur of the court, the method of doing homage to the king, the pleasures enjoyed by him, his transaction of business, and the customary honours that were conferred by him upon officers and servants—these form an interesting study.

The Vijayanagar king lived in great pomp and splendour. When he held his court he was surrounded by the “most imposing attributes of state. Right and left of him stood a numerous crowd of men arranged in a circle.”²⁰³ The kings appear to have used cushions for sitting while they held their courts. Venkaṭa II, for instance, “was sitting in a narrow vestibule.. .. He was seated on a mat and leaning against a pillow. Next to the king ... the crown prince was also seated.. .. On the other side of the king, opposite the prince, Obo (Oba Rāya) and his brother were seated too.”²⁰⁴ During the *Mahānavami* festival the king used to sit on a throne which 'Abdur Razzāk describes : “It was of a prodigious size, made of gold inlaid with beautiful jewels, and ornamented with exceeding delicacy and art; seeing that this kind of manufacture is nowhere excelled in the other kingdoms of the earth. Before the throne there was placed a cushion of *Zaithūni* satin, round which three rows of the most exquisite pearls were sewn.”²⁰⁵ Nicholas Pimenta who visited Jinji in A.D. 1599 describes the court of the Nāyak of the place : “We found him lying on a silken carpet leaning on two Cushions in a silk Garment, a great Chain hanging from his necke, distinguished with many Pearls and Gemmes, all over his

203. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 113.

204. Du Jarric, I, pp. 654-77, quoted by Heras in *Aravidu Dynastry*, I, p. 466; see also Orme, *Hist. Fragments*, p. 61.

205. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 120.

breast, has long haire tyed with a knot on the crowne adorned with Pearls; some princes and Brahmanas attended him."²⁰⁶

One of the important festivals in which the presence of the king was essential was the *Mahānavami*. The festival basically religious in character, slowly gathered some political and social significance. The king presided over the celebrations which lasted for nine days. On all the days there were performances like dance, wrestling and many other amusements. As 'Abdur Razzāk says, "this royal fete continued with the most gorgeous display. One cannot, without entering into great detail, mention all the various kinds of pyrotechny and squibs and various other amusements which were exhibited."²⁰⁷ Paes also gives a vivid account of the *Mahānavami* celebrations and shows how the king's presence was necessary in them.²⁰⁸

As described earlier the king held an annual review of his Army. After the soldiers, elephants, horses and the captains had gathered together on the plains, the king took a review of his forces amidst scenes of great exultation and joy among the assembled crowd.²⁰⁹

An important feature in a medieval oriental court is the custom of making *salām* by the feudatories and captains of the king. Every foreign traveller who visited the Vijayanagar court was impressed with this ceremony and had recorded it in his account. Paes says that the captains waiting at the gate made *salām* to the king daily which consisted of their bowing to him with their hands joined over their heads. As soon as they appear, they make their *salām* to him and place themselves along the walls far off from him; they do not speak one to another, not do they chew betel before him but they place their hands in the sleeves of their tunics (*cabayas*) and cast their eyes on the ground, and when the king desires to speak to any one, it is done through a second person, and then he to whom the king desires to speak raises his eyes and replies to him who questions him and returns to his former position. So they remain till the king bids them go, and then they all turn to make the *salām* to him and go out."²¹⁰ Nuniz, who also observed this custom, says that each came by himself and was introduced to the king by certain

206. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 208.

207. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 119.

208. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 269-74.

209. See *ibid.*, pp. 275-78.

210. *Ibid.*, p. 250.

officers who numbered ten or twelve and whose duty it was to say on the coming of these captains; "See, Your Highness, your captain-so-and-so, who makes *salaam* to you."²¹¹ Another equally important custom was the kissing of the royal feet which appears to have been a rare privilege allowed only to a few persons. 'Abdur Razzāk says that the *Danāik* on his return from Ceylon was "admitted to the honour of kissing the royal feet."²¹² Nuniz notes this custom and says: "The king confers high honour, too, if he permits a certain one to kiss his feet, for he never gives his hand to be kissed by any one".²¹³

Another custom which seems to have existed, but which the foreign travellers have not noticed was that of giving some presents to the king when any one went to see him. Thus, for instance, when one Paḷuttāṇḍi Kuppācāri Ambalakkāran applied for a copper plate charter to Tirumalai Nāyaka and Kīḷavan Sētupati Muḍḍu Rāmalinga Pāṇḍuḍaiyān Torai, he is said to have approached them offering them *śīni śakkarai* (i.e. sugar candy), as *nazar*.²¹⁴

In court or in camp, the king was surrounded by a small retinue of officers and servants who constituted his personal staff and were expected to be always with him. The most important among them was one whom Nuniz calls 'Secretary', who wrote down what the king said and the favours he bestowed, the persons with whom he spoke and upon what subject and such other details. Nuniz says that to these men were given a credit equal to that of the Evangelists, because it was thought that whenever the king spoke there must be something in it worthy to be recorded.²¹⁵ The betel bearer who also remained always with the king was known to inscriptions as *adappam*. Though he was only the 'betel page' of the king, his position, dignity and influence in the state were great. Nuniz says that the page who served Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya with betel had 15,000 foot, and 200

211. *Ibid.*, p. 372.

212. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 117.

213. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 376.

214. *M.E.R.* Cp. 5 and 6 of 1910-11; see *Rep.*, 1911, para 62. It is an old Hindu custom that one should not go to see a king or holy man or superior or even old people or children with empty hands. He should take with him some fruit or as in this case *śīni* (sugar) as a present. It is still the orthodox etiquette in visiting high personages.

215. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 374-75.

horses.²¹⁶ Barradas records that the great Naique of Madura was "a page of the betel of the king of Bisnaga and paid a revenue amounting to 600,000 *pagodas* to the king and had under him many kings and nobles as vassals."²¹⁷

A few other servants were in charge of the wardrobe of the king. Nuniz says that the king never put on any garment more than once and when he took it off, he immediately delivered it to certain officers who had charge of the duty. And they were required to render accounts for the dress they were placed in charge of. Such special officers were required for the reason that the kings had varied and rich clothes.²¹⁸ There were also the bearers of the *cauri* and the *cāmara* and they were to wave them over the head of the king when he was seated in his hall of audience. Paes says that these plumes were tokens of high dignity.²¹⁹

The pageantry of the Vijayanagar court, as of all other medieval oriental courts, rested largely on the number of horses and captains employed in the palace to maintain the dignity of the court. In fact the high social status enjoyed by the captains in the Vijayanagar court was determined by the nature of the duties they performed there ; and the position of the palace guard and the captains of the palace infantry was unique as in the later Mughal court. These captains followed the king wherever he went and maintained the pomp of the court even in camp. Nuniz says that when the king rode out, there went with him usually two hundred horsemen of his guard whom he paid and hundred elephants in addition to the captains forty or fifty in number, who were always in attendance with their soldiers. Two thousand men of good position followed the king, ranged in order on the flanks and armed with shields. In front went the chief *alcaid*²²⁰ with about thirty horsemen with canes in their hands like porters ; but the chief *alcaid* bore a different wand. The Master of the Horse went with the two hundred horsemen along with the

216. *Ibid.*, p. 327.

217. *Ibid.*, p. 230. See E.C. XI Dg. 18 for a mention of a certain Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka as the *aṭṭappam* of Sadāśva. It is probable that the *adppam* had under him two grades of attendants, the *periyapillaiyaṇḍāns* (senior servants) and *cinnapillaiyaṇḍāns* (junior servants) as in the old Pudukottai Durbar (*Pudukottai State Manual*, p. 446).

218. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 383.

219. *Ibid.*, p. 269.

220. These appear to be *Vetrahaṣṭas* of Contemporary literature.

rear guard. Behind the cavalry went hundred elephants with men of high estate riding on them. The Master of the Horse had in front of him twelve saddled destriers in front of which went five elephants, specially for the king's person. Before these elephants marched twenty-five horsemen with banners in their hands and with drums and trumpets and musical instruments played very loudly. Before these went a great drum (*picha*) carried by men at the sides, which they struck now and then. After the king had mounted, he counted the two-hundred horsemen and the hundred elephants and the shield bearers of the guard ; and whoever was missing was severely punished and his property confiscated.²²¹

When Venkaṭa gave a garden party to his wives, he marched with his retinue to the garden outside the city in the following manner ; “ In the van there was a good cavalry detachment headed by a captain, who was a Muhammadan, surrounded by four or five knights ; there were several silk standards in this company ; after this there came a flute and a vinaband ; the players rode several camels ; many foot soldiers were also to be seen. Then the Delevays (Daḷavāys) or chief captains followed ; they proceeded on foot and were fully armed ; in their rear walked one of the royal elephants, over which the imperial standard was carried ; there were several court nobles around. Next, a huge iron gong was carried by four porters, and four soldiers were continuously striking it. The king himself then advanced on a gold sedan-chair with many countries and servants around, who carried four very handsome umbrellas ; then the royal insignia were to be seen on the top of picks ; the hairy tail of a white wild cow, which is very much appreciated in the East ; a big representation of a fish and another of a lion and finally another standard. After this there came the chief Delevay (Daḷavāy) of the kingdom and at last the prince (Raṅga) with the king's wives, accompanied by very many women carried in silver and gold sedan-chairs with great pomp ; the Queens were carried in shining gold litters, covered with rich golden drapery adorned with precious stones ; next to every litter two umbrellas were carried to keep off the glare of the sun ; there were besides many handmaids, moving their fans to and fro on each side of their mistresses. Such was the order of his state procession when the king went to the garden in the suburbs of the city to spend a holiday. He came back on the same

221. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 371-72.

day after sunset ; so many torches illuminated his way that it seemed day in spite of the hour.”²²²

The Vijayanagar kings appear to have followed a regulated programme in the discharge of their duties. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya says in his *Āmuktamālyada* : “A king should spend the morning in the company of officers who inquire about his welfare, the doctors and the astrologers ; the *yāma* after that he should spend in the company of the officers (*kāyasthas*) who collect the revenue along with his ministers and subordinates. The noon he should spend in the company of ascetics well versed in the *Dharmas* of great men (*Ārya*). After dinner he should spend in the company of his dear ones (harem).”²²³

But Paes, who was personally acquainted with Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, gives a different account of the daily programme. He says that the king was accustomed every day to drinking a quartilho (three-quarter pint) of gingelly oil before daylight and anointed himself all over with the said oil ; he covered his loins with a small cloth, and took in his arm great weights made of earthenware, and then taking a sword he took exercise with it till he had sweated out all the oil, and then he wrestled with one of his wrestlers. After that he mounted a horse and galloped about the plain in different directions till dawn. Then he took his bath with the help of a Brahman who was a great favourite of his, after which he went to his chapel which was inside the palace and made his orisons and ceremonies according to custom. After finishing all this he went to his hall of audience where he despatched his work with those men who bore office in his kingdom and governed his cities. Then he talked to his favourites on subjects pleasing to him and after it was over the lords and captains who were waiting at the gate came and made salēm to him.²²⁴

Nuniz does not give all these details, but simply states that at 10 or 11 a.m. when the king came in from where his wives were, the nobles went to make *salām* to him.²²⁵ Thus according to him the king came out to the public hall of audience at ten o'clock at

222. Du Jarrio, I, pp. 673-4; quoted by H. Heras in the *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, pp. 496-97.

223. Canto IV, v. 271.

224. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 249-50.

225. *Ibid.*, p. 372.

the earliest. This evidently refers to the second *yāma* which the king was to spend in the company of the *kāyasthas* according to the *Amuktamālyada*. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's work has, however, nothing to say about the exercise and the worship in the chapel within the palace which Paes is so careful to note. Paes' statement regarding the execution of some work with the 'favourites' evidently refers to the officers and spies who were employed in large numbers. He also notes that the nobles came to make *salām* to the king.

Persons who had done distinguished service were granted certain honours and privileges by the king. Nuniz says that the greatest mark of honour which Acyuta Rāya used to confer on a noble consisted of two fans ornamented with gold and precious stones made of the white tails of certain cows, and bracelets. According to him when he wished to please his captains, or persons from whom he had received or wished to receive good service, he gave them scarves of honour for their personal use and these presentations were held as a great honour. These insignia which the nobles received were usually placed on the ground, whence they took them. When a person was appointed to an important post he was also granted certain privileges and things as insignia of his position and status. According to two inscriptions of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, Nādendle Appa "obtained from the glorious king and minister 'Tikka (the right to use) a palanquin, two *cauris* and a parasol and the posts of superintendent of Vinikonda, Gutti and the City of Kanakagiri and Commander-in-Chief of a large army and the office of sole governor of that kingdom."²²⁶

226. E.I., VI, pp. 130-31. The city of Kanakagiri mentioned here is identical with Kanigiri in the Nellore District. Luders is wrong in identifying it with Amarāvati on the R. Kṛṣṇa.

SECTION VI

Housing, Food and Dress

Housing :

The foreign travellers who visited Vijayanagar and a few other important provincial centres have left brilliant accounts of the immense size of the cities and the palaces and houses in them. The Persian ambassador says that the city of Vijayanagar was so built that it had seven fortified walls one within another. It was in the seventh fortress that the palace of the king was situated.²²⁷ Paes testifies to the fact that it was surrounded by a very strong wall and enclosed a very large space.²²⁸ Outside the entrance to the king's residence were images painted life like. According to Paes they represented Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya and his father. Inside on the left there were two chambers one above the other. The lower one was below the level of the ground with two little steps which were covered with gilded copper, and the way from there to the top was all lined with gold, and outside, it was dome-shaped. It had a four-sided porch made of cane work and embroidered with precious stones. In that chamber was a bed. In the palace there was a room with pillars of carved stone and ivory. Behind these was the dancing hall.²²⁹

An interesting feature about the palaces relates to the pictures painted on their walls. Paes says that there were many chambers in the king's palace at Vijayanagar and in front of one of them were "figures of women, with bows and arrows like amazons."²³⁰

The nobility of Vijayanagar also lived in fully equipped and well provided houses. Barbosa mentions that there were palaces in the city after the fashion of those of the king (with many enclosed courts and great houses very well built), wherein dwelt the great lords and governors.²³¹ Like the palaces of the king, these houses of the

227. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV. pp. 106-7.

228. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

229. See *Ibid.*, pp. 286-88.

230. *Ibid.*, p. 287.

231. Barbosa, I. p. 202.

nobles generally had compounds. According to the account of Paes, from the second line of walls at the capital to the king's palace, there were many streets and rows of houses with many "figures and decorations pleasing to look at."²³² The rich merchants in the city also lived in such houses; the same chronicler says that there was a broad and beautiful street of fine houses, which were owned by rich men who could afford to live in them.²³³ The dancing girls who lived in the city also occupied equally good houses. 'Abdur Razzāk mentions that behind the mint was a sort of bazaar which was more than three hundred yards long and twenty yards broad, on both sides of which there were houses (*khanaha*) and fore-courts (*safhaha*). In front of them instead of benches (*kursi*) were built lofty seats of excellent stone.²³⁴ On each side of the avenue formed by these houses of the nobles and dancing girls were figures of lions, panthers, tigers and other animals, so well painted that they seemed to be alive.²³⁵ The *Pārijātāpaharanamu* also mentions the paintings of birds, swans, doves, parrots and other domesticated animals in these houses.²³⁶

The middle classes appear to have lived in smaller houses. The wide street in front of the Virūpākāṣa temple at the place was a beautiful one with excellent houses with balconies and arcades.²³⁷ In some places the houses appear to have had upper storeys (*mālige*)²³⁸. There are references to *māḍaviḍu* and *kūḍaviḍu* ²³⁹ Paes says that there were more than hundred thousand dwelling houses in Vijayanagar all one storeyed and flat roofed each of which was surrounded by a low wall.²⁴⁰ He was evidently impressed with these houses and says that their general plan was good and they were like terraces. Similar houses were seen at Nāgalāpūra and other important places in the Empire.²⁴¹ 'Abdur Razzāk says that the houses at Bidrūr looked like palaces.²⁴² In the construction of the houses the wood of cocoanut trees was utilised wherever it was available, particularly in the coast areas.²⁴³ The flooring of many of these houses was of mud. It was kept neat and clear by smearing cowdung and water.²⁴⁴

232. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

233. *Ibid.*, p. 255.

234. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV. p. 111.

235. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

236. Canto I, V. 106.

237. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

238. E.C., X. K1. 150.

239. 685 of 1919.

240. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

241. *Ibid.*, pp. 246 and 290.

242. Elliot, *op. cit.*, iv. p. 104.

243. Barbosa, II. p. 91.

244. For a contemporary notice of this practice by Pietro della Valle see his *Travels*, ii. pp. 230-31; also Rockhill, *Notes on the Relations and Trade of China, etc.*, *Toung Pao*, XVI, p. 456.

Houses of the middle classes were arranged "according to occupations in long streets with many open spaces."²⁴⁵ This arrangement of the houses of the people according to their occupation is also evidenced by the inscriptions which mention such streets as *Kammāḷatteru*²⁴⁶ (artisans' street), *Kaikkōḷatteru*²⁴⁷ (weavers' street,) etc.

But the poorer classes of people lived in small thatched and straw houses with only small doors.²⁴⁸ According to Linschoten the doors of these houses were so small that men had to creep in and out. He says : "Their household stuff is a mat upon the ground to sleep upon and a pit or hole in the ground to beat their rice in, with a pot or two to seethe it in, and so they live and gain much, as it is a wonder."²⁴⁹

Large towns appear to have had certain special amenities which smaller towns and villages could not have enjoyed. The first among such was a pleasure garden or park. In the city of Vijayanagar, for instance, there were many groves of trees. The king had close to his palace a palm grove and other rich fruit bearing trees. There were also near the Moorish quarter many orchards and gardens with fruit bearing trees, for the most part mangoes and areca palms and jack trees, orange and lime trees growing so closely one to another that they appeared like a thick forest.²⁵⁰ In many of these parts there were conduits of water which flowed into the midst of them and in certain places there were also lakes.²⁵¹

Another amenity which large cities like Vijayanagar seem to have enjoyed was the town bell which must have been very helpful to the people for knowing the exact time of the day.²⁵²

245. *Barbosa*, I. p. 202. Dames has the following note on this : "The words according to occupation are not expressed separately but are implied in the verb *arrear* according to Bluteau (1789) and Vieyra (1813). The allusion is to the allocation of trades and crafts each to its own quarter *Muhalla* still prevalent in Indian towns." (*Ibid.* fn. 1). See Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 256 for a reference to the Moorish quarter.

246. 396 of 1911.

247. 319 of 1911.

248. Purchase, *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 262; *Barbosa*, I, p. 202. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

249. Purchase *op.cit.*, X. p. 282.

250. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 256-57.

251. *Ibid.*

252. *Pārijāta*, canto, II, v. 3.

Food

The food crops grown in the Vijayanagar Empire were paddy, Indian corn, grains, beans and the like. Of the grains there was a great quantity because, they were used as food by men as also for horses; besides these, excellent wheat was also grown, though on a small scale.²⁵³ These along with beans, moong (green gram), pulses, horse-gram, and many other seeds were all stocked in the market and sold very cheap. Paes says that wheat was not so common and fowls were also used for food by a few classes of people. Three fowls could be had for a *vintem* within the city while outside it four could be had.²⁵⁴

When 'Abdur Razzāk visited the Vijayanagar court he was daily supplied with two sheep, four couples of fowls, five *mans* of rice and one *man* of butter, besides one of sugar.²⁵⁵ Nuniz gives a curious list of food stuffs which constituted the dietary of the Vijayanagar rulers. He says: "These kings of Bisnaga eat all sorts of things, but not the flesh of oxen or cows which they never kill in all the country of the heathen because they worship them. They eat mutton, pork, venison, partridges, hares, doves, quail, and all kinds of birds; even sparrows and rats, and cats and lizards, all of which are sold in the market of the city of Bisnaga."²⁵⁶ With this can be compared the accounts of Paes and Barbosa. Paes, while describing the animal food used at Vijayanagar says that the sheep killed in the city were countless for in every street there were men who sold mutton "so clean and so fat" that it looked like pork; and there were also pigs in the houses of some butchers in certain streets so white and clean that one "could never see in any country."²⁵⁷ Barbosa's description of the food stuffs also tempers the grossly exaggerated picture of Nuniz for he says that the men ate flesh and fish and other meat saving beef only which was "forbidden by their perverse idolatry."²⁵⁸

Though meat seems to have been used by a few people, it appears that all did not use it. The Brahmans, Vaiśyas, Jains and the Lingāyats took only vegetarian food. Nuniz mentions that the Brahmans never killed or ate any living thing.²⁵⁹ Barbosa too notes that

253. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

254. *Ibid.*, p. 257.

255. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 113.

256. Sewell, *op. cit.* p. 375.

257. *Ibid.*, p. 258.

258. Barbosa, I. p. 217.

259. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 390.

their food consisted of honey, butter, rice, sugar, which stewed like pulse and milk. Similarly the Jangamas also ate neither flesh nor fish.²⁶⁰ One gets also some idea about the meal in a Brahman's house from the *Āmuktamālyada*. In the spring it consisted of four or five good curries, ghee, butter, *vaḍāms*, *varavals*, good rice food, and *rasam*; and in the preparation of all these cocoanut was used. In the summer season it included *kūlu*, *ikṣurasam*, cocoanut water, fruits, good smelling water, mangoes and others quite welcome for the season.²⁶¹

We learn about the royal kitchen from the chronicle of Nuniz. He says that the king had no expense in connection with his food (because his nobles sent it to him every day) which consisted of rice, wheat, meat and fowls with all the necessary things. In the royal kitchen there were some two hundred inferior guards with four persons over them and two officers of the guard, who were also captains of soldiers. But these 'porters' were not allowed to go further inside than through four or five doors, for there were only eunuchs and women inside.²⁶² The chronicler says in another place that king 'Acyuta Rāya had ten women cooks for his personal service' who prepared food for no one except the king.²⁶³ But at times when the king gave banquets he employed a few others. He had a eunuch for guarding the gate of the kitchen, and it was his duty to see that no one entered the place for fear of poison. The king generally ate alone, and was served by women whose duty it was to prepare the table for him; they would place for him a three-legged stool, round and made of gold, and on it were put the messes which were brought in large vessels of gold while the smaller ones were brought in basins of gold some of which were adorned with precious stones. There was no cloth on the table, but one was brought only when the king had finished eating; then he washed his hands and mouth.²⁶⁴

'Abdur Razzāk says that it was the custom of the "infidels" not to eat in the presence of one another.²⁶⁵ But Nuniz, while describing a banquet prepared by the brother of Dēva Rāya II, says that the nobles invited were at their table. However, he notes that it was the custom among them to place upon the table all that there

260. *Brabosa*, I, pp. 217-18.

261. Canto I, vv. 80 and 81.

262. *Sewell*, *op. cit.*, p. 371.

263. *Ibid.*, p. 382.

264. *Ibid.*, pp. 382-83.

265. *Elliot*, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 115.

was for eating and drinking and there was to be no one present in the hall except those that had come to eat.²⁶⁶

The ordinary people appear to have used leaves to eat their food from. Thus an inscription of A.D. 1524 mentions that one Śūrappārāja freed the *tammāla* servants of a temple from supplying leaves (used for eating food) to that temple free of cost in return for some work.²⁶⁷ The leaves of areca palm also seem to have been used for taking food.²⁶⁸ There appear to have been public eating houses in a few important places. Vijayanagar for instance, had such an eating house, where stone slabs with hollows in them for rice and curries were used for eating. Travellers may have been required to pay according to the kind of slab they selected.²⁶⁹ Besides such places, there were many public choultries where travellers were fed free for a specified number of days. record of A.D. 1489-90 found at Koḍuvāy in the Chingleput District registers for instance, the provision of *kambu* for meals for Brahman travellers.²⁷⁰

There appear to have been sweetmeat shops also (*miṭṭāy aṅgaḍi*) in some places in the Empire.²⁷¹

Dress

The kings spent large sums of money on dress. They appeared in court clothed in a robe of *Zaitun* (*satin*).²⁷² According to Paes, Kṣṛṇadēva Rāya was dressed in certain white clothes embroidered with many roses in gold.²⁷³ Nuniz also says that the kings wore silk clothes (*pachoiis*)²⁷⁴ of very fine material and worked with gold which were worth each ten *pardaos*; they wore at times *bajurís*

266. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 303; here the accounts of the Persian ambassador and Nuniz are contradictory. In the light of the latter's statement it is reasonable to hold that the former's statement is unreliable, and that only a few people, perhaps men of the lower orders, were excluded from such banquets. Then again Nuniz's allusion to the custom of the servers of food remaining outside after laying the covers is not to be taken as the usual rule, for the peculiar circumstances and the reason for which that banquet was given would have necessitated the servants being kept outside the banqueting hall.

267. 91 of 1912.

268. *Amukta*, canto IV, v. 35.

269. See Gribble, *A History of the Deccan*, I, pp. 70-71.

270. 109 of 1920; see also 152 of 1901.

271. *Karnataka Kavacarite*, II, p. 336.

272. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 113 and *f.n.*

273. Sewell *op. cit.*, p. 251.

274. Silken trappings (*Ibid.*, p. 377).

of the same sort which were like shirts with a skirt.²⁷⁵ When they went to war they wore a quilted dress of cotton over which was put another garment with golden plasters with jewels all round it.²⁷⁶

The kings wore "a cap of gold brocade two spans long"²⁷⁷ which according to Paes was in the 'fashion of a Galician helmet covered with a piece of fine stuff all of silk.²⁷⁸ Nuniz, who also saw the cap worn by Acyuta Rāya says that it was worth twenty *cruzados* and adds that when he lifted it from his head, he never again, put it on.²⁷⁹

Some of the well-to-do people as also some others wore clothes a girdle below "wound very tightly in many folds and short white shirt of cotton or silk 'or coarse brocade" which were gathered between the thighs but were open in front. On their heads they carried small turbans while some wore silk or brocade caps.²⁸⁰ Caesar Frederick also describes the dress of the people: "The apparell that they use in Bezeneger is Velvet, Satten, Damaske, Scarlet, or white Bumbast cloth, according to the estate of the person, with long Hats on their heads called Colae, made of Velvet, Satten, Damaske, or Scarlet, girding themselves instead of Girdles with some fine Bumbast cloth; they have breeches after the order of the Turkes."²⁸¹ Varthema says that the common people went quite naked with the exception of a piece of cloth about their middle.²⁸²

Wool was very little used; Nicolo dei Conti says that the people wore a linen cloth round the body; he adds they could not wear more clothing on account of the great heat.²⁸³

275. *Ibid.*, p. 283.

276. *Varthema*, (Jones). p. 129.

277. *Ibid.*

278. Sewell, *op. cit.* pp. 251-2.

279. *Ibid.*, p., 383. Barradas gives an account of the origin of these caps. See Saletoire, *Pol. and Soc. Life in the Vij. Emp.*, II. 299.

280. *Barbosa*, I. p. 205.

281. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X. p. 99.

282. *Varthema*, (Jones), p. 129. The fact that many people wore only a cloth round their waist has led some foreign travellers like Varthema speak of the nakedness of the Indians. But it may be noted that the insufficiency of clothing was not entirely due to poverty for the climate of the country would not allow the use of heavy dress. The important and perhaps the great difference between the rich and the poor in their dress was in its quality and variety. As Vasco da gama says: "the richer men dress in the same manner, but they make use in silk stuffs, reddish or scarlet, or of other colours as seems good to them." (*The First Voyage*, p. 133)

283. Major, *India*, p. 22.

People were also accustomed to the use of footwear. Nicolo dei Conti observed that the people wore sandals with purple and golden ties.²⁸⁴ Barbosa also noted the practice of the people using rough shoes on their feet (without stockings).²⁸⁵ Paes describes the shoes: "The shoes have pointed ends, in the ancient manner, and there are other shoes, that have nothing but soles, but on the top are some straps which help to keep them on the feet. They are made like those which of old the Romans were wont to wear, as you will find on the figures in some papers or antiquities which come from Italy."²⁸⁶ Caesar Frederick mentions that the people wore on their feet plain high things called Aspergh.²⁸⁷ But here too it was only the rich people who wore shoes, for as Paes himself says: "The majority of the people, or almost all, go about the country barefooted."²⁸⁸ Nikitin also records that the people of the Deccan went about barefooted.²⁸⁹

Foreign visitors refer to the use of umbrellas. Barbosa describes vividly how they were held. He says: "They (the lords and the kings) also take another who holds an umbrella (lit. a shade hat with a handle) to shade them and keep off the rain, and of these some are made of finely worked silk with many golden tassels and precious stones and seed pearls. They are also so made as to open and shut and may cost three or four hundred *cruzados*."²⁹⁰ Apparently all this does not refer to the ordinary people, for most of them lived in "grovelling poverty".

Women, viz. the courtezans and the wives of nobles, wore very rich dress. According to Barbosa they wore white garments of very thin cotton or silk of bright colours, five yards long, one part of which was girt round below and the other part thrown over one shoulder and across their breasts in such a way that one arm and shoulder remained uncovered.²⁹¹ Pietro della Valle states that women were clothed with figured silk from the girdle downwards, and were "from thence upward either naked, or else with very pure linen, either of one colour, or striped and wrought with several

284. *Ibid.*

285. Barbosa, I, p. 205.

286. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

287. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 99.

288. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

289. Major, *India*, p. 12.

290. Barbosa I, pp. 206-07; Dames has a note on the umbrellas. He says: "From their elaborate ornamentation and high price they must have been luxury used only by the most wealthy." (See *ibid.*, pp. 206-07 *fn.*)

291. Barbosa, I, p. 207.

besides a scarf of the same work cast over the shoulder."²⁹² Women appear to have worn two cloths over their body, one a small one, covering the front of the person and the other a bigger one covering the whole body. Nicolo dei Conti says: "Almost all, both men and women, wear a linen cloth bound round the body, so as to cover the front of the person, and descending as low as the knees and over this a garment of linen or silk which with the women (descends) to the ankles."²⁹³ The *Āmuktamālyada* also refers almost to this kind of double dress worn by the women when it mentions the *pāvāḍa* and the *paṭṭa* (mantle).²⁹⁴

Sometimes women appear to have worn a head dress. Paes notes that the women who took part in the *Mahānavami* festival wore high thin caps (*collaes*) embroidered with flowers made of pearls.²⁹⁵ But neither Barbosa nor Pietro della Valle mentions this head dress worn by women. Barbosa says that their heads were uncovered and the hair was "tightly gathered into a becoming knot on the top of the head."²⁹⁶ Pietro della Valle too observes that their "heads were deck'd with yellow and white flowers formed into a high large diadem, with some striking out like sun beams and others twisted together, and hanging down in several fashions which made a pretty sight."²⁹⁷ Probably some head dress seems to have been worn by a few women on certain ceremonial occasions.

In a few places women used to wear shoes. Nicolo dei Conti who noted this custom says: "In some places the women have shoes made of thin leather ornamented with gold and silk."²⁹⁸

But all this description refers only to women who belonged to the higher classes in the society; others could not have afforded all these.

292. *Travels*, II. pp. 257-8.

293. Major, *India*, p. 22.

294. Canto VI, v. 18.

295. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

296. Barbosa, I, p. 207.

297. *Travels*, II, p. 258.

298. Major, *India*, p. 23.

SECTION VII

Luxuries

The pageantry and grandeur of the court, and the habits of a few classes of people gave rise to certain wants which came to be satisfied. The people craved after some luxuries which seemed necessary not only to maintain their position and status, but also to satisfy their passion for display. The luxuries of the period consisted of ornaments, perfumes, betel and other stimulating substances.

Ornaments :

The Hindus had a great liking for costly ornaments which they generally wore on important occasions. No foreign traveller who visited Vijayanagar failed to be struck by the costly jewels worn by kings and people alike. ‘ Abdur Razzāk, for instance, referring to the ornaments worn by Dēva Rāya II, says that “ he had round his neck a collar composed of pure pearls of regal excellence and the value of which a jeweller would find difficult to calculate.”²⁹⁹ Paes too observes : “ The kings had “ collars on the neck with jewels of gold very richly set with many emeralds and diamonds and rubies and pearls; and besides this, many strings of pearls and others for shoulder belts; on the lower part of the arms many bracelets with half of the upper arm all bear, having armlets in the same way all of precious stones; on the waist many girdles of gold and of precious stones from which girdles hang in order one below the other almost as far down as the thigh; besides these belts they have other jewels; and many strings of pearls round the ankles for they wear very rich anklets even of greater value than the rest. They carry in their hands vessels of gold each as large as a small cask of water; inside these are some loops made of pearls fastened with wax and inside all this a lighted lamp.”³⁰⁰

299. Elliot, *op.cit.*, IV, p. 113.

300. Sewell, *op. cit.*, 252; also p. 273.

The people also bedecked themselves with costly ornaments and 'Abdur Razzāk says : " All the inhabitants of the country, whether high or low even down to the artificers of the bazaar wear jewels and gilt ornaments in their ears and around their necks, arms, wrists and fingers." ³⁰¹ Barbosa mentions many rings set with precious stones and many ear-rings set with many fine pearls on their ears.³⁰²

About the ornaments used by women, we get equally valuable details. Barbosa speaks of the nose screws made of fine gold wire with a pearl, sapphire or ruby pendant, ear-rings set with many jewels, necklaces of gold and jewels and very fine coral beads, bracelets of gold and precious stones and many coral beads fitted to their arms.³⁰³ Paes' description of the women is more detailed. He says that the women assembled at the capital for the *Mahānavami* festival wore collars round their necks with jewels of gold very richly set with many emeralds, diamonds, rubies and pearls, many bracelets round their lower arms and many girdles of gold and precious stones which hung in order one below the other almost as far down as half the thigh. Besides these the women wore many other jewels such as strings of pearls round the ankles.³⁰⁴

Inscriptions also give us some idea of the ornaments used in those days. An inscription of A.D. 1446 mentions the following ones : large diadem (*paṭṭa*), neck-ring (*paṭṭakārai*), two joined neck-rings (*iraṇḍupaṭṭakkārai*), nose ornament (*mūkkutti*), eyes for idols (*tirukkaṇmalar*), chest ornaments (*padakkam*),³⁰⁵ etc.

As a mark of distinction the *gaṇḍapeṇḍāram* or the anklet of the heroes was worn by men of distinction.

Perfumes and Flowers :

The people used perfumes for fragrance. They anointed themselves after their bath with white sandalwood, aloes, camphor, musk and saffron, all fine ground and kneaded with rose water.³⁰⁶ The women used to apply saffron or musk to their breasts in winter.³⁰⁷ Along with the perfumes may be mentioned scented flowers used by them.³⁰⁸

301. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV. p. 109.

302. Barbosa, I, p. 207

303. *Ibid.*, pp. 207-08

304. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

305. 35 of 1891; S.I.I., II, p. 340.

306. Barbosa, I, p. 205.

307. *Amukta.*, II, v. 60.

308. Barbosa, I, p. 207.

Betel Leaf:

A stimulating substance consumed then, as even now, was the betel leaf, taken along with lime and arecanut. The Persian ambassador notes this practice and naively adds that "it is probably owing to the stimulating properties of this leaf, and to the aid of this plant, that the king of that country (Vijayanagar) is enabled to entertain so large a seraglio."³⁰⁹ It was used on all ceremonial functions; and it was the first thing offered to visitors.³¹⁰ It was, however, the peculiar custom observed in the Vijayanagar court that no one except the dancing women were allowed to use betel leaf in the presence of the king.³¹¹

Beds:

The luxury and pomp which prevailed in the court is also borne out by the costly and well equipped beds which were used in the palace. While describing a bed room in it, Paes says: "It has a four-sided porch made of cane-work over which is a work of rubies and diamonds,³¹² and all other kinds of precious stones, and pearls, and above the porch are two pendants of gold; all the precious stone work is in heart shape and interweaved between one and another is a twist of thick seed-pearl work; on the dome are pendants of the same. In this chamber was a bed which had feet similar to the porch, the cross bars covered with gold and there was on it a mattress of black satin; it had all around it a railing of pearls a span wide; on it were two cushions and no other covering."³¹³ He also speaks of another "cot of silver with its curtains."³¹⁴ Nuniz also has something to say about the beds in the palace at Vijayanagar; and about Acyuta Rāya he says: "The bedstead in which his wives sleep are covered and adorned with silver plates. Every wife has her bed in which she sleeps, and that of the King is plated and lined and has all its legs of gold, its mattress of silk, and its round bolster worked round the ends with large seed pearls. It has four pillows of the same pattern for the feet, and has no other sheet than a silk cloth on top. He always carries with him a mosquito curtain with a frame of silver;³¹⁵ and he has a house made

309. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 114.

310. Pietro della Valle, *Travels*, I. pp. 36-7.

311. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

312. See Sewell's note on this at p. 285 *ibid.*

313. *Ibid.*, p. 285.

314. *Ibid.*, p. 286.

315. See Sewell's note at p. 285 *op. cit.*

of pieces of iron in which is contained a very large bed, which is intended for such times as he takes the field."³¹⁶ He also says that he took with him a bedstead of ivory inlaid with gold if a son or daughter followed him to the battlefield.³¹⁷

Swing-cots were also in use. Paes says that in a particular corridor there was a cot suspended in the air by silver chains. "The cot had feet made of bars of gold so well made that they could not be better, and the cross bars of the cot were covered with gold; this cot had feet of gold with much setting of precious stones and the cross bars were covered with gold."³¹⁸

Vessels :

The luxury of the court was also seen in the vessels used in the palace. All the things employed in the services in the palace, such as basins, bowls, stools, ewers and other articles, were made of gold and silver. Rooms were covered with silver plates and gold wires.³¹⁹

316. *Ibid.*, pp 369-70.

317. *Ibid.*, p. 370.

318. *Ibid.*, p. 287.

319. See *Ibid.*, pp. 369-70 and also pp. 285, 289.

SECTION VII

Games and Amusements

In the midst of toil, life in the Empire allowed plenty of scope for games and other amusements for all classes of people. One of the games largely participated in by the people high and low was wrestling. The one peculiarity about wrestling was that severe blows were given in such seriousness that teeth would be broken and eyes would be put out, faces would be disfigured and at times men had to be carried away speechless by their friends. They had their captains and judges who were there to put each one on an equal footing in the field and also to adjudge the honours to the winner.³²⁰ Nuniz confirms the above account of Paes: "The king has a thousand wrestlers for these feats who wrestle before the king but not in our manner for they strike and wound each other with two circlets with points, which they carry in their hands to strike with and the one most wounded goes and takes his reward in the shape of a silk cloth such as the king gives to these wrestlers. They have a captain over them and they do not perform any other service in the kingdom"³²¹

Du Jarric describes wrestling matches: "One who would wrestle strips himself. Then several strong and brawny youths called *geitas* who are ready beforehand, rub the nobleman; then they box, jump, fence and take other kinds of exercise with him, in order to strengthen him; and this they do until perspiration flows freely. Then the *geitas* cover the whole of the nobleman's body with sand and massage him, and move his arms and legs in every direction, as if they would disjoint his bones. Finally the nobleman is brushed, anointed and washed with warm water; and when dry, dresses himself; Noblemen take this kind of exercise almost every day before dinner in order to be fit and healthy; thus men as old as seventy look only thirty."³²²

The kings themselves seem to have practised wrestling for Paes says that Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya used to wrestle each day with one of his wrestlers.³²³

320. Paes: Sewell, *op cit.*, p. 271; see also p. 268.

321. *Ibid.*, p. 378.

322. Du Jarric, I. pp. 684-85; quoted by Heras in his *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, p. 313-14.

323. Sewell, *op cit.*, p. 249.

Duelling too seems to have been in vogue. Great honour was done to those who fought in a duel, and the estate of the dead man was given to the survivor. According to Nuniz who has left the above details, no one could fight a duel without first asking leave of the minister, which was, however, very formal, for it was forthwith granted.³²⁴ Barbosa also mentions duels which he witnessed and his accounts are of great value as they contain interesting details about them. He says: "They are accustomed to challenge one another to duels, and when a challenge has been accepted and the king gives his permission, the day for the duel is fixed by the persons challenged, and the weapons to be used must be according to measure; that of the one of the same length as that of the other. The king appoints seconds and a field for the fight, and when this has been done they go thither naked covered only with some cloth wrapped round their middles, with very cheerful faces. Then after saying their prayers they begin to fight, and as they are bare it is over in a few strokes in the presence of the king and his court. No man may speak to them while they are fighting, except the seconds, each of them stands by his own man, and this is such a common practice among them that some are slain daily."³²⁵ Castanheda also describes this practice, and he adds that the king gave a gold chain to the person whom he considered to be very brave in duelling and he was expected to defend it against anyone who challenged him: He also says that men engaged themselves in duels for the love of women, on account of which sometimes they lost their lives.³²⁶

There appear to have been special gymnasiums where these duels and wrestling were held; and for their maintenance lands were granted tax-free. Thus a record at Candravaḷḷi dated A.D. 1677 records the grant of a rent free land for maintaining a gymnasium.³²⁷ The *Raghunāthābhyudayam* also mentions the existence of such a gymnasium at Tanjāvūr.³²⁸

Du Jarric describes the gymnasium at Candragiri: "The house fitted for this has a yard in the centre, the pavement of

324. *Ibid.*, pp. 383-84.

325. *Barbosa*, I, pp. 190-91.

326. Castanheda, Bk. II, Ch. p. 16, 53, referred to in *Barbosa*, II, p. 236 *fn*; see also Vol. I, p. 190 *fn* 2; for Nuniz's account of Kṛṣṇadeva Raya's invitation to Vira Bhadra for a duel with a professional man, see Sewell *op cit.*, pp. 319-320

327. *M.A.R.*, 1929, No. 2.

328. S.K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 265

which is covered with a layer of lime so smooth that it looks like a mirror: there is a walk around it, spread over with red sand, on which they rest as on a soft bed.”³²⁹

Hunting afforded another pastime to the rulers as well as to the people. The kings took great interest in elephant hunts. Dēva Rāya II was called a *Gajabēṭekāra* or *Gajabēṭakāra* (hunter of elephants).³³⁰ The king also took great delight in witnessing elephant hunts, which is indicated by the title *gajavēṭṭai kaṇḍu aruḷiya* (who witnessed the elephant hunt)³³¹ ‘Abdur Razzak gives a vivid description of the method followed in hunting and catching elephants.³³² Similarly boars and deer seem to have been hunted. The kings very often took the title *Gajamr̥gāvāvihāra* (sportful hunter of the elephant)³³³ Deva Raya is said to have attempted a boar hunt.³³⁴ In all these hunts, hawks and falcons seem to have been used on a large scale as is indicated by such words and titles as *sāḷuva* and *rāya pakṣi sāḷuva*.³³⁵ Ferishtah, however says that the Hindus were strangers to the use of hawks.³³⁶ This is obviously wrong for there is evidence to show that the use of hawks was known to the Hindus as is indicated by the above titles.³³⁷

Horse riding was also a pastime of the people. The carvings on the temple walls and pillars representing men riding on prancing horses show to what great extent horses were used in wars. A certain chief Allappa Nāyaka is called in a record of A.D. 1383 Champion over Maṇḍalikas who mounted a horse with the help of a stool or stirrup.³³⁸ This title also shows how popular horse-riding was.

329. Du. Jarric I. p. 684-5 quoted by Rev. H. Heras in *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, pp. 313-14; see also Sewel *op cit.*, p. 378.

330. *A.S.R.*, 1907-08 p. 250; for a discussion on this title see the same

331. 337 of 1908.

332. Elliot. *Hist. of Indi.*, IV, pp. 109-11.

333. *E.C.* IV, Gu. 67.

334. *Ibid*, Cn. 195.

335. *E.C.* X. Mr. 1.

336. Briggs, *The Rise*, II, p. 405.

337. See also Elliot *op cit.* IV p. 121, where falconers are mentioned as having been engaged - by Deva Raya II, though we are not given the purpose for which they were engaged.

338. *M.A.R.* 1914-15, para 59.

Among other pastimes of the people chess was one; and **Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's** daughter appears to have been an expert in that game ³³⁹.

Apart from these games the theatre, dance and music provided great entertainment to the people.

We get some details about the Vijayanagar stage from the literature of the period. Poet Gangādharma, a contemporary of Mallikārjuna Rāya composed a great play in Sanskrit called *Gangādāsa-pratāpavilāsam* at the request of prince Gangādāsa, the ruler of the Pavācala State. For this work, he was greatly honoured with a *kanakābhiṣeka* (bathing in gold). But there was no one found in that court to enact it. Hence an actor of the court of Mallikārjuna proposed to go to the court of Gangādāsa to stage it there ³⁴⁰. **Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya**, himself a great scholar as we have seen, wrote a Sanskrit play called *Jāmbavatkalyānam*. In the prologue to the work it is said that it was enacted before the people assembled to witness the *Caitra* (Spring) festival of Virūpākṣa at Vijayanagar ³⁴¹. Inscriptional evidence also shows that theatres were known in the Vijayanagar days. An inscription of A.D. 1514-15 records a gift of land by Karnam Basaparasa, son of Sōmarasa of Tiruppatūru, to a certain Naṭṭuva Nāgayya, whose father Cegayya was connected with the drama *Tayikuṇḍanāṭaka*, and to the daughter of Naṭṭuva Timmaya of Pōtavari who was a *pātrī* (actress?) ³⁴². Thus farces seem to have not only been written in the Vijayanagar days, but also enacted before the public.

A miniature imitation of the drama was the puppet show, which seems to have been very popular in the period. A record of A.D. 1521 registers the grant of the village of Uppa Kuntipale belonging to Sadali free of all imposts to the puppet player (*bommālāṭa*) Puruvati Purāṇar Virappa's son Kṛṣṇappa (Kṛṣṇappa) by one

339. Some Milestones of Telugu Literature, by S. Subbaramanyya Pantulu *Ind. Ant.*, XXVII, p. 299.

According to Dr. S. K. Aiyangar (*Sources*, p. 138), Kṛṣṇadeva Raya granted to poet Nandi Timmayya an *agrahara* for his skill in playing dice. But the line under consideration '*Kṛṣṇaraya Kṣitisa Karuna samalabdha ghana caturantayana mahagrahara sanmanayutudu*', meaning who was honoured with *ghana caturantayana* (palainquin?) and a *mahagrama* (great village) by the grace of Kṛṣṇa Raya.

340. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 66.

341. *Ibid.*, p. 142.

342. 558 of 1915.

Ganga Rāya Dēva Mahārāja Aya.³⁴³ A record of an earlier date also mentions the puppet players. It begins as follows: "As the stage manager pulls the strings of the puppet and makes him dance, so (?) control my actions".³⁴⁴

Dance was greatly encouraged by the Vijayanagar court. Gōpa Tippa wrote a book on dancing.³⁴⁵ This art was so perfect under the Vijayanagar kings that when for instance, Abdur Razzāk saw it exhibited before the idol during the *Mahānavami* festival, he was so enraptured that he says: "The girls began to move their feet with such grace that wisdom lost its senses and the soul was intoxicated with delight."³⁴⁶ The *devadasis* (servants of God) as the dancing girls were called were attached to temples, and when food was offered to God they danced before the idol and themselves gave Him food and all that was necessary.³⁴⁷ Nuniz, speaking about the dancing girls attached to the palace, says that every Saturday they were obliged to dance and posture before the king's idol which was in the interior of his palace.³⁴⁸ There was a dancing hall in the palace where the ladies and courtezans underwent the necessary training. Paes gives a vivid description of the hall. It was long and narrow supported by many half pillars on all sides and was gilt. Between every two pillars there was a panel. There were also images between them and between the images and pillars ran a design of foliage like plates all gilt with the reserves of leaves in red and blue. The images were those of dancing women having little drums. The designs of the panels showed the positions at the ends of dances in such a way that on each panel there was a dancer in the proper position at the end of a dance. This was to teach the women, so that if they forgot the position in which they had to remain when the dance was performed, they might look at the panels where was represented the position to be taken at the end of the dance. By this they were able to keep in mind what they had to do. There was also a painted recess where the women used to "cling on with their bodies and legs." There they were taught to make the whole

343. E. C. X. Sd. 100.

344. *Ibid.* XII, Gb. 29.

345. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 63.

346. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV p, 118.

347. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp, 241-42.

348. *Ibid.*, p. 379.

body supple so that their dance might be made more graceful. The king used to watch these dances. In the middle of the wall in the hall was a golden image of a girl of twelve years with her arms in the posture adopted at the end of a dance.³⁴⁹ Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjāvūr was so proficient in the art and theory of dance that he was able to design a new type of dance which came to be called *Raghunāthavilāsa*, after himself.³⁵⁰

Allied to dance was *kōlāṭṭam* or stick play. Young girls trimly clad used to go round the streets in small batches "all of them carrying in each hand a little round painted stick, about a span long or a little more, which they struck together after a musical measure to the sound of drums and other instruments, and one of the skilfullest of the company, sung one verse of a song, at the end of which they all reply'd seven or eight times in the number of their metre with the word *cole, cole, cole*.³⁵¹ They thus went to the temple followed by other women, and used to dance in circles in the temples till late in the night.³⁵² Pietro della Valle who noted this custom says that this was a festival which they celebrated for three days at the end of a certain feast in honour of Gaurī wife of Mahōdaka, and hence it was celebrated by girls.³⁵³

Music received great encouragement in the Vijayanagar court. Inscriptions mention the names of certain instruments like *bhēri*, *dundubhi*, *mahāmuraja*³⁵⁴ and *vīna*.³⁵⁵ The use of *tambūra* was well known and an inscription of A. D. 1533 records a grant of land made by one Allappa Nāyaka to the *tambūra* players (*tam-maṭukaraige*) of the Hanūmanta temple at Huruvaḷi³⁵⁶. According to the *Ying Yai Shēng Lan* the musical instrument of the people of Calicut was made of bottle gourd with strings made of copper wire. It says that in singing the music the harmonious tinkling of pieces of metal could be heard in the accompaniment.³⁵⁷ It appears that

349. Sewell. *op. cit.*, pp. 288-89.

350. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 291.

351. This evidently is the refrain of the song:

Kolu kole kolanna kole,

Kolu kole celi melu kove

352. Pietro della Valle, *Tra els.* II, pp. 258-9.

353. *Ibid.*, p. 259. It is suggested that the festival referred to is the well-known *Gobbi Panduga*, corresponding to the Tamil *Pongal*.

354. *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 153.

355. *Ibid.*, II, Sb. 258.

356. *Ibid.*, VIII Sb. 379 for another reference see XII, Gb. 29.

357. Rockhill, Notes on the relations and Trade of China, *Toung Pao*, XVI, p. 458.

in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries considerable change was brought about in the science of music in South India which led to the writing of books on the subject. Gopa Tippha wrote a book on music determining the different ways of keeping time ³⁵⁸

Pedakōmati Vēma of the Reddi dynasty was the author of a work on music, the *Sangītacintāmani*. Sarvajña Sangama of the Rācerla family was a distinguished scholar who wrote works like the *Nāṭakaparibhāsa*, *Sangītasudhākara* and *Rasārṇavasudhākara*. Kallinātha who lived in the days of Dēva Rāja II wrote a commentary on the *Sangītaratnākara* of Sārangadēva. The *Ugābhoga* style of music developed from this period onwards. During this period the Tallapākkam family of musician-poets became well known by their books on music. There were four generations among them beginning with Annamācāryā, the author of three works on music namely the *Adhyātmāsankīrtanalu*, *Sṛṅgāra Sankīrtanalu* and the *Sṛṅgāra mañjarī*, all composed in devotion to Lord-Venkaṭeśa of Tirupati. Annamācārya's son was Tirumallayyangār, who composed eight works, most of them addressed to the same god. Among them are the *Sṛṅgārakīrtanalu*. *Sṛṅgaradaṇḍakamu* and the *Udāharaṇamu*³⁵⁹. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya is said to have been unrivalled in music and rhetoric³⁶⁰. Śrīpādarāyasvāmi, said to have been a *guru* of Sāluva Narasimha, is credited with the composition of hundreds of scientific musical compositions, like the *Ugābhoga*, *Sulādi Gīta* and *Prabandha*. Sri Vādirāja Svāmi, Purandaradāsa and Kanakadāsa who belonged to the *Dāsa kūṭa* composed two classes of songs, *Gītas* and *Prabandhas* on one hand and *Ugābhogas*, on the other³⁶². It is said that Purandaradāsa illustrated such *rāga* by a song and the total number of his compositions is estimated at 475,000³⁶³. Kṛṣṇa, a great scholar and musician, who had specialised in the art of playing on the *viṇā*, and who was the great-grandfather on the maternal side of Rāghavēndra, taught the emperor Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya how to play on the *viṇā* and got from him as *gurudakṣiṇā* a costly pearl necklace and other jewels³⁶³

Rāma, Rāya took great pleasure in music on the *viṇā* and singing ³⁶⁴. Further according to the *Svaramelakalānidhi* by

358. S.K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 63.

359. *T.T.D.I.*, Report pp. 279-83.

360. *E.I.*, I, p. 401.

361. *Vijayanagar Centenary Volume*, p. 375.

362. See *J.M. S.*, XXIX p. 21.

363. S.K. Aiyangar, *Sp. cit.* p. 252.

364. *E.C.* XII, C.k. 39

Rāmayāmātya, Rāma Rāya spent his time amidst scholars versed in music and other arts. This Rāmayāmātya had great skill in the art of music. At the suggestion of Venkatadri he also wrote his *Svaramelakalanidhi*. He has tried to settle in the book several points of dispute among scholars about music³⁶⁵. Contemporaneous with him was Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala who was the author of four works on music, namely the *Sagrāgacandrodaya*, *Rāgamañjari*, *Rāgamālā* and *Nartana Nirnaya*.

Ragunātha Nāyaka of Tanjāvūr was another great authority on music. He was the author of new *rāgas* like *Jayantasena* and new *tālas* like *Rāmānanda*. He is also said to have taught the art of playing on the *vinā* to many musicians. He was also the inventor of a new *mēla* after his own name in which any recognised raga could be played³⁶⁶.

Venkata Makhi, the son of Gōvinda Diksita of Tanjāvūr wrote an important work on music called *Caturdandiprakāśika*. He was a disciple of Tānappācārya who was a descendent in the scholastic line of Śārṅgadēva. His work analyses the basis of the present day southern system of music and treats of its *rāga* classification "The *rāgas* are arranged under seventytwo primary *rāgas* called *mēlakartas* with a large number of derivative *rāgas* attached to each. This author makes use of the twelve semitones only in describing the *rāgas* ³⁶⁷"

Women were also well-versed in the two varieties of music *Karnāat* and *Dēsa*. They were able to sing very sweetly and to play on the *vinā* and such other musical instruments as the *Rāvanahasta*. Raghunātha examined the proficiency of all of them and honoured them with *Kanakābhiseka*. Some of the songs sung before him were designed by himself. The chief *rāgas* that were sung were *Jayamañgala*, *Simhalalīla*, *Jayanissaru* (?) and *Kacaccaritra*. Some of the *tālas* to which they were played were *Ratilīla*, *Turaṅgālīla*, *Rāṅgābharana*, *Anaṅgaparikramana*, *Abhinandana*, *Nandanandana* and *Abhimala* ³⁶⁸.

365. *Svaramelakalanidhi* ed. by M.S.Ramaswamy Ayyar, *Intro*, pp. XV-IXii; S.K. Aiyangar *op. cit.*, p. 190.

366. *Sangitondha*, S.K. Aiyangar, *ibid.*, 269.

367. Popley, *The Music of India*, pp. 18-19.

368. *Raghunathabhyudayam*, Ramabhadramba, S.K. Aiyangar, *Sources* p.19.

CHAPTER IX

AGRICULTURE AND LAND TENURES

SECTION I

Articles of Agricultural Production

Among the industries in India, by far the most important is agriculture. Considering its present position it may be stated that it was and will continue to be the most important single industry of the country employing the greater portion of the Indian population. At the present day about seventy-five per cent of the population depend on agriculture for their livelihood. On the prosperity of the agricultural industry depends various things. The important Indian manufactures largely depend on large agricultural production; the purchasing power of the people depends on it; the Indian trade, both export and import, depends on it; and finally the soundness, of the finances of the Government of India largely depend on agricultural prosperity.

Peninsular India has a peculiar physical geography. Like peninsular Italy, it is surrounded by sea on three sides. Along its western boundary runs a huge mountain chain which has influenced the climate and agricultural production of the peninsula. Along the east coast also runs a range of hills culminating in the south in a knot of mountains - the Nilgiri hills. The general slope of the Deccan plateau is from west to east and many of the great rivers of South India therefore flow from the west to the east. The mountain chain on the west coast of the peninsula has the effect of arresting the lower strata of rain clouds and causing excessive rain on the seaward side of the coast. Comparatively little rain however, falls on the landward side of the range. Where the mountain range is not high, rain clouds are not checked in their eastward course. In the central tableland covered by the modern districts of Bellary, Cuddapah, Kurnool and Anantapur, the rainfall is small and the heat in summer is great.

Among the agents of production, land is the most important. No clear information is available about the total area of land under cultivation in the Vijayanagar Empire. It appears, however, that there were extensive forests and uncultivated waste lands which could be brought under cultivation. Further, during certain periods, villages were depopulated and lands fell out of cultivation largely owing to causes like unfavourable monsoon, unprecedented floods or even the taxation policy of the rulers, as a result of all of which, the people had at times to leave their villages and migrate to other places. The Vijayanagar Government realised the need for the improvement of the economic resources of the Empire and paid much attention to agriculture. This policy was pursued in two directions, by the formation of new villages and the extension of cultivation in the virgin soil and by the reclamation of deserted villages and lands. The kings formed new villages by clearing forests and bringing fresh lands under cultivation, and thereby increased the gross yield from land. Though such formation of villages in uninhabited places was largely promoted by religious motives-for many villages were formed and gifted away to Brahmans as *Sarvamānyams* and to temples as *Devadanas* for the attainment of merit-it contributed much to the economic welfare of the people. In a place in the Mysore district, for instance, a local chief made a grant to certain persons to enable them to cut down jungle, erect a fort and cultivate the land.¹ In order to encourage colonisation of fresh lands and to bring them under cultivation, the Government exempted them from the payment of taxes for a specified period. When Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya as said earlier constructed a big tank near his capital he gave his subjects lands which could be irrigated by the water from the new tank free for a period of nine years until they had made improvements to their lands as a result of which policy the revenue of the state increased by twenty thousand *paradaos*.² The Government, besides themselves bringing fresh lands under cultivation, encouraged private initiative in that direction. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya for instance made a grant of one-fourth of the *accukkaṭṭu* land as *daśabanda* under the tank of *Bali reḍḍihaḷḷi* (Anantapur District) to a certain Bali Reḍḍi, for his having formed a new village, constructed at the place a temple and dug a tank, wells etc.³ In 1416 a grant was made to a certain

1. E.C., iii, Mys. 86.

2. Scwell, *op. cit.*, p. 365; See *supra* p. for other examples.

3. 788 of 1917.

person under the following terms ; “We grant to you the tract of land bounded as follows ;—.....in which you may cut down the jungle and form fields ; and the rice lands under and in the area of the tank which you construct, dividing them into four parts.....in consideration of your having expended much money of your own and constructed the tank; three parts we grant⁴. Likewise, as said earlier, temples undertook, such reclamation work. A certain land, on account of its high nonirrigiable level was lying waste for a long time past overgrown with wild shrubs. The treasury of Tirumaḷiśai Ālvār, as mentioned earlier, purchased as *uḷavukāni* two pieces of land which belonged to a temple at Padaipaggu *alias* Tepperumāṭṭaṇallūr reclaimed and brought them under cultivation and leased them for two hundred *paṇams* per year.⁵

In order to encourage such reclamation, the Government granted important privileges which were highly valued then. During the days of Virūpākṣa a few taxes were remitted and some privileges were granted to those that colonised Narasimha Tirupati.⁶

Similarly a certain Viraya, son of Basvaya of Koṇḍanūr, was given a stone charter that, since a particular place had for a long time been uncultivated and uninhabited and had consequently gone to ruin overgrown with trees, he might cut down the trees, fill up the ditches, renew the boundaries of the fields, rebuild the village, stock it with ryots, give out the land and collect taxes according to former custom.⁷ Such instances can be multiplied.

But from the observations of the foreign travellers who visited the country and the provenance of inscriptions bearing on the question, it appears that though a good part of the country had been brought under cultivation, there were still large stretches of land covered by dense jungles and rocky hills with barren soil, that had not been converted into agricultural areas. It appears that the extent of land under cultivation was not as much as it is at the present day. However, the available evidence shows that land under cultivation in South India in the Vijayanagar days was generally fertile, capable of giving abundant crops. According to ‘Abdur Razzak, in Vijayanagar “most of

4. *E.C.*, X, Mb. 7, See also *E.C.*, Xi, Dv. 23.

5. 258 of 1919; *Rep.*, 1920, para 42.

6. 120 of 1921; see for other instances 48 and 49 of 1916; *Rep.*, para 83,

7. *EC.*, IV, C.P. 39.

the land was tilled and fertile.⁸ Nikitin remarks that the agricultural land was laid out into fields and the ground well tilled.⁹ Durate Barbosa observes that the kingdom of Narasinga was very rich and well supplied with provisions, and all the country was very fertile and brought under cultivation.¹⁰ and adds that it was "the best part of India, saving only Cambaya."¹¹ This same fact is echoed by Paes who observes that the dominions (the Vijayanagar Empire) were "very well cultivated and very fertile."¹² Referring to the route from Bhatkal to Vijayanagar he says that it was very fertile well cultivated and was rich in cattle.¹³ Nuniz records that the area round Bankāpūr was rich in seed plots and cattle breeding farms.¹⁴ This impression is confirmed by the inscriptions of the period which refer to the rearing of two or three crops in some places which could not have been possible unless land was fertile and had ample irrigation facilities. The different crops are referred to as the *kār paśānam* and *kadaippū*. In the Kannada districts a piece of land capable of yielding one crop annually was known as *beṭṭu*.¹⁵ In certain areas, however, some lands do not appear to have been very fertile, the soil being "poor and far from good for tilling"¹⁶. One also learns of the classifications of land into good, middling and bad¹⁷.

Though valuable information is available about different agricultural crops that were grown in the Empire, there is not sufficient reliable data regarding the kinds of crops raised in particular areas. While the foreign travellers who visited the Empire, do give useful information about the different crops raised, their records are not definite as to the particular crops that were grown in particular areas, or the extent of their cultivation. The inscriptions of the period also refer only to the kinds of crops raised on which certain rates of tax were levied. The following details may, however, be noted.

8. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV. p. 105.

9. Major, *op. cit.* pp. 10 and 20.

10. Barbosa, I. pp. 166 and 175.

11. *Ibid.*, I, p. 125.

12. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*, p. 386.

15. CP., 8 of 1921-22.

16. *Tao i chin lio* Rockhill, *Notes*, *T'oung Pao* xvi, pp. 453, 462 and 463.

17. *E.C.*, x, Mb. 172.

RICE

Rice being the staple food of the people, it was the principal crop grown on a large scale. While white rice was consumed by the richer classes, red rice (black rice according to Barbosa) was consumed by the poorer classes. Barbosa says that the latter was better and more wholesome than the white one.¹⁸ Among the kinds of rice cultivated, he mentions *giraśal*, *aśal*, *auavagas* and *paccar*,¹⁹ while the inscriptions of the period add *kuṛuvai*. Rice, being a typical monsoon crop, appears to have been cultivated in different parts of the Empire where facilities for the same were available. The Coromandel coast including the area about Pulicat, specialised in abundant rice cultivation, largely because of the fertility of the soil and the irrigation facilities available in the area.²⁰ The lands on the sides of the route from Bhatkal to Vijayanagar through Honāvar and Bankāpūr were well cultivated with plenty of rice.²¹ According to Barbosa, the Canara coast contained many farmsteads where much rice was grown and exported to Malabar and Ormuz.²²

Cereals :

The cereals, such as wheat, barley, *varagu* and *tiṇai* occupied the second place of importance in agriculture, as they continue to do even today. Wheat according to Barbosa was grown on the Coromandel coast only on a small scale while much was produced in Gujarat and the area round Dabul.²³ It was not so common as the other grains, since no one ate it except the Moors (Muslims).²⁴ Millet or Jowar which Paes calls 'Indian Corn' was also produced on some scale in the country.²⁵ The inscriptions of the period make a difference between the great millet and the ordinary millet.²⁶ Next to these, pulses were produced, and among them were green gram, black-gram, Bengal-gram, horse-gram, red-gram, black pulse and beans.²⁷ According to Paes the grains were

18. Barbosa, I, pp. 195-96.

19. *Ibid.*, I, p. 192.

20. Jones. *Varthema*, p. 195; Barbosa, II, p. 125; Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 366.

21. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

22. Barbosa, I, pp. 185, 188 and 184.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 155, 165; and II, p. 125.

24. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

25. *Ibid.*; *E.J.*, vi p. 232.

26. *E.J.*, vi, p. 232.

27. Major, *op. cit.*, p. 100; Barbosa, I, p. 200; *E.C.*, iii, ML. 95; v, Cn, 174.

produced in great quantity because, besides being used as food by men, they were also used for horses since there was no other kind of barley.²⁸ Sugarcane was grown wherever the soil was suitable and water was available. It was usually cut in summer.²⁹ It is possible there were two kinds of sugarcane, the common variety and the thick one. Among the oilseeds that were grown may be mentioned gingelly, seasmum and castor.³⁰ The important fibres that were produced, were hemp and cotton. The latter appears to have been cultivated on a large scale in the middle country where the red soil must have helped good harvest.³¹ Among dyes, indigo was cultivated in the west coast.³² The others were cinnabar, myrobalan and sandal wood.³³

Spices :

Spices were produced, both for consumption within and export to foreign countries. They were also used with food as is being done even today. The most important of the spices produced in the country was pepper, particularly black pepper. There appear to have been two varieties in it. Ordinary pepper and long pepper.³⁴ Cinnamon, cloves and ginger were also among the important spices produced in the country. There were two varieties of ginger, the green and the dried. Some of the other spices produced in the Empire were cardamon, nutmeg, mace, mustard incense and aloes. They were largely produced in the west coast and exported to foreign countries where they were in great demand.³⁵

Garden Produce :

Besides these, there were grown in the Empire many kinds of garden crops like vegetables and fruit trees. Paes says that the country was filled with groves of fruit trees, on account of which abundant fruits were available everywhere and they were cheap.³⁶

28. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

29. Amukta., II, v. 70; See also Gribble, *A History of the Deccan*, I, p. 85.

30. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 386; *E.I.*, vi, p. 232.

31. *op. cit.*, p. 386; *E.I.*, vi, p. 232.

32. Major, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

33. *E.I.*, vi, p. 232; *Barbosa*, I, pp. 188-89.

34. *E.I.*, vi, p. 232.

35. *Barbosa*, I, p. 203; II, p. 215; Rockhill, *Notes*, *T'oungpao*, xvi, p. 452.

Major, *op. cit.*, p. 6; *E.I.*, vi, pp. 232-33.

36. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 375

The fruit gardens grew "so closely to one another" that, to Paes, they appeared to be a thick forest.³⁷ Among the fruits grown were the bread-fruit, plantain, fig, citron, grapes, mango, orange, lime, lemon, pomegranate, jack fruit, cucumber, and many others.³⁸ Paes says that there were plantations of mangoes, jack-fruit trees, tamarinds, and other very large trees behind the cities, towns and villages and formed resting places for merchants to halt with their merchandise.³⁹ In Vijayanagar itself, as a result of the provision for the supply of fresh water to the city by Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya, big gardens, orchards, and vineyards were made where lemons, oranges and roses were grown.⁴⁰ Besides these products, there were two more important ones, the cocoanut and the betel. The former, generally known to the foreign travellers as the Indian nut, was grown throughout the coast of India beside Ceylon. It was put to various uses, and helped the existence of many small by-industries in the local areas. Cocoanut was exported to Aden and other places.⁴¹ Besides, betel was grown in different places and used with arecanut by the people, both men and women.⁴² Among other garden crops were the arecanut, gall-nut, brinjals, garlic, onions and turmeric.⁴³ Flowers were required not only for worship of Gods in temples, but also for use by women. Vijayanagar had a plentiful supply of different kinds of flowers.

Thus it appears that almost all the crops that are now raised were raised even then. But to the agricultural products of those days have now been added some commercial and planter's crops, such as tea, coffee, groundnut, tobacco, potato, oats and a few others.

SECTION II

Irrigation

The economic importance of rain in an agricultural country can hardly be exaggerated. A year of drought means a year of scarcity, if not always of famine; and consecutive years of such

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 256-57.

38. Major, *op cit.*, pp. 18-19; Seweli, *op cit.*, pp. 255, 353 and 375; *Varithema*, p. 120; Mahaw, *J.R.A.S.*, 1896, p. 347.

39. Sewell, *op cit.*, p. 238.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 312; see also p. 243

41. *Barbosa*. I. p. 56.

42. Major, *op cit.*, p. 32; Sewell, *op cit.*, p. 242.

43. *E.I.*, VI. p. 232.

drought in large areas mean widespread scarcity and famine. In fact, government budgets are adversely affected by a year of unfavourable rain. Further in a year of drought or insufficient rain, pools, tanks, etc., dry up in many cases, and the sufferings of people from want of drinking water become acute. Thus the paramount importance of irrigation in a country like India, throughout the greater part of which rainfall is uncertain, insufficient or unevenly distributed is very great; without proper irrigation, large areas of land in South India would lie permanently waste or could be cultivated only in years of exceptionally favourable rain.

In India provision for the supply of water is considered an act of charity; and it is said that, as the water of a tank serves to nurture both movable and immovable creation on earth, even Brahmā is not able to recount the merit accruing from it.⁴⁴ The Vijayanagar kings realised the importance of affording irrigation facilities for agricultural improvement. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya says, for instance, that the extent of a State is the root-cause of its prosperity and that if it is small its prosperity would increase only when tanks and irrigation canals are constructed and favour is shown to the poor cultivators in the matter of taxation and services.⁴⁵ The Vijayanagar kings not only themselves constructed irrigation tanks and canals but also encouraged in different ways private initiative in this connection.

Irrigation works may be divided into three main types, storage works or tank irrigation, river or canal and dam works and well and lift works. In the Vijayanagar days great attention was paid to storage works, dam or *anicut* works and the digging of wells, since the possibilities for new and large river irrigation were limited. In 1369 A. D., Bhāskara Bavadūra, a prince of the first Vijayanagar dynasty, constructed a huge tank with many sluices in the modern Cuddapah district (one of the famine-stricken areas in Andhra Pradesh). It is recorded that a thousand men were employed in the work, a hundred carts were used to get stones for the walls that formed part of the masonry structure and that it took two full years

44. See *E.I.*, xiv, p. 94

45. *Amukta*: canto iv, v, 236; see *supra*, p.

to finish the work. The dam was five hundred *rekhadanḍas* long eight *rekhadanḍas* wide and seven high.⁴⁶ This tank remains even to this day in a fairly good condition and use. Under instructions from Bukka II, the master of ten sciences, the hydraulic engineer (*jalasūtra*) Singaya Bhatta led the river. Hence through a channel to the Siruvera Tank at Penugonḍa and gave it the name Pratāpa Bukka Rāya Maṇḍala channel.⁴⁷ About 1489, during the time of Narasimharāya Maharāya Saḷuva Narasimha a valley in the Anantapur district was converted into a tank and named Narasāmbudhi.⁴⁸ In 1533 a big tank was formed from the river Arkkāvati, which, it is interesting to note, still serves as the source of water-supply to the city of Bangalore.⁴⁹

The chronicle of Paes contains the following account of the construction of a big tank by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya near his capital to provide irrigation to the fields and supply water to the new city of Nāgalāpura founded by him.

“The king made a tank there, which as it seems to me, has the width of a falcon shot and it is at the mouth of two hills so that all the water, that comes from either one side or the other, collects there; and besides this, water comes to it from more than three leagues by pipes which run along the lower parts of the range outside. This water is brought from a lake which itself overflows into a little river. The tank has three large pillars handsomely carved with figures; these connect above with certain pipes by which they get water, when they have to irrigate their gardens and rice fields. In order to make this tank, the said king broke down a hill which enclosed the ground occupied by the said tank. In the tank I saw so many people at work that there must have been fifteen or twenty thousand men looking like ants so that you cannot see the ground on which they walked, so many there were; this tank the king portioned out among his captains, each of whom had the duty of seeing that the people placed under him did their work and that the tank was finished and brought to completion”.⁵⁰

46. *E.I.*, xiv, p. 97.

47. *E.C.*, x. Gb. 6.

48. 710 of 1917.

49. *E.C.*, ix, N1, 31.

50. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 245-46.

Referring to the construction of the same tank, Nuniz says that the Emperor was assisted in the work by João della Ponte, a Portuguese worker in stone, and adds that he made a bank across the middle of the valley so lofty and wide that "it was a crossbow-shot in breadth and had large openings". He made many sluices in connection with the tank and constructed many pipes to let out water when necessary. As a result of this great irrigation work many improvements were made in the city and many rice fields and gardens were irrigated. Nuniz says that the Emperor failed in the attempt in the initial stages and was told by some that his failure was due to the fact that the Gods were not pleased with him for which the blood of men, women, or buffaloes must be spilt and that therefore he offered a sacrifice of those prisoners in his Empire "who deserved death" at his hands.⁵¹

Likewise, the officers of government, private individuals and public bodies undertook the construction of tanks. Rāyasam Koṇḍamarasayya, the minister of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, constructed two tanks, the Timmasamudra and Koṇḍasamudra in the Koṇḍavidu province.⁵² Penugoṇḍa Viraṇṇa, brother of Virūpaṇṇa, the *talār* of Vijayanagar dug up a spring and irrigation canal called *Nūtana Tungabhadra* at the village of Modaya.⁵³ In 1441 one Mallaṇāry of Udayagiri built a tank at the village of Maṇḍanapāti and granted some land for a flower garden⁵⁴. Vyāsarāya is said to have constructed a tank called the *Vyāsasamudra*. In 1486—87 the residents in and around Tiruvāmāttūr sold portions of their lands to the local temple treasury for the purpose of digging a channel from the river leading to the irrigation tank of the village.⁵⁵ Likewise, wells were dug by private individuals and public bodies.

As far as possible the state encouraged private initiative by making grants to the people or institutions that undertook the work; and such encouragement took the form of either *daśavanda* or *kaṭṭu kōḍage* grants, according to which the person who undertook or executed the work was given a piece of tax-free land watered by the tank, canal or well which he excavated. The extent of the grant naturally varied with the importance of the work.

51. *Ibid.* pp. 364-65.

52. 336 of 1915.

53. 68 of 1912.

54. 269 of 1905.

55. North Arcot District; 7 of 1922; see also *E.C.*, x, Mb. 259.

Thus when one Harinidēva Voḍeyar constructed a tank at a place in the Mysore district he was given a grant by Dēva Rāya II; and when the tank was extended by him, another grant was made to him.⁵⁶ A record of A. D. 1497 in the present Chittore district registers the grant of land as *kaṭṭu kōḍage* at Gundalahalli with certain stipulations about the rate of produce. The gift was by the *sthānika* of a temple to one Narasimhadēva for digging a tank in the village belonging to the Kadiri Lakṣminarsimha temple and for bringing the surrounding lands under cultivation. A portion of the land was given to him as *daśavanda*.⁵⁷ In 1513 one Sōvārya received a *daśavand* grant in consideration of his having constructed a tank.⁵⁸ The *Mahājanas* of Bhūpasamudra made a *kōḍage* grant of wet land to a certain person for his having executed some work in connection with the big tank of the village.⁵⁹

Maintenance and repair

The maintenance and repair of irrigation works are as important as their construction. They include, among others, the proper maintenance of supply channels, removal of deposits from tank sluices and river and spring channels, repair of petty channels, guarding of dams and construction of ring dams at breaches. Great merit was attached to such work by the Hindus; and an inscription of 1413 A. D. states: "a ruined family, a breached tank or pond, a fallen kingdom, whomsoever restores, or repairs a damaged temple, acquires merit fourfold of that which accrued from them at first."⁶⁰ Work in this direction was done in a systematic manner. There is no evidence to show that any cess from land owners was collected throughout the Empire on a uniform scale to meet the cost of such *kuḍimaramat* (repairs to irrigation and drainage works which by local custom had to be performed by the joint labour of the village community) in the respective areas. But usually the ryots possessing lands very near the sources of water supply provided the necessary labour at a fixed rate for deepening the river beds or removing the silt, thereby giving rise to the custom of *āḷmaṇji*.⁶¹

One of the very common methods of arranging for the maintenance of irrigation works was the provision of servants and necessary

56. E.C. iii My. 77

57. 156 of 1933-34.

58. 398 of 1896; *E.I.*, iv, pp. 268-269.

59. 762 of 1917.

60. *E. C.*, vii, Sh. 30.

61. Francis, *South Arcot District Gazetteer*, p. 133.

materials for such works. In 1367 provision for the maintenance of a tank in the Arasikere taluk was made in the following way. A buffalo man with his cart was appointed for it, and it was ordered that for oil, wheel, grease, crowbar, pick-axe, etc., every cart-load of the original tenants had to pay two *taras* and likewise every load of arecanuts, betel and oranges had to pay at the same rate.⁶² In accordance with the order of Uḍaiyār Dēvarasa Uḍaiyār a certain Akkadēva arranged in A. D. 1446 for the annual clearance of silt in the tank at Tenmahādēvamangalam with the *vēlikkuḷippanam vāśalkkuḷippanam* and *ērimīṇvilaippanam* and a small quantity of paddy on the cultivable land that were collected from the villages.⁶³ About the same period in the same district, one Ganga Nāyaka gave away the money realised by the sale of fish in the tank at Pūkkunṇam for deepening the tank⁶⁴. In 1513 when two tanks in the Chennapatna taluk went into repair, a village was granted for their maintenance and it was ordered that six carts were to be kept, four for one, and two for the other for putting earth on the bunds every year and keeping the tanks in good condition.⁶⁵ In some places the income from tanks was utilised for their maintenance. Thus Daḷavāy Sevvappa Nāyakkar set apart the income from the lease of fishery from the tank at Koḍumgaḷūr for deepening it.⁶⁶

Likewise, the local administrative bodies like the village assembly and the temple made provision for the upkeep of tanks. The local assembly of a village in the Mysore district consented to maintain a cartman for the proper upkeep of the tank at the place.⁶⁷ It also acted as trustee of the endowment made for the maintenance of the tanks and met the expenses of the same, perhaps from the interest of the capital set apart for the work.⁶⁸ Likewise, temples and private individuals helped in the maintenance of tanks. In 1591 the residents of the village of Nāngunēri agreed among themselves to

62. E.C., v, AK. 115; see also ix, Bn. 80; xii, Ck. 5.

63. 47 of 1933-34. வேலிக்குழிப் பணம் வாசல் குழிப் பணம் ஏரி மின் விலை பணம் நெடு நிலத்திலே நூறு குருக்குப் பதக்கு நெல்லும் ஆக இந்த வகைப்படி வருஷ வருஷம் தோறும் ஏரியிலே இட்டு குழி வெட்டிவிக்கக் கடவது.

64. 424 of 1922.

65. E.C., ix, Cp. 156; see also M.A.R., 1915, p. 93.

66. North Arcot District; 145 of 1924; see also 424 of 1922; 118, 133 and 194 of 1921.

67. E.C., iv, Ng. 39.

68. 474 of 1925.

remove each a certain cubic measure of silt from the big tank at the place in return for a measure of *pāśi* from the tank.⁶⁹

Whenever the tanks and other irrigation works had to be repaired, the work was immediately attended to. In A. D. 1396 when an irrigation channel came to be blocked up, it was soon restored under the orders of Mallappa Vodeyār.⁷⁰ A little earlier a chief provided that the property of those who died without heirs at Laksmīnārāyanapura must be used for the repair of the tank at the place.⁷¹ In 1402-03, lands in some villages near Valuvūr (Tanjore district) fell fallow on account of floods in the river Kāvēri, which washed away the demarcation, bounds and silted up the irrigation channels, which led to the abandonment of the fields by the tenants. The Government soon restored the channels and boundary banks and rehabilitated the villages.⁷² In 1424 when the dam constructed across the river Haridrā by Bukka Rāya gave way, Nāgaṇṇa Vodeyār, the great minister of Dēva Rāya, got money from Cāma Nṛpāla, the Commander-in-chief of the army and restored the dam.⁷³ In 1450 when three tanks in the village of Kīliyanūr had breached owing to a severe storm and heavy rains the local chief repaired them and built a sluice⁷⁴.

At times the Government remitted the taxes payable to the palace to help in the repair of the village tank. By 1471 the village of Tiruvāmāttur had become depopulated; the local lake had become silted and the local temple and its walls had gone to ruins. Hence the local officer remitted the taxes hitherto paid to the palace, such as the *vibhūti kāṇikkai*, *jōdi*, *śūlavari* and *rēkai* so that the village might be rehabilitated, the temple reconstructed and the breached lake repaired.⁷⁵ Likewise private bodies undertook such work. At Tiruppanangādu the temple authorities of the place sold some of the temple lands in order to repair breaches of the village tank because they had no funds and the lands under them

69. 262 of 1927-28. (குளத்திலுண்டான பாசியெல்லாம் துரக்காரார் சுதந்திரம் உள்பட ஆளொன்றுக்கு பதினெட்டடி நீளமும் ஒன்பதடி அகலமும் முச்சாண் மட்டிலெ குழியொன்றாக பெரிய குளத்திலே வருஷ வருஷந்தோரும் குழி வெட்டிவிப்பொமாகவும்.)

70. 66 of 1912.

71. E.C., xi, Dv. 70.

72. 422 of 1912; Rep., 1913, para 52.

73. E.C., xi, Dv. 29.

74. 'South Arcot District; 154 of 1919.

75. 8 of 1922; Rep., para 49.

remained uncultivated for a long time.⁷⁶ Similarly when a dam in a river breached and was ruined, the authorities of a temple made a grant of land to some Brahmans for restoring the dam so as to form a tank. They were allowed to cut down the jungle, form a village, plot out fields and enjoy three parts of the income from the village and pay to the temple treasury the remaining one-fourth part. In such cases the temples expected the donee to keep the tanks in good condition and repair them whenever necessary.⁷⁷

Charitable minded individuals also undertook such repairs as were necessitated by floods and other circumstances. According to a grant, for instance, Êṭṭūr Immaḍi Kumāra Tātcārya laid the foundation stone for one of the twenty-three sluices of the tank at Tennēri when it had breached on account of a cyclone and built them. The breaches are said to have been so serious that the repairing work had baffled the attempts of all other people.⁷⁸ It may also be noted that a number of inscriptions of the Vijayanagar and later periods found in the Nellore district, record provision made for the proper maintenance of irrigation tanks by levying contributions of grain at the rate of one *Kuñca* on every *puṭṭi* annually. The grain so collected was spent on the repair and upkeep of the tanks concerned.⁷⁹

As in the case of the construction of tanks, the government encouraged such large hearted private effort in the maintenance and repair of irrigation works. In 1541 A.D. when the residents of Thirumadihaḷḷi repaired the three breaches in the tank in their village the government granted them one *kaṇḍūga* of *kaṭṭukōḍage*⁸⁰. In 1636 when one Mekalabomma of a village in the Kolar district repaired the breaches in the tank in his village, he was granted one-fourth part of the wet lands near the breaches as *daśavanda*.⁸¹ It was not however unusual for private individuals to bargain with the government in the matter of repairing breaches and ask for some benefit from the government. It was perhaps in such a spirit that when a tank in Sidalāyanakote breached in 1554 A.D. some people

76. North Arcot District; 251 of 1906; *Rep.*, para 53; see also 241 of 1906

77. *E.C.*, x Mb. 7.

78. 434 of 1923.

79. 222 of 1922; *Rep.*, para 70.

80. Anantapur District; 49 of 1917.

81. *E.C.*, x. Bg. 71; for some other instances see *E.C.*, x, Mb. 131 and 132.

in the village made petition to the *Mahānāyakācārya* offering to have the tank rebuilt if the lands under the sluice were granted to them.⁸²

When an irrigation work was made or repaired by more than one individual, it was usually arranged that the water from the source was to be enjoyed in proportion to the expenses incurred by the different parties. According to an inscription of 1410 A.D. the annual repairs and other expenses in connection with the wells and tanks, formed under the channel, were borne in the proportion of two-thirds by the temple and one-third by the Brahmans and hence the water of the channel was to be distributed in the same proportion.⁸³

Much care was taken to guard the sluices. A record of A.D. 1468 mentions, for instance, *irā madagu kāval śēri*, which was obviously a settlement for guarding the sluice at night.⁸⁴ Disputes with regard to the necessity of an irrigation tank at a place or the proportion and turn of water from a source to the ryots of neighbouring villages were sought to be settled amicably. When a channel was dug near Tirumalai by the authorities, the residents of the locality raised a serious objection on the ground that it was detrimental to the interests of the village. Therefore the *sthānattār* and Yajñaraśar, the *Adhikāri*, inspected the place, and finding that the objections were legitimate, stopped the further progress of the work.⁸⁵ In 1406 A.D. a dispute arose between the villages of Ālattūr, hamlet of Uttaramērūr and Attiparṇu, a village nearby, regarding the supply of water from the local tank. It was settled among themselves in the presence of *Mahāpradhāni* Araśar Tipparāsar.⁸⁶ Similarly a record from Cellūr of the time of Vira Narasingayya Mahārāya registers an agreement between the residents of three villages, Maḍaiviḷāgam, Sillaiyūr (Cellūr) and Kāndādu regarding their respective rights for irrigation from the channel called *Sadāśivakōna*.⁸⁷ Similar regulations regarding the supply of water to fields are recorded in a number of inscriptions of the period.⁸⁸

82. *Ibid.*, xi, Hr. 22.

83. *Ibid.*, xi Dv. 23.

84. 257 of 1952 53., *Rep.*, p. 16.

85. Chittoor District; *T. T. D. I.*, 224.

86. Chittoor District, 357 of 1923.

87. 419 of 1925.

88. See *E. C.*, iv, Gp. 41.

When lands were acquired by the Government for making irrigation works, the parties that parted with their lands were provided with others, apparently in compensation.⁸⁹

About the irrigation policy of the Vijayanagar kings, Crole says: "Many of them (irrigation works) now abandoned or in ruins, evince the solicitude of those ancient monarchs for the extension of cultivation even in tracts not favoured by natural position or the quality of the soil. Almost every catchment basin, however small, still bears traces of having been bunded across and in many instances this was done in order to secure a crop of paddy on a few acres of stony ungenerous soil, to which all the fostering care of the British administration has failed to induce cultivation to return. Large and more expensive projects were not neglected. Even some of them bear witness to the enlightenment of those Hindu kings, while the absence of scientific instruments in those remote times compels the astonishment of the beholder."⁹⁰ Referring to the *anicuts* constructed in the Vijayanagar period, Major Henderson remarks: "The positions for the anicuts have been chosen with great judgment and the channels have been formed with consummate skill."⁹¹ Likewise the words of Sir Thomas Munro about the irrigation system under the Vijayanagar kings in the area around Vijayanagar may be noted. He says: "To attempt the construction of new tanks is perhaps a more hopeless experiment than the repair of those, which have been filled up, for there is scarcely any place where a tank can be made to advantage that has not been applied to this purpose by the inhabitants."⁹²

Section III

METHODS OF AGRICULTURE

Boundaries of lands

There is no reliable evidence on the size of the fields, whether they were economic holdings or not; but from the fact that the lands were measured very minutely for purposes of assessment by

89. 397 of 1909.

90. *Chingleput District Gazetteer*.

91. Report on important public works for 1852 quoted by Francis in *the Bellary District Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 95.

92. Gribble: *A History of the Deccan*, p. 188; for further details see, Irrigation under the Vijayanagar kings, by the author in *Krishnaswamy Aiyangar Commemoration, Volume*, pp. 160-64.

the government, it may be assumed that the cultivated lands were divided into small plots, by well-marked boundaries, over which boundary stones were erected. These stones were marked either with the conch and discus or the *vāmana* or *linga mudra*.⁹³

When the demarcation mounds between fields were washed away, as for instance by unprecedented floods, they were restored after the floods subsided to facilitate the affected land being brought again under cultivation.⁹⁴ Whenever disputes arose between the owners of two adjacent fields regarding the boundary between them, the government interfered and settled the disputes and fixed the boundary according to old custom.⁹⁵

A curious custom followed in the Kannaḍa districts for deciding disputes between the owners of two pieces of adjacent lands, was that the disputants were to set out with a *handege* (a pot of unburnt clay) along the disputed area and to fix the line along which it was taken, for, if a mistake was done in tracing the boundary, then it was believed it broke.⁹⁶

Process of Agriculture

The processes of agricultural operations in the Vijayanagar days do not appear to have been far different from what they are now. We have a contemporary description by Barbosa of the cultivation of rice in the Vijayanagar Empire. His account is as follows : "All round they sow it in valleys and flats covered with water, for it is sown and reaped in water; they plough the land as we do with oxen and buffaloes yoked in pairs, and the ploughshare has a hollow in it wherein the rice is carried when the land is flooded, and as the share ploughs, the rice goes on settling down under water and earth, On dry land they sow by hand⁹⁷." Varthema adds some more details. He says : "The men of Calicut, when they wish to sow rice, observe this practice. First they plough the land with oxen as we do, and when they sow the rice in the field, they have all the instruments of the city continually sounding and making merry. They also have ten or twelve men

93. CP. 7 of 1912-13; *MAR*, 1924, No. 100; 432 of 1917; 213 of 1924.

94. 422 of 1912; *Rep*, 1913, para 52.

95. *E.C.*, viii, TI. 115 and 197, see also 140 of 1895; *S.I.I.*, v, 704.

96. *E.C.*, vii, Sh. 107.

97. *Barbosa*, I, p. 192.

clothed like devils and these units in making great rejoicing with the players on the instruments, in order that the devils may make that rice very productive.⁹⁸

The agricultural implements used by the peasants in those days do not also seem to have been different from those of our times, though direct evidence about them is not available. The plough was certainly in use as is indicated by many inscriptions which refer to the measurement of lands in terms of the number of ploughs required to till them. Water-lifts appear to have been used in well irrigation. But we have no clear description of the ploughing animals, except stray references to oxen and buffaloes used for the purpose.

As said earlier, there was difference between *nañjai* (wet land) and *puñjai* (dry land).⁹⁹ They were also known as *nirnilam* and *Kollai nilam*.¹⁰⁰ It was not unusual however for wet crops being raised on dry lands. In wet *nañjai* cultivation there were generally two harvests, the *kār* and the *paśānam*. The season for the sowing of the *kār* began in May or June, and the harvest took place about December or January. Occasionally there was a third crop which was called the *kaḍaippū*. The crops raised in the *puñjai* land were called *punpayir*. Lands were distinguished from the point of view of the source from which they were irrigated, from tanks or rivers¹⁰¹ The variety and number of crops raised on land in a particular area depended largely on the soil, the facilities for irrigation and the monsoon conditions. According to John of Monte Corvino in the Coromandel "they sow and reap at almost all seasons, and this because it is always warm and never cold".¹⁰²

The standing crops appear to have been watched by persons known as *Nāyakavāḍis* who were appointed for the purpose.¹⁰³ They were remunerated by the grant of service *ināms* which were apparently called in the Tamil inscriptions *kākkunāyaka vilāgām*.¹⁰⁴

98. Jones, *Varthema*, pp. 166-167.

99. See *suprā*. p. ; also 91 of 1918.

100. 324 of 1911.

101. *P.S.L.*, 562.

102. *Yule, Cathay*, III, p. 51.

103. *E.C.* iv. Cn. 45. The *Nāyakavāḍi*, was a peon stationed in a village by the collector or landholder specially to superintend the villages in their cultivation and see that the produce was not misappropriated or stolen; he performed also on occasions the duties of a watchman and a policeman.

104. 23 of 1890; *S.I.L.*, IV, No. 551.

Labour

Agriculture being the main industry in the country, a majority of the people depended on it. Among them there were two classes, one the landed employers, and the other, the labourers who earned their living by doing work on land. In the former class were the non-cultivating institutions like the temple and the *maṭha* and the individual landowners. In the latter class there were two kinds, the hired labourers who were paid their wages and the farm servants who were in the nature of the villeins and serfs of medieval Europe.

The hired labourers were taken in for seasonal work on land during seasons of transplantation and harvest and were paid daily wages either in kind or in cash or in both. A few inscriptions of the period refer to the *kaiviṇaikkudī*¹⁰⁵ who was a labourer hired daily as distinct from *puṛakkudī*¹⁰⁶ or *piṛakkudī*,¹⁰⁷ or simply *kudī*. The *kudīs* were connected with the lands as servants and they were in the nature of serfs on the soil. They generally belonged to the place being attached to and possessing an interest in the land. They had a permanent and inalienable right (*kudikkāṇi*) to cultivate the land.¹⁰⁸ "In some cases they were residents of another village who were induced to settle in the village and cultivate the lands therein by the concession of permanent rights therein, and who were given free sites in the village for building houses thereon; in some cases they were the residents of the village, to whom a similar right had been given in respect of the hitherto uncultivated lands as an encouragement to bring them into cultivation and a recompense for the trouble and expense involved in rendering them such; and in some cases a similar right had been purchased by tenants on payment of a consideration".¹⁰⁹ The landlord usually enjoyed only an overlordship (*mēlvāram*) right over land, and shared the income from it with the tenant in a proportion based on an agreement arrived at after having duly considered the nature of the soil and the kind of crop raised on it. The share of the *kudī* was

105. 581 of 1893; *S.I.I.*, v. 257.

106. *P.S.I.*, 687.

107. *Ibid.*, 737.

108. *A Manual of the Pudukkottai State*, Vol. I, p. 138.

109. S. Sundararaja Iyengar, *Land Tenures in the Madras Presidency* pp. 55-6; see also, *Chingleput District Manual*, p. 212.

known as the *kuḍivāram*. According to a record of 1555-56 A.D., for example, one Aubala Rāya was allowed to enjoy two-thirds of the produce from certain lands and was required to give the remaining portion (as *mēlvāram*) to the temple from which he purchased lands at Ālamūru.¹¹⁰ Whenever a piece of land passed from the hands of one person to another either as the result of a gift or sale usually the *kuḍi* or tenant in it also passed hands; and there was specific mention made of it so that he may not be dispossessed of his right on the specified land. Thus we get such expressions as *kuḍinīngādēvadāna*¹¹¹ and *kuḍinīngāiṟai yili*. The former was a *devadāna* grant to a temple along with the *kuḍis* on the land while the latter indicates that it was a tax-free gift but along with the *kuḍis*. In this system of agricultural serfdom the tenant had as much interest in the land as the landlord. There is no reason to think that the condition of these agricultural serfs was deplorable. About their condition in the west coast area Barbosa remarks: "The more part of them (the Thiya) are slaves bound to the lands of the Nayres to whom they are assigned by the king that they may live and support themselves by the labour of those men" and again "Nayres protect and cherish them".¹¹²

The income from land was shared between the landlord and the tenants; and this system was known as the *vāram*.¹¹³ As said earlier, the *mēlvāram* payable to the landlord by the tenants was usually in kind and was fixed at a rate, having regard to the nature of the land and the kind of crop raised on it. At a particular place in the former Pudukkottai State about the middle of the fifteenth century the produce from land was shared between the landlord and tenant in the following ratio : —¹¹⁴

<i>Varagu Tinai, Sesamum</i>	$\frac{1}{2}$:	$\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Puñjai</i>	4 :	1

In another case it was *śarivāram* 1/2:1/2.¹¹⁵ In the Chingleput district about the beginning of the sixteenth century

110. 66 of 1915; see *supra*, p. . .

111. *P.S.J.*, 714 and 819; 12 of 1893; 45 of 1922.

112. *Barbosa*, II, p. 60

113. 96 of 1918.

114. *P.S.J.*, 706.

115. 197 of 1910; 237 of 1921; (இலாபச் சேதம் பாடுபாடாக அனுபவிக்கவும் *I.P.S.*, 711.

the produce was shared between the landlord and tenant in the following ratio : —¹¹⁶

Produce from <i>Kamuguvaittanilam</i>	2 : 2
Cocoanuts	3 : 1

Before 1535-36 A.D., the *mēlvāram* on areca, cocoanut, mango and other trees grown on the *tiruviḍaiyāttam* lands of the temples at Kāñcīpuram was three-fourths of the yield and the remaining one-fourth went to the cultivator. But when in a severe drought the trees withered, the tenants were asked to plant fresh trees and pay *mēlvāram* in the reduced ratio of two-thirds on the yield of the plantations while in the case of sesamum, green gram and sugarcane, the rates obtaining in adjacent villages were adopted; and in cases where betel, plantain and other quick-yielding crops were reared side by side in the newly planted areca and cocoanut groves, the *mēlvāram* was fixed at three-fourths of the old rates.¹¹⁷ A few years later in the present Nellore district when new channels were provided in a particular year certain terms were agreed upon, according to which the produce raised on dry fields was to be divided into four shares of which three were to go to the ryot and one to the state every year; and similarly the grain raised under the tanks was to be divided into three shares of which two were to go to the ryot and one to the state.¹¹⁸

It appears tenancy rights could be sold by their holders. In 1548-49, some four individuals sold away their hereditary tenancy rights over half of the lands at *Kambarguḍi* to the local temple.¹¹⁹

Another kind of tenure under which land was cultivated was the *kuttagai* or lease system,¹²⁰ according to which land was leased out for a fixed annual rent usually calculated on the basis of the average yield for a number of years. The lease holder was required to raise a particular kind of crop on land for a specified number of years; but at the same time the lessor took care to see that the permanent interests of his land were not neglected by the lessee particularly with regard to the levelling of lands, removal of shrubs, repairing of irrigation sources, etc. The *Kuttagai* payable

116. 45 of 1890; *S.I.I.*, iv, 368.

117. 655 of 1919; *Rep.*, 1920, para 48.

118. *Nel. Inss.*, I, Atm., 48.

119. 106 of 1924.

120. 499 of 1913; *Rep.*, 1914, para 30.

to the landlord was in kind or in coin or both, as the case might be. The lease or *kuttiagai* was at times called *uḷavu kāṇiyākṣi*. Sometimes the *uḷavu kāṇiyākṣi* was given in the case of new lands for being brought under cultivation. It usually consisted of a permanent lease of an uncultivated waste which the lessee was authorised to reclaim and settle, to grow crops wet or dry that suited him, including plantain, sugarcane, turmeric, ginger, areca and cocoanut and after doing this to pay the taxes in gold and grain.¹²¹ To that was also added the right of living on a piece of land belonging to the landlord (*kudiyie ruppu kāṇiyākṣi*). It was not unusual that with regard to the *kuttiagai* a progressive rate was fixed. Thus, as said earlier, when a particular person was given the village of *Ṣembiyamangalam* with *uḷavu kāṇiyākṣi* (right of cultivation) in 1514–15 A. D. he was required to pay ten *paṇams* and ten kalams of paddy in the first year, but in the fifth year it was raised to fifty *paṇams* and fifty kalams of paddy. Possibly during the intervening three years the rates of rent increased progressively.¹²² The share of the produce payable to the landlord must have differed with the nature of the land, the kind of crop raised and the length of period for which it had been under cultivation. Unless there is specific statement in the document creating a lease to that effect, it would be hazardous to say that the lessee had any permanent right on the land held under lease. For instance, in the cases of the grant of *uḷavu kāṇiyākṣi* referred to above, it appears that there was no mention of the permanent nature of the grant of the right of cultivation. But there would be no reason to deprive a lessee of his land during the period of the lease, if he fulfilled the conditions regularly.

According to another system of cultivation, the landlord carried on cultivation with the farm servants. In the present day this is known as *paṇṇai* system. It appears that they are the persons mentioned in an inscription as *kaḍamai ūḷiyars* (forced labourers or serfs).¹²³ They were paid generally in kind at a monthly rate. Besides, they were, as they are even now, allowed a piece of land to live on, and given small presents of cloth,

121. 353 of 1912; *Rep.*, para 56; see also 372 of 1912.

122. 389 of 1912; see *supra*, p.

123. *P.S.I.*, 737.

paddy and cash on important religious and ceremonial occasions every year.

Livestock

Much information is not available about the supply of animal power for cultivation purposes. But the frequent mention of the plough naturally leads one to infer that there was available abundant livestock in the country. Besides, the preservation of waste and pasture lands in every village shows that much care was taken to provide pasture for the livestock.

The foreign travellers give good accounts of some breeds of oxen which were yoked to carriage and used for drawing ploughs. Barbosa says that oxen, asses and small ponies were used as beasts of burden and as ploughing animals.¹²⁴ Buffaloes were also used for ploughing purposes.¹²⁵ Paes and Nuniz as also Varthema and Barbosa refer to the breeding places in the Deccan, besides places round about Dabul, Rosyl and Vingapor in which were many seed-plots and cattle-breeding farms.¹²⁶ Sheep and goats were reared in many places and areas in South India, such as Bhatkal, Kolar. Coromandel, Calicut, Onor, Rosyl, etc.¹²⁷ From Mādhavācārya's definition of *vṛsa* as bull kept for impregnation it may be inferred that breeding bulls were also reared¹²⁸ as they are done even today.

It is not possible to calculate how much of manure was available. Though there could have been in the Empire many cattle it is not likely that all their manure would have been used for the cultivated lands. For one thing, much of it would have been left as even today in the waste and pasture lands without being collected; and for another, it is likely that a part of the manure collected was used as fuel on a large scale and burnt, thus leaving only a part of it to be spread over the cultivated lands.

124. *Barbosa*, I, p. 200.

125. *Ibid.*, II, p. 68; Sewell. *op. cit.*, p. 259; Varthema, *Travels*, pp. 10 and 172.

126. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 386; Varthema, *Travels*, pp. 114 and 122, *Barbosa*, I, pp. 166 and 200.

127. Varthema, *Travels* p. 120; *Barbosa*, I, p. 200; Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 259 and 386.

128. *Parāśaramādhavīya*, III, p. 268.

Village Self-sufficiency

It is usually said that the best manure for land is the personal supervision of the landlord; and one of the questions connected with the problem of rural reconstruction in the modern day is the one relating to absentee landlordism. In the Vijayanagar days the evils of such absentee landlordism were well realised and much anxiety was felt by the landlords to have lands very near their places of occupation. For instance, when the village of Śīrāyanallūr granted to the temple of Kōlāvāmana Perumāḷ was found to be "far away" other lands were granted at Śikkil, a near place, in return for the original gift.¹²⁹ The community was also anxious that outsiders must not get any benefit by the purchase of lands in its village. As noted earlier, the residents of the village of Māngādu in the Chingleput District made an agreement among themselves, "that any owner of land (in the village of Māngādu) (desirous of) selling (his land) must sell it to a land-owner within that village and not to any outsider, nor could he give even as dowry (*Stridhana*) lands in the village to an outsider."¹³⁰ They were equally anxious to see that ownership of property did not pass from one community to another. Thus in 1474 A.D. the people of Mālavalli in the Mysore district made an agreement among themselves that if any one among the shareholders (who were evidently Brahmans) mortgaged or sold his share to Śūdras, he should be put out of the Brahman community and such share must not belong to that place, so that it would lose its right to water and other common benefits.¹³¹ The villagers wanted to be so exclusive that outsiders found it very difficult to get land for cultivation in the villages. They probably feared that in such cases local labourers would not get land for cultivation which would lead to agricultural unemployment in the village. Hence difficulties were placed by the villagers in the way of outsiders taking up

129. 100 of 1911.

130. 354 of 1908; *Rep.*, para 67 (மாங்காட்டில் ஊரவர் நம்மில் பொருந்தி கல் வெட்டினபடி நம்முடைய ஊருக்கு இன்னாள் முதல் ந——வர்கள் காணி விற்கிற பொழுது உள்ளூரிலேயே காணி ஆளுகிறவர்களுக்கு விற்கிறது. ஒழிந்து புற ஊரிலே விற்கக் கடவதல்லவாகவும், புற ஊரிலேயே ஒருவருக்கு சீதனம் கொடுக்க கடவதாகவும்).

131. *E.C* , iii, Ml. 121.

cultivation in their villages. For instance, the following rule was made for the cultivation of the rice lands at Honganur : "If in addition to the resident ryots, any important resident in the neighbourhood plough (these) he may do so in accordance with the *paṭṭe* granted by the *Māsanikāra*, *Pārapatyagāra*, *Gauḍa*, and *Sēnābōvā*; not according to the same rule as the resident ryots. If any one setting at naught this order is not prevented at the time by the *Karaṇika* of the *Cāvadi* and the *Gauḍa* and *Sēnabōva* they will incur the guilt of slaughtering cows, etc."¹³²

Another instance of the anxiety of the villagers to be exclusive is provided by the prevalence of a rule in some places that the sugarcane grown in a particular village had to be pressed out for juice only in the village in which it was grown.¹³³ This not only points to the isolation of the villages but also to their self-sufficiency.¹³⁴

But the idea of the isolation of the villages must not be pressed too far, for there is evidence to believe that the villages, individually and in groups, came into close contact for various purposes. Administrative arrangements, holding of frequent fairs, trade movements and the migrations of people from one place to another tended to break the isolation of villages to a considerable extent.

Rural Credit

The temple, which played an important part in the economic life of rural population, usually maintained a treasury of its own and received deposits of money from the people. The temple treasury, besides, served the rural public by offering them credit whenever they were in need of it. The people who instituted festivals and services in the temple usually deposited a particular sum of money in the temple treasury; and from the interest on such deposits the expenses of festivals and services were met. It was the general practice to utilise that capital for the improvement of tanks, channels and other irrigation sources in the temple villages, raise or

132. *Ibid.*, iv, Cn. 38.

133. 103 of 1918; *Rep.*, para 69.

134. See Gadgil, *The Industrial Evolution of India in Recent Times*, pp. 10-13.

increase the production from such land, and with the income got thereby, meet the expenses of the stipulated festivals and services. Thus rural agricultural credit was provided by the indirect method of the institution of festivals and services in temples by pious devotees.¹³⁵ When, however the temple was not able to get back the amount it had lent, it purchased the land of the debtor to the extent necessary to clear off the arrears. According to an inscription at Sēvalūr in the former Pudukkottai State the authorities of the temple at the place had lent three hundred *śarkkara paṇams* to the *ūravar* of Tēṇūru Vadaṇṇaṅṇu who had taken the amount for the payment of *kānikkai*. But since they could not pay back the money borrowed they sold some land to the authorities of the temple.¹³⁶ The temple at times even sold away a portion of its lands, the proceeds of which were utilised for the repair of breached tanks when the people were not able to do so.¹³⁷

Yield from land

The productive capacity of land either wet or dry depended on the fertility of the soil and the required supply of water. Good wet lands were usually found on the ayacuts of the best tanks. The *accukkaṭṭu* lands which were the same as the *manavāri* or rain-fed lands of the Madras State were of an inferior type which could not compare favourably with the wet lands in many parts of the Empire. It is difficult to get even a rough idea of the general yield of lands in the Empire on account of the paucity of evidence on the subject and the diversity of conditions prevailing in the different parts of the country. In some inscriptions we are merely told that particular villages yielded a given annual income in money, and in such cases it is not possible to form an idea of the grain income from a unit of land, for we do not know, for one thing, the area of the cultivated land in the village, and for another, we have no knowledge of the price of the grain produced on the land. Such statements in the inscriptions of the period that ten villages yielded an annual income of five thousand seven hundred and thirteen *rēkhai pons* or two and a half villages yielded an annual income of four hundred *rekhai pons* do not help us much in estimating the

135. See *T.T.D.I.*, V, Nos. 10, 15, 25, 34, 59, 86 etc.

136. *P.S.I.*, 723 ; see also 733,

137. 241 and 251 of 1906 ; *Rep.*, 1907, para 53.

average yield from land.¹³⁸ Mādhavācāraya, however, while writing a commentary on the text of Parāśara, assumes as seen earlier that the average out-turn from land was twelve times the seed sown.¹³⁹

In South Canara a piece of land capable of yielding one crop annually (a *beṭṭu* as it was called) required two *mude* of paddy calculated at thirty *ballas* (each *balla* being equal to two *seers* generally) as seed for sowing purposes.¹⁴⁰ It may be noted that for an acre of wet land of average fertility in the Tanjāvūr district at the present day a *kalam* (twenty four Madras measures) of seed is required for sowing purposes. About 1430 the assessment in paddy on one *vēli* of wet land in the Tanjore district was fifty *kalams* of paddy besides other taxes amounting to about twenty *paṇams*. The assessment on a *vēli* of uncultivated waste (just brought under cultivation) for forty *kalams* of paddy and about eighteen *paṇams* of other taxes, while that on a *vēli* of *kaḍaippū* land and land irrigated by baling water was twenty *kalams* of paddy and ten *paṇams* of other taxes.¹⁴¹ If we take that the assessment on wet land as recorded in the inscription conformed to the recommendations of Mādhavācārya, i. e., one-fourth of the yield, then we may suppose that the yield from the average wet land in the Tanjāvūr district in the fifteenth century was not far different from what it is now, for it was about two hundred *kalams*.

Value of land

The part that land played in the economy of medieval South India can hardly be exaggerated. Services to the State were usually remunerated by assignments of land, the income from which the servants could enjoy. Persons were honoured with grants of tax free land as *ināms* or *sarvamānyams*. Land was taken in lieu of non-recoverable debt, and dowry was, in many instances, paid by gift of land. Thus the demand for and the use of land for ever so many purposes show that it had great value in the medieval economy of South India. In the face of such clear evidence the remarks of Baden Powell that under Hindu Governments in the

138. *T.T.D.I.*, V. Nos. 125 and 129.

139. *Historical Sketches of Mysore*, I. p. 95; *South Canara Manual*, pp. 94-96.

140. *E. I.*, xx, p. 90.

141. 59 of 1914; *Rep.*, 1915, para 44.

Dekkan and in the South, the ryot was not allowed to sell his land and that it may be questioned whether as a rule it had any market value requires revision.¹⁴² There is no clear evidence about the price of land in the period except from occasional references to it in inscriptions. Some of them refer to it in terms of the annual rent payable on land, some refer to it in terms of the taxes fixed on it, while some refer to it in terms of its area. The inscriptions range over a long period and the price of land indicated by them varied considerably.

Reference	Date	Place	Unit	Price	Remarks
<i>E.C.</i> , vii, Sk. 282	1368	Shimoga			5 times the value of the annual rent.
<i>S.I.I.</i> i, No. 72 <i>M.E.R.</i> 350 & 359 of 1923	1374-75 1382	N. Arcot	32 <i>kāṇis</i> 2/3 shares of 400 <i>paṇams</i> and 2 villages 500 <i>paṇams</i> 1/3 shares of 200 <i>paṇams</i> and the same 2 250 <i>paṇams</i> villages	40 <i>pons</i>	
<i>E.C.</i> , vi, Kp. 52	1408	Kadur	6 villages	500 <i>varāhas</i>	
<i>E.C.</i> , vi, Kp. 53	1403	Kadur	3 cities	150 <i>honnus</i>	
<i>E.C.</i> viii, Tl. 104	1404	Shimoga	3 villages	250 <i>pons</i>	
<i>E.C.</i> , viii, Tl. 134	1409	Shimoga			price fixed by arbiters.
<i>E.C.</i> , viii, Tl. 176	1415	Shimoga	<i>Khandūga</i>	15 <i>hanas</i>	
<i>E.C.</i> , vi, Kp. 27	1427	Koppa	30 <i>saleges</i>	85 <i>varāhas</i>	
<i>A.S.R.</i> , iv, p. 149	1427	Chingleput	1925 <i>kulis</i>	125 <i>pagodas</i>	<i>Kuli</i> measured by the measuring rod of 32' long.
<i>A.S.R.</i> , iv, p. 151	1429	Chingleput	2000 <i>kulis</i>	115 <i>pagodas</i>	-do-

142. *The Indian village community*, p. 424.

Reference	Date	Place	Unit	Price	Remarks
274 of 1897	1435	Chingleput	2000 <i>kulis</i>	300 <i>paṇams</i>	-do- by 12' <i>kāl.</i>
27 & 28 of 1912	1446	Tirunelveli	2 <i>mās</i>	630 <i>paṇams</i>	
E.C., ii, Sr. 89	1458	Mysore	Land yield- ing 40 <i>pagodas</i>	400 <i>pagodas</i>	
M.A.R., 1918, p.121	1499	Coimbatore	1 <i>sallage</i>	4 <i>pons</i>	
E.C., vi, Kp. 21	1509	Kadur	30 <i>khandis</i> of land	120 <i>gadyānas</i>	
118 of 1904	1564	Tirunelveli	12 <i>kolagas</i>	60 <i>pagodas</i>	
E.C., iv, Yl .28	1559	Mysore	1 <i>khandūga</i>	20 <i>honnus</i>	
M.A.R. 1916, p. 104		Sri Ranga Kadur	land yield- ing 78 <i>khan- dugas.</i>	78 <i>varāhas</i>	
E.C., iv, Yd. 34	1628	Mysore	a village	212 <i>varāhas</i>	

Marketing of Goods

One of the important inducements to agricultural operations is the facility for the sale of the goods produced. This subject will be dealt with in detail in the section on foreign trade, but it may be noted here that there was great demand for the raw products of the country and facilities for their sale existed in the Vijayanagar Empire. Rice, for instance, was exported to important places in Arabia and Ormuz,¹⁴³ besides to Malabar.¹⁴⁴ Wheat, as rice and millet, was in demand in Melinde in Africa,¹⁴⁵ while cocoanut was exported to Aden and Ormuz.¹⁴⁶ As for internal consumption, these articles were sold in *santes* or fairs which were held either weekly or at periodical intervals in many places in the Empire. At important places, like Vijayanagar itself, fairs were held every day in different parts of the city.¹⁴⁷ In order to induce merchants to bring goods to the market, concessions were shown in the matter of taxation of the articles that entered the place for a particular period. In one case grain entering the fair wholesale was exempted from the payment of all dues for a year.¹⁴⁸

143. *Barbosa*, I, pp. 64 and 188.

144. *Varthema*, p. 192.

145. *Barbosa*, I, p. 23.

146. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 55—55, 92.

147. *Sewell*, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-56.

148. *E.C.*, Sg x, 1.12.

SECTION IV

SYSTEMS OF LAND TENURE

Systems of Land Tenure

In a mainly agricultural country like India the first thought which presents itself to a student of the agrarian system of the country is the question of land tenures on which depends to a very large extent the land revenue of the Government. Theories regarding land tenure are at the present day of great practical importance. A study of the systems of tenure and the question as to with whom the proprietorship of the soil rested at a particular period, has to be made, more with the available evidence for the particular period than with the help of theories on such subjects pronounced from time to time. What great jurists and lawgivers like Manu Nārada, and Kautilyā thought about them may not be equally good for later periods. Therefore for a knowledge of the systems of land tenure in the Vijayanagar period, the contemporary sources have to be carefully studied.

Proprietorship of soil

A very important feature of one's right to a particular piece of land is his power to dispose it of. As Elphinstone truly says, "property in land seems to consist in the exclusive use and absolute disposal of the products of the soil in perpetuity, together with the right to alter or destroy the soil itself where such an operation is possible. These privileges, combined, form the abstract idea of property which does not represent any substance distinct from these elements. Where they are found united there is property and nowhere else."¹⁴⁹ From the available evidence one is led to think that the ryot in the Vijayanagar days was in absolute enjoyment of the cultivated lands which were not in the possession of the king. He could not be ejected by the government, so long as he paid the fixed assessments and fulfilled his obligations. The state's share of the produce was due to the protection it afforded to the people. Wilson's description of the limitations of the titles of the king over the land which is classical may be quoted here. He observes : "He (the king) is not lord of the 'soil', he is lord of the earth, of the whole earth of kingdom, not of any parcel or allotment of it ;

149. *History of India*, pp. 79-80

he may punish a cultivator for neglect, in order to protect his acknowledged share of the crop; and when he gives away lands and villages, he gives away the share of revenue. No donee would ever think of following such a donation by actual occupancy; he would be resisted if he did. The truth is that the rights of the king are a theory, an abstraction; poetically and politically speaking, he is the lord, the master, the protector of the earth (*prithivipati*, *bhūmiswara*, *bhūmipa*) just as he is the lord, the master, the protector of men (*narapati*, *nareswara*, *nripa*). Such is the purport of the common title of a king; but he is no more the actual proprietor of the soil than he is of his subjects; they need not have his permission to buy it or sell it or to give it away, and would be much surprised and grieved if the king or his officers were to buy or sell or give away the ground which they cultivated.”¹⁵⁰

A reference to the highly valuable opinion on this question of Mādhavācārya who wrote a commentry on the *Jaiminiya Nyāya-mālā* may not be out of place here. Commenting on the text of the work, ‘the *mahābhūmi*, the public land, is it an object of gift..... the king may give it away because he possesses it; the kingdom is the king’s only for the sake of protection, and hence it should not be given away’. Mādhavācārya observes:

“But doubts may arise. When an all powerful king gives away every thing he possesses, at the commencement of the *Viśvajit* sacrifice, is he to give away the *māhābhūmi* which is inclusive of paths for cattle, highways and tanks? (The doubt arises because) the earth is wealth, *vide* the *smṛti* which says: ‘The king may claim the property of all except that of the Brahmins’.

“We reply: the *Smṛtis* enjoin that the king’s sovereignty is meant to punish the wicked and to protect the good. No, the earth is not the king’s property. But it is the common property of all the living beings for them to enjoy the fruit of their labour. Therefore though he (the king) has the right to give away that portion of the land that is not common (public-*asādhārna*) he cannot give away the *mahābhūmi*”.¹⁵¹ About the private ownership of the soil in the Malabar district, Sir Charles Turner remarks: “The Hindu

150. Mill and Wilson, *A History of India*, I, p. 211; see also *Report*, II, p. 495.

151. *Jaiminiya Nyayamala Vistara*, p. 358.

Law not only recognised the sale of land and the inheritance of land all in complete ownership; subject except where held by Brahmans to the payment of the king's due; but also recognised a multiplicity of forms of mortgage, others to the actual ownership they point to an ownership of the soil as complete as was enjoyed by a freeholder in England".¹⁵² These observations are as much applicable to other parts of South India. The fact that the proprietorship of the soil rested with the people is borne out also by the frequent purchases of land made by the kings and their feudatories for providing for festivals and services in the temple by making endowments for the same.¹⁵³

Thus the kings recognised the right of the People for the proprietorship of the soil. The property of the father was usually inherited by the son, or failing him by the nearest kinsman. This is well borne out by a few inscriptions which record the respect paid to private ownership of property. An inscription from Shimoga says for instance. "If any one in your village dies without children, brothers or other posterity, all their jewels and property whatever it may be, we will distribute among claimants of the same *gotra* as the deceased Moreover we will not take as forfeited to the palace the property of those who are childless".¹⁵⁴

Complete proprietorship of the soil meant the eight-fold rights of possession. These are *nidhi*, *nikṣepa*, *jala*, *pāṣāṇa*, *akṣiṇi*, *āgami siddha*, and *sādhya* which may be translated as deposits of buried treasure, water, stones, the *akṣiṇi*, that may accrue, that which has been made property (?), that which may be made property (?), and augmentation. Such rights were at times known as *divya bhoga svāmya* rights or *aṣṭa bhoga tejah svāmya*.¹⁵⁵ Such proprietorship was also called at times *kāṇiyākṣi*.¹⁵⁶

This does not mean, however, that kings did not possess any lands. They possessed lands which in course of time were increased. There are innumerable instances of extensive alienations of tax-free lands and villages by the kings and their viceroys. Here there were

152. *Minute on the Draft Bill relating to the Land Tenures of Malabar* 17 and 23.

153. 538 of 1929-30.

154. *E. C.* viii, Ng. 5.

155. Rice, *Mysore Inscription*, No. 45, *Ind. Ant.*, xix, p. 244.

156. See *S. I. I.*, i. p. 124.

two kinds of grants the right of the king over the soil and complete ownership of the soil. It is only in cases of the latter type that that the king had the complete right, both *kuḍivāram* and *mēlvāram*, over the soil and enjoyed its possession. But if the king wanted to make to a person or institution, a grant of the full possession of a village which was already in the possession of private individuals then he had to purchase it from the persons concerned and make a grant of the same. Otherwise he could make a grant only of his right over the soil. These apart, the uncultivated wastes also belonged to the king who made grants of them to people with free occupancy rights with a view to induce them to settle in such *kāḍārambam* or dry areas. Thus we get instances where the donees were permitted to cut down the jungle, from fields and introduce cultivation.¹⁵⁷

The kings had absolute and unlimited ownership rights over royal villages or *bhaṇḍāra grāmas*.¹⁵⁸ An inscription records, for instance, that Mallikārjuna Mahārāya made over to the officer of Svāti the village of Lakṣmi sāgara which belonged to the royal estate in order that it might be populated.¹⁵⁹ The existence of royal estates or demesnes is also referred to by foreign chroniclers like Nuniz.¹⁶⁰ Commenting on this Sewell observes: "The system is well-known in India where a prince holds what are called *khas* lands, i.e., lands held privately for his own personal use, and benefit as distinct from lands held under him by others, the revenue of which ought to go to the public purse"¹⁶¹ At times lands escheated to the king for one reason or another.¹⁶² When a particular person was excommunicated for some offence and lost his caste, his property was forfeited to the king.¹⁶³ Thus there existed side by side with villages in which the people were the proprietors of the soil, royal demesnes and estates, besides unoccupied lands of which the king was alone the proprietor.

Land Tenures

Cultivable land was either occupied or lay waste. The waste lands included hills and jungles besides the plain areas. The

157. E.C., x, Mb. E.C., iii, My; 81

158. 390 of 1920

159. E.C., v. Hn. 16

160. Sewell. *op.cit.*, p. 384.

161. *Ibid.*, fu.

162. E. C., viii, TI. 5

163. *Ibid.*, vi, Kp. 50

occupied land that belonged to the State may be classified under two heads :—

1. The *bhaṇḍāra* or *kara* or revenue villages, and
2. lands alienated to others for some purpose.

The latter head again admits of a two-fold classification based on the nature of the alienation. One was of a beneficial nature made in the name of religion and charity without the expectation of any service from the donee while the others was done in consideration of service rendered or expected of the one in whose favour the alienation was made. The religious impulses of the rulers resulted in numerous grants to temples and *maṭhas* while their respect for learning made them make gifts to Brahmans and other learned men. Such assignments of land made by the king and his subordinates in the name of religion and charity were usually from the lands that belonged to the king or his subordinates. Public service was largely remunerated in those days by assignments of lands or land revenue instead of payment in cash. Further in the days of incessant warfare a large army was required ever ready for wars and a body of feudal men-at-arms or *nāyakas* was called into existence by grants of land in proportion to their importance and the number of retainers they were expected to bring to the field.

Beneficiary tenures (religious)

The beneficiary tenures of a religious character may be classified under three heads in accordance with the person or institution to whom the grant was made :

1. *Brahmadeya*,
2. *Devadāna* or *devadāya*, and
3. *Maṭhāpura* lands.

The *brahmadeya* was a grant or perquisite appropriated to Brahmans. The grants were in the form of small lands or whole villages, made usually in recognition of a Brahman's scholarship or to enable him to impart regular religious or secular instruction to others. If it was for the latter purpose, the grant was usually known as *śrotryam*,¹⁶⁴ *bhaṭṭavṛtti*,¹⁶⁵ or *adhyayanavṛtti*,¹⁶⁶

164. *E. C.* vii, Sh. 71.

165. *Nel. Inss.*, iii, Podili. 34.

166. 21 of 1890 ; *S. I. I.*, iv. No. 344.

scholars were honoured by the grant of villages. Thus Mallikarjuna Rāya honoured one Āditya Rāya a Brahman scholar, learned in the Vedas, Śāstras, Purāṇas, and the six systems of philosophy with the grant of a village.¹⁶⁷ The Vijayanagar inscriptions are replete with instances which show that such grants were made very often.¹⁶⁸ There were two types of such grants, the *mānyams* and the *sarva-mānyams*. While the former were subject to a small quit rent, the latter were usually immune from the payment of any tax to the government. Even in *sarvamānyams* there were, as said earlier, two types of tenure, one *ēkabhōgam*¹⁶⁹ and the other the *gaṇa bhōgam* or *agrahārā* tenure.¹⁷⁰

The *devadāna* or *devadāya* or *tirunāṁattukkāṇi* lands were those granted to temples for carrying on daily worship and festivals.¹⁷¹ The *mṭahāpura*¹⁷² lands were those granted to the *maṭhas* for their maintenance, promotion of study and spread of their respective theologies. Some of them granted to Śaivācārya *maṭhas* were at times known as *śaivācārya kṣetras*¹⁷³. All these were subject to the payment of a small quit rent unless otherwise specified in the grant.

Service tenures

Service tenures may be classified under two broad heads, *viz.*, military and civil. The most important of the military tenures was known as the *nāvankara* or *amaranayaka* tenure. Dr. Maclean defines an *amaram* grant “as a grant of land by the prince or poligar on condition of service generally military or - police.”¹⁷⁴ According to this system prevalent in the Vijayanagar Empire the king divided the country into provinces and districts and granted each of them to a nobleman on terms of military service. The *nāyakas*, as these holders of military fiefs were called, ruled over the territories granted to them in return for which they made a

167. E. C., vi, pg. 69

168. C. P. 7 of 1922-23 etc.

169. Rice, *Mysore Inss.*, No. 135

170. J. B. B. R. A. S., xii, p. 347, ii, 37 ft. ; see *supra*, p.

171. 375 of 1923 ; 25 of 1925 ; Rice, *op. cit.*, No. 131, p. 235.

172. 213 of 1924 ; 232 of 1929-30 ; 27 of 1927-28.

173. 44 of 1933-34

174. *Manual of Administration*, iii, pp. 24 and 352

fixed financial contribution to the Government and maintained for the king a specified number of troops.¹⁷⁵ The lands held by the *amaranāyakas* were sometimes known as *amaramāgaṇi*¹⁷⁶ or *amaramāgaḷi*.¹⁷⁷

Persons holding certain offices in the villages which required permanent and continuous service, were remunerated by grant of lands. Such were the village servants, the goldsmith, potter, barber, astrologer, carpenter, physician and others.

Performance of specific services was remunerated by the grant of land under the *umbaḷige* or *umbaḷi* tenure. An *umbaḷi* has been taken to mean a rent-free land granted to persons for public services.¹⁷⁸ These were probably known also as *mānya umbaḷis*.¹⁷⁹ The *umbaḷis* to which we get reference in the inscriptions are the *daṇḍege umbaḷi*, *garaḍi umbaḷi* and *śattige umbaḷi*. The exact nature of the tenure under which these *umbaḷi* grants were made are not known. But the following *umbaḷis* may be noted. A *daṇḍege umbaḷi* or *palaki umbaḷi* was a grant of rent-free land for the upkeep of a palanquin or for making arrangements for carrying the king's palanquin.¹⁸⁰ The *garaḍi umbaḷi* was a rent-free land for the maintenance of gymnasium.¹⁸¹ Likewise the *śattigi umbaḷi* appears to have been a grant of rent-free land for the maintenance of an umbrella, apparently for the king.¹⁸² Likewise the *kuḍaimānyam* was a piece of rent-free land granted to persons who had perhaps to hold the umbrella over the king.¹⁸³

In the Kannaḍa districts grants of land made for a particular purpose were known as *koḍage*, or at times as *kuḍangai*. The inscriptions of the period make frequent reference to *koḍage* like *ratta koḍage*, *nettara koḍage* and *sutta koḍage*. *Ratta koḍage* or *ratta kuḍangai* was a piece of rent-free land given to the family or those who were unjustly killed in battle.¹⁸⁴ *Nettra koḍage* was a piece of rent-free land granted for service rendered in the battle-field at the cost of life. It was granted usually to the close relations or those that fell in battle.¹⁸⁵ The *nesara koḍage* referred to in an

175. For details see *supra* Ch. vi pp.

176. *E.C.*, iii, Sr. 6

177. *Ibid* vii, Sb. 369

178. Wilson, Glossary, p. 532

179. *E. C.*, x. Sd. 22

180. *E. C.*, vi, Mg. 8 x Mr. 8*; Sd. 15; 371 of 1917; *M. A. R.*, 1929, No. 32 etc.

181. *M. A. R.* 1929 No. 2

182. *Ibid* 1929, para 100

183. 82 of 1934-35

184. *E. C.*, ix, Ht, 103; 336 of 1931-32

185b. *Iid.*, vii, C₁, 69; *Ibid.*, viii, Sb, 489; *Ibid.*, iv, Cn. 130; ix, An. 78.

inscription was perhaps the same as *nettara koḍage*¹⁸⁶ The *udirappāṭṭi* was also of this type.¹⁸⁷ The exact nature of the *sutto koḍage* is not however clear, though there are occasional references to it.¹⁸⁸ The *dayirya koḍage* was probably a rent-free land for some brave service either in war or in the cow raids which were pretty frequent in the Vijayanagar days. The tenure of the *mukhāsa* villages was of a special character. We hear, for instance that a whole village was held by an individual in return for which he was required to maintain horses for the king.¹⁸⁹

The work of the supply of water to the villages was usually remunerated by the grant of *nirkūli sarvamānyam*¹⁹⁰ The *kākkunāyakavilāgam* and the *kāvalkāṇi* were probably different names given to the same tenure by which the duty of policing was remunerated.¹⁹¹

186. 58 of 1917.

187. 19 of 1933-34

188. *E.C.*, iv Hg 97

189. 216 of 1913.

190. 129 of 1918.

191. 28 of 1890 ; *S.I.I.*, iv, No. 351 : 100 of 1934-35.

CHAPTER X
INDUSTRY, TRADE AND COMMERCE
SECTION I
INDUSTRIES

Though agriculture was the main industry in the country there were others also, both rural and urban, which supplied many of the wants of the people. A good number of them were widespread throughout the Empire, though one cannot be sure that all of them were worked on a commercial scale. But one thing may be said: a comparative study of the industrial position of South India in the Vijayanagar period with that of Europe of the same period leaves the general impression that “in the matter of industry, India was more advanced relatively to western Europe than she is today.”¹ The industrial organisation of the country in the Vijayanagar period was so widespread and the consumable products were made in such abundance that the country was as a whole self-sufficient. Most people needed very few foreign commodities for their daily requirements, the articles of merchandise that were imported from foreign countries being mainly horses and elephants used in the royal courts and wars, besides a few others. The ordinary people did not have much to get from foreign countries for the articles produced in the country met their ordinary requirements. Thus production was self-sufficient in that period, though modern economic theory may not approve the ideal of economic self-sufficiency but would favour international trade and the economic interdependence of the different countries.

For purposes of convenient study the industries that thrived in the Vijayanagar Empire may be classified under certain important heads : —

1. See Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, pp. 155-56.

1. Agricultural manufactures
2. Mines and metallurgy
3. Handicrafts
4. Textiles and
5. Fisheries.

1. *Agricultural manufactures*

The articles of consumption made of agricultural production were many and entailed different processes. One of the most important of the agricultural manufactures was sugar. According to Barbosa, it was in a powdered condition, for the people knew "not how to make it into loaves and they wrap it up in small packets as it is in powder". He estimates that an *arroba*² of this sugar was worth about two hundred and forty *reis*. But referring to Bhatkal, Varthema says that there was available at that place "a great abundance of sugar candied according to our manner".³ Besides sugar of this kind, palm-sugar or jaggery was also manufactured in some places. It was yellow in colour and coarse, made from the palm sap. On account of its sweetness it was in great demand in the country.⁴ The industry is now fast dying out, except for its preparation on a small scale in some stray places. The inscriptions of the period refer to the sugarcane mills in some parts of the Empire.⁵ But there is no evidence of the existence of flour mills even on a small scale.

Oil was produced from raw agricultural products like cocoanut, gingelly, sesamum, and castor seeds. The oil mill or press, known in Tamil as *śekku* was usually made of stone or wood and was worked with two bulls. The *vāṇiyars* or *ceṭṭis* who plied this industry were subjected to a tax known as *śekku kaḍamai*.

An important agricultural industry was that of dyeing of which Barbosa speaks; among the dyes the most notable was indigo which was available in the west coast, particularly in the area

2. The *arroba* may be taken as 28 lbs.; 240 *reis* were equal to 5sh 7d, of modern English money. So the powdered sugar sold at 2 11/28 d. per lb. (*Barbosa*, I, p. 288, *fn*).

3. *Varthema*, p. 49.

4. *Barbosa*, I, p. 185; II, p. 91.

5. E. C., ii, Ml. 65; iv, Kp. 21 and 22.

round Chawl.⁶ Myrobalan, which was a kind of dried fruit used in the west for dyeing purposes, was available not only in the Coromandel, but in the west coast also.⁷

The cocoanut tree was important for the many industries that depended on it. Among them that of the cocoanut oil has been referred to above. The other articles that were produced from it were coir, toddy, palm sugar, mat, umbrella, brushes, etc. Coir was made from the *brushes* of the cocoanut. It had to undergo different processes for being reduced into its shape. It was so strong and durable that the planks making the ship were closely sewn together with coir without the use of iron nails. Toddy was extracted from the cocoanut as well as the palm saps. This was the wine of the country and was in large demand.⁸ According to Barbosa in Malabar the *Tuias* (Tiyas) were engaged in the preparation of wine.⁹ The toddy drawers were subjected to a tax.¹⁰ Jaggery and palm sugar were also produced from the products of the tree. The palm leaf was used for making mats. Barbosa gives a vivid description of the other uses to which the various parts of the cocoanut palm were put. He says: "From the leaf of the tree they make many things, in accordance with the size of the branch. They thatch the houses with them, for no house is roofed with tiles save the temples or palaces, all others are thatched with palm leaves. From the same tree they get timber for their houses and firewood as well, and all this in such abundance that ships take in cargoes for export".¹¹ They also made charcoal from the cocoanut shell close to the kernel,¹² and it was used by goldsmiths. The leaves of the fan palm or the palmyra were used for writing on as paper.¹³

2. Mines and metallurgy

An important non-agricultural industry that was connected with land, was mining. Though some of the important minerals

6. *Barbosa*, I, p. 161.

7. *E. I.*, vi, p. 232; Major, *op. cit.*, p. 29; *Barbosa*, I, pp. 188-89.

8. *Barbosa*, II, p. 91.

9. *Ibid.*, II, p. 60.

10. 216 of 1971; *Rep.*, para 68.

11. *Barbosa*, II, p. 91.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 60

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 18; and Elliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-08 also *Barbosa*, II, p. 18.

were imported from foreign countries like Ceylon which was rich in "precious stones, red, green, and yellow", pearl fisheries, garnets, jacinths, cat's-eyes and other gems, Pegu, which supplied rubies, topazes turquoises and some precious stones such as hyacinths, and Babylonia which supplied emerald,¹⁴ amethysts and some other soft sapphires were found in the rivers in Malabar.¹⁵ Besides, an important mineral that was mined from the earth was diamond. It was obtained from the mines in the Kurnool and Anantapur districts and particularly Vajra Karur. Nuniz says that Adapanayaque, the lord of the country of gate, paid to the king forty thousand *pardaos* every year and that he had to hand over to the imperial treasury all diamonds above twenty *mangelins* in weight-about twenty-five carats.¹⁶ Gracia de Orta who visited the country in 1534 A.D. says that there were two or three rocks in Vijayanagar which yielded many diamonds. He also found another diamond in the Deccan.¹⁷ Linschoten observes as follows: "They (diamonds) grow in the countrie of Decam, behind Ballagate, by the towne of Bisnagar, wherein are two or three hilles, from whence they are digged, whereof the King of Bisnagar doth reape great profite; for he causeth them to be straightly watched, and hath farmed them out with this condition, that all diamonds that are above twenty-five *mangellyns* in weight are for the King himself."¹⁸ Nikitin mentions different varieties of diamonds. According to him, one was sold at five *roubles* per 'parcel', another at ten; a kind of diamond was sold for two thousand pounds weight of gold per *lokot* while the *Kona* diamond was sold at ten thousand pounds of gold per *lokot*.¹⁹

Besides these, there were available many imitation diamonds. Barbosa says: "In India also are fabricated false diamonds, rubies, topazes and white sapphires which are good imitations of the true stones These stones show no difference from the true save that they lose their natural colour and there are some, of which one half has the colour of a ruby and the other half of a sapphire or topaz; some really have these colours mixed, they bore them in the middle and thread them on two or three very fine threads, and

14. *Barbosa*, II, pp. 217-26.

15. *Ibid*, I, p. 200.

16. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 338-9; also appendix A, pp. 399-401.

17. *Barbosa*, I, p. 226 fn.

18. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 399. According to Linchoten every mangeliyin was four grains in weight.

19. Major, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

then call them cat's eyes. Of those which come out white they make many small diamonds which differ not at all from the true, save by the touch of those practised therein".²⁰ In the kingdom of Calicut was found a kind of sapphire which was pale and fragile, very dark and blue in colour and only shone in the air.²¹ As said earlier the Government had such a large collection of diamonds that they maintained a separate diamond treasury.²²

Next to diamond the important article that was mined was gold. Gribble observes that in the whole of the Deccan, from Mysore up to the northern limits of Hyderabad, there were valleys which were rich and fertile and throughout the whole extent of which, from north to south ran a belt of gold bearing quartz which must have been extensively worked.²³ Traces of what in mining language is called *the old men* are even now found at three or even four hundred feet beneath the surface in Mysore. Where the work has been carried to a point beyond which *the old men* could not go, the yield of gold is said to be so great that they "rank among the richest gold mines in the world". According to legend the city of Vijayanagar was founded at a spot where it was revealed in a vision that there was a hidden treasure. As Gribble truly says, "it is a strange thing that throughout the whole of Indian history we frequently find the foundation of a new city or dynasty connected with the finding of a hidden treasure it is exceedingly possible that these hidden treasures were in reality mines, either of gold or precious stones, the existence of which was kept a profound secret."²⁴ There can be little doubt that the kings derived much revenue from these mines.

Sewell gives a description of the use of quicksilver in gold mining. He says that the miners made a selection of the most likely looking pieces of the broken quartz and after washing them, reduced them to a fine powder with a heavy stone roller. The powder was washed and burnt and after the sulphur had been released a small globule quicksilver was introduced to take up the gold. The mixed up mercury and gold were then

20. *Barbosa*, II, p. 221.

21. *Ibid.*, II, p. 223.

22. 387 of 1920; Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 389; *Supra*. Part I, p. 100.

23. *A History of the Deccan* I, p. 187.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

placed on a heated iron plate. Then the former escaped in the shape of vapour, while the latter remained in a pure state.²⁵ In the days of Jordanus gold was obtained in India the Less, the name given to the area covered by Sind and India along the coast as far as some place to the north of Malabar. The Vijayanagar sovereigns had such a large accumulation of gold that a separate gold treasury was maintained by the Government.²⁶

Another metal, that was mined, was iron. It appears that the iron produced in the Empire was enough for all the demand for it, both internal and foreign; and there were many ships with iron that left the Indian shores. Iron mines were largely found in the modern Mysore State.²⁷ Besides, iron was produced by smelting black sand and earth in channels from hills. The ore so collected was smelted in a kind of furnace or a large fire stand called *hommal*. It is interesting to note that the digging of such ore was taxed in proportion to the quantity of iron made.²⁸

Among the other minerals that were dug from earth were sulphur and copper. Salt, being an article in great demand, was produced on a large scale both in the sea coast areas and in the inland territory. Some inscriptions refer to the making of salt in the country.²⁹ In the inland country salt was made from saline earth. There were definite rules made by the Government to control the removal of such earth and the making of salt. The earth was spread on the surface of pans and water was let into them and allowed to evaporate in due course. After the complete evaporation of all the water, salt remained in crystals in the pans which were collected and marked. The manufacture and sale of salt were subjected to taxation. In the former, the unit of taxation was the saltpan while in the latter the unit was the salt bag.³⁰

The metal articles that were made in the Empire leave on us the impression that their production was marked not only by artistic skill but also by a large variety. There were many crafts-

25. *Antiquarian Remains I*, pp. 224-25; see also Appadorai, *Economic Conditions in Southern India*, 1000-1500 A. D. II, p. 467.

26. 380 of 1912; E. C., viii, TI. 172.

27. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 388.

28. Rice, *Mysore Gaz.* i, p. 548.

29. 41 and 46 of 1919; E. C., xi, Mk, 8 and 9.

30. E. C., v, Cn. 174 : E.I., vi, p. 232.

men, who had specialised in metal work. The more important among them were the jewellers, silver smiths, workers in ivory, carpenters and others. Though many of the articles produced were of artistic excellence, it appears that they had only a narrow market, and satisfied the needs of only a few, like temples and the court besides people who could afford them. The poorer people could not have afforded the luxury. Further, such handicrafts appear to have been localised in a few important places, such as a pilgrim centre, a market place or administrative headquarters.

Metal articles consisted of (a) jewellery (b) weapons of war and (c) household articles.

(a) *Jewellery*

The articles produced were of various kinds, for different types of them were required by different kinds of institutions and classes of persons. The jewellery articles used in temples were many and varied and among them were diadems, single neckrings, double neckrings, chest ornaments, worshipping paraphernalia, golden *prabhāvalis* and others.³¹ A large number of articles of jewellery were demanded by the Vijayanagar court; and every foreign traveller who visited Vijayanagar was struck by the variety and costliness of the jewels used by the court. Besides, many people also used costly ornaments.³²

(b) *Weapons of War*

The soldiers, horses and elephants were equally well decorated with costly jewels. The foreheads of the horses and elephants were covered with gold or silver plates set with many precious stones. The cavaliers had both sides of their armour gilded.³³ The weapons of warfare were many and among them were swords, bows and arrows, daggers, battle axes with shafts, muskets, blunder-busses, javelins, Turkish bows, bombs, spears, and fine missiles, short swords and poignards which were in girdles. The bows were plated with gold and silver and the arrows were kept feathered.³⁴ Besides, large shields were used by the soldiers which avoided the necessity for any armour to protect their body.³⁵

31. 35 of 1891 ; 150 of 1924 ; 180 of 1922.

32. See Elliot, *op. cit.*, iv, p. 113, Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

33. See Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 276-77.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 275-77, 304-328.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 328.

(c) *Household Articles*

Among the many household articles were different kinds of vessels which were usually made of copper.³⁶ Copper was also used on a large scale for minting coins.³⁷ But in the court, as said earlier vessels like basins, bowls, stools, ewers and others were made of gold and silver; the rooms themselves were covered with silver plates and gold wire.³⁸ The bed room in the palace was furnished with seed-pearl work. Ivory was used not only for ornamenting articles made of metals, but also for making articles themselves. Nuniz refers to bedsteads made of ivory and inlaid with gold.³⁹ The sword hilts, according to Barbosa, were inlaid with ivory.⁴⁰

3. *Handicrafts*

Besides the manufacture of such metal articles there were many handicrafts which flourished in the Empire. To take up first the wood handicraft. Though there was available plenty of wood in the country we are not sure if there was much furniture used by the people, in spite of the observation of Barbosa that there were good houses well furnished, and that in the front room of the houses there were many shelves.⁴¹ Even in the palace, the kings appear to have used only cushions and carpets in their court in preference to furniture.⁴²

Vehicles of transport such as carriages and palanquins were made of wood. The use of bullocks for purposes of conveying goods and men from place to place presupposes the existence of such wheeled carriages. Paes says, while referring to a road at the capital, that through it passed "all the carts and conveyances carrying stores and everything else."⁴³ Inscriptions also refer to the existence of carts in Vijayanagar.⁴⁴ Palanquins were used by the nobles, which privilege they enjoyed by virtue of the position

36. *Barbosa*, I, p. 204.

37. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 160 and 191.

38. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 369-70 ; also 285, 289.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 285, 286, 290.

40. *Barbosa*, I, pp. 141-144.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 147-148.

42. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 120, Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, p. 120.

43. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 389.

44. *E.C.*, iv, YI. 27; *Ibid.*, vii, Sk. 118.

they held in the Empire. Nuniz says: "All the captains of this kingdom (Vijayanagar) make use of litters and palanqueens. These are like biers and men carry them on their shoulders but people are not allowed to make use of litters unless they are cavaliers of the highest rank and the captains and principal persons use palanqueens. There are always at the court where the king is, twenty thousand litters and palanqueens".⁴⁵ There were in the palace itself many palanquins for the use of the members of the royal household.⁴⁶ Some heads of religious institutions like *mathas* enjoyed the privilege as also a few who were specially permitted to do so. There appear to have been different kinds of palanquins such as those used on ceremonial occasions and ordinary ones.⁴⁷ The latter seem to have been used by the common people.

Wood was also used for the construction of ships for navigation purposes. The ships and boats were of different kinds. Big boats were made of palm trunks sewn together with threads, and were of great burden. Besides, there were small boats for rowing like *bargantins* or *fustas*; "these were the most graceful in the world, right well built and exteremly light."⁴⁸ Besides there were ferry boats and basket boats in the different parts of the Empire. The *catamarans* were also largely used.

Leather goods

We do not know much regarding the manufacture of leather goods, though the foreign travellers who visited the Empire saw some people wearing shoes. Nicolo dei Conti says that the people wore sandals with purple and golden ties.⁴⁹ Barbosa also speaks of the rough shoes used by the people.⁵⁰ Paes describes the shoes in the following words: "The shoes have pointed ends, in the ancient manner, and there are other shoes that have nothing but soles, but on the top are some straps which help to keep them on the feet. They are made like those which of old the Romans were wont to wear as you will find on figures in some papers or antiquities which come from Italy".⁵¹ But it appears that only the rich people wore shoes. Paes observes: "The majority of the people, or almost all go about the country barefooted."⁵²

45. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 389.

46. *Ibid.*, pp. 248, 270.

47. Taylor, *Or. Hist. Mss.*, II, p. 157.

48. Barbosa, II, pp. 107-108.

49. Major, *India*, p. 22.

50. Barbosa, I, p. 205.

51. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 252 ; See also Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, p. 99.

52. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

Nikitin and Varthema speak in the same strain.⁵³ Bucklers also appear to have been used by the people.

Pottery

The potter's industry seems to have been largely a rural but wide-spread one, as it continues to be even today. The general poverty of a majority of the people made them use coarse pots made by the potter for their household articles. Though the polished variety of pottery might have also been known, the industry as a whole was unprogressive and did not advance beyond catering to the primary needs of the people who wanted them. The potter was an important servant of the villages and in return for his services received some remuneration "either in allotments of land from the corporate stock, or in fees, consisting of fixed proportions of the crop of every farmer in the village".⁵⁴ He was subjected to a tax.⁵⁵

Masonry

The building industry was a flourishing one in the period particularly in urban areas. Though the masses appear to have lived only in houses of mud or reeds roofed with thatch, the others, the middle classes, aristocrats and royalty lived in houses built of bricks. The houses of the nobility are said to have been after the fashion of those of the king; and there were many streets at the capital, for instance, with rows of such houses. Besides, the construction and renovation of temples and the execution of irrigation projects in different parts of the Empire kept the building industry active. Particularly in the construction of temples many craftsmen were employed. The mason built the temple; and the sculptor executed the beautiful sculptures and bas-reliefs while the painter beautified the building with excellent drawings and paintings. The construction of buildings gave encouragement to the subsidiary industries of brick-laying and quarrying.⁵⁶ It is interesting to note that for the construction of temples granite stone was brought from distant places even if it was not available in the

53. Major, *India*, p. 12; *Varthema*, p. 114.

54. Wilks, *Historical Sketches of Mysore*, I, pp. 73-74.

55. 59 of 1914, *Rep.* 1915, para 44.

56. The quarrying of stones was subjected to a tax called *kallāyam*. (E.I., xvii, p. 117).

vicinity. Engravers also received some encouragement since they were required to engrave inscriptions on the walls of temples, which were the public Record Offices of those days.

4. *Textiles*

The Textile industry in the country was an important one. But the internal demand for textile goods was conditioned by the climate of the country; for, on account of the dry and hot climate of the Empire the ordinary people were content with minimum cotton clothing, and so very little wool was used.⁵⁷ About the centres and methods of textile manufacture in the country we have very little information, for the foreign travellers who give us some idea of the trade in such articles are satisfied with mentioning the articles that went in for foreign trade, while the Indian writers on the subject usually do not give useful accounts of them.

Cotton was manufactured on a large scale at Kan-pa-mei, a city 167 miles from Calicut and identified with modern Coimbatore. Both at that place and in the surrounding area a kind of cloth, *chili* (*chih-li-pu*) was made and was sold for eight or ten gold pieces. Besides, raw silk was prepared for the loom, dyed in different colours and woven into fine cloth with flower pattern and made up into pieces of four to five feet in width and twelve to thirteen feet in length. Each such length was sold for one hundred gold pieces. On the east coast Pulicat was a great centre of textile manufacture where were made large quantities of printed cotton cloths "worth much money in Malacca, Peeguu, Camatra and in the kingdom of Guzarate and Malabar".⁵⁸ Around Goa much cotton was grown out of which very fine cloth was made,⁵⁹ and in the country round Bodial, (Budehal in the Chitaldrug division of the Mysore State) was made cloth of flax (linen).⁶¹ Cotton thread itself was on sale in the modern Guntur area.⁶² Lace was in demand and worked in looms.⁶³ The different communities that were engaged in the textile industry were the Kaikkōlas, Sāliyas and occasionally the Pariahs, the last of whom, in all probability, served the needs of the members of their community.⁶⁴

57. Major, *op.cit.*, p. 22.

58. Mahuan, *JRAS*, 1896, p. 345.

59. *Barbosa*, II, p. 132.

60. Sewell, *op.cit.*, p. 386.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 388.

62. *E.I.*, vi. p. 232.

63. 364 of 1908.

64. 59 of 1914; *Rep.*, 1915, para 44; 293 of 1910.

The tailoring industry was also in existence, though the climate of the country did not require much dress for the people generally. The tailors catered to the requirements of the middle classes of the society, who, it cannot be denied, had a fascination for elegant dress. Reference has been made to the *paṇa* (sectarian division) of the *vastrarakṣakas* (tailors) who constituted one of the eighteen divisions of society.⁶⁵

5. Fisheries

A word about fisheries. Fishery gave occupation to a good section of the population. The city of Vijayanagar got fish from rivers in large quantities.⁶⁶ In Malabar the fishermen paid four per cent daily on dried fish while they were not taxed on fresh fish; it was therefore "good cheap" and some fishermen were very rich and well off.⁶⁷ In the west coast some people lived in the winter season "on nought but fishery".⁶⁸ Linschoten observes: "Fish in India is very pleasant and sweet", "crabs and crevishes are very good and marvellous great that it is a wonder to tell", "there are also good shads and other sorts of fishes... also musckles and such like shell fishes of many sorts, oyster very many, specially at Cochin."⁶⁹ The Government got revenue by leasing fishing rights in tanks to individuals. The sum so realised was used in a majority of cases for the maintenance and repair of such sources of fishery.

Method of Production and System of Payment

Regarding the production of articles, different methods appear to have been followed. Some general characteristics of medieval industries may be noticed here. The first thing that strikes one about them is that they were primarily a handicraft system, the processes of manufacture being usually simple, utilising only crude and inexpensive machinery. Another feature of the system was that the unit of the industry was the family, at times reinforced by a small body of outside helpers. The industry was in the household stage and centred round the craftsman, who produced articles in his own place and brought them to the market for sale. Inscriptions refer to taxes on the *maṇaikkudaiyār* and *paṇṇaḍai*⁷⁰ which indicate the existence of such small handicraft industries. It was usual under

65. *E.I.*, xx, p. 90; *supra*, Part I p. 229.

66. Sewell, *op.cit.*, p. 385.

67. *Barbosa*, II, p. 65.

68. *Ibid.*, II, p. 83.

69. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, x, p. 287.

70. 59 of 1914; *Rep.* 1915, para 44.

system that the master craftsmen who were known as *ācāryas*⁷¹ had a number of apprentices working under them. The craftsmen were able to get the raw materials nearby and it was only very rarely that they imported raw products for manufacturing purposes from a long distance. Thus the division of labour was “along lines which were longitudinal rather than transverse”, and the individual workers carried through the whole work of manufacture from the acquiring of the necessary raw materials to placing the manufactured articles in the market. Naturally therefore the output of the medieval manufacturer was considerably small considering the time taken and the number of hands employed. Another important aspect of the medieval industrial organisation was that it was stable. Since the manufacturer produced his articles only for the locality, and since there were no appreciable and frequent changes in the fashions of the people and the consequent fluctuations in the demand for goods a good balance was maintained between supply and demand. There were no alternating periods of boom and depression. Further the medieval handicraft workers produced only for local small-scale consumption largely owing to the lack of the means of speedy and cheap transport.

At times communities of workmen migrated to places where they could get work. The Saurāṣṭras, for instance, were immigrants to Vijayanagar and Madurai in search of habitation and employment. Likewise the Paṭṭunūlkāras were the weavers who migrated to Madurai and found employment there. The temples encouraged the settlement of weavers in their precincts and promoted the weaving industry.

Besides, a large number of workmen depended on State patronage and received daily wages. Barbosa says that when the workmen came to begin any work they received a certain quantity of rice to eat and when they departed at night they got a *fanam* each.⁷² This account is confirmed by Nuniz who describes the system in Vijayanagar as follows: “He (the king) has one thousand six hundred grooms who attend to horses and has also three hundred horse trainers and two thousand artificers namely blacksmiths, masons and carpenters These are the people he has and pays every day; he gives them their allowance at the gate of the palace”.⁷³

71. *Ibid.*

72. *Barbosa*, II, p. 99.

73. *Sewell, op. cit.*, p. 381.

SECTION II

ARTICLES OF TRADE

The prosperity of a country depends largely on its trade. The writings of the foreigners who visited South India give some glimpses of its vigorous trade in the Vijayanagar days. Their accounts regarding the trade of the region bear out with remarkable force the words of Gibbon that the "objects of oriental traffic were splendid and trifling," thus showing that there was no great change in the course of the foreign trade of the country during the Vijayanagar period.

Imports

The articles that went into trade during the period may be brought under two heads, imports and exports. Though the country was fairly self-supporting during the period she was in need of certain kinds of foreign goods to meet the demands of particular classes of people.

The foreign goods that were in demand may be classified under some broad heads :

- (a) Necessaries of the Government.
- (b) Raw and finished materials and.
- (c) Luxuries.

(a) Necessaries of the Government

In this class may be mentioned gold and silver that were imported from outside. Though some quantity of gold was mined in the country itself, much was imported to meet the needs of coinage and display. Gold was imported into India from Aden, Melinde, Berbera in Africa and from China. Silver was imported from the East also.⁷⁴ Quicksilver, tin, lead, copper and iron were some other articles that were imported in some measure.

There was great demand by the government for elephants and horses which played an important part both in the wars of the

74. *Barbosa*, I, pp. 47, 56, 130 and 202-03; II, pp. 155-56.

period and for royal paraphernalia. The countries which supplied elephants were Ceylon and Pegu.⁷⁵ The king of Ceylon who appears to have had a monopoly of the elephant trade, sold them to the merchants of the Coromandel coast, Vijayanagar, Malabar, Deccan and Cambaya, who went there to buy them.⁷⁶ The best among the trained elephants were then worth a thousand or a thousand five hundred *cruzados* while some others cost four or five hundred according to their training.⁷⁷ Ābdur Razzāk says that Dēva Rāya II had more than thousand elephants "lofty as hills and gigantic as demons".⁷⁸ According to Paes, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya had eight hundred elephants attached to his person.⁷⁹ Besides the animals were kept in large numbers by the provincial governors also for military purposes. Though elephants were available in North India the reason why the Vijayanagar kings imported them largely from Ceylon is not clear. Perhaps there were two reasons for it; for one thing, the Ceylonese elephants were of a better breed; and for another, the existence of the Bahmani Sultans who were on inimical terms with the Vijayanagar kings stood in the way of the import of the animals from North India. Elephants were also bred at the capital. Ābdur Razzāk says that between the first and second *enciente* of the city and between the northern and western faces, the breeding of the elephants took place.⁷⁹

Another animal that was imported from outside was the horse which was in great demand both for State paraphernalia and for military purposes. As said earlier the Carnatic horses were weak and lean and not able to bear fatigue and hence the kings were keen on having a regular supply of good horses from foreign countries.⁸⁰ At the beginning of the sixteenth century more than two thousand horses were imported from Arabia alone.⁸¹ Till about the commencement of the century the horse trade was largely a monopoly of the Muslim merchants of Ormz, but later it passed on to the Portuguese.⁸²

75. *Ibid.*, II, p. 113; Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 111,

76. *Ibid.*, II, p. 115.

77. Elliot, *op. cit.*, iv, p. 105.

78. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

79. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 109.

80. See Scott. *Ferishta*, I, p. 118; Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 72; *Supra*, Part I, p. 154.

81. *Barbosa*, I, p. 94; *Barbosa*, Stanly, p. 90.

82. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 127; Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, p. 59.

(b) *Raw and finished Products*

Among the different raw products that were imported were spices like cloves, cardamom and cinnamon which came from Sumatra, Moluccus and Ceylon. They were in large demand on account of their better quality as compared with those produced in the country.⁸³ Malacca, Java, Borneo, China and Bengal exported to the Coromandel in Moorish ships many kinds of spices and drugs among which were aloe wood, camphor, frankincense, pepper etc.⁸⁴ Borneo and Sumatra supplied a good part of the camphor needed in the Empire. It was so much esteemed in South India that it was "worth its weight in silver. They carry it in powder in cane tubes to Narsyngua, Malabar and Daquen".⁸⁵ "One pound weight of camphor from Borneo is as dear as a hundred pounds of China *camphire*. But the Indians who knew how to mix them, adulterate the best, as they do all other merchandise being as dexterous at that work as any people in the world; so that one must be very cunning, and have a great deal of experience not to be deceived".⁸⁶ Lac, water melons and sandal wood were got from Java. Opium was imported from China.⁸⁷ The perfumes that were imported into the country were saffron, rose water, and musk, the former two from Jedda and the last from Ava.⁸⁸ The metals that were imported were copper, quicksilver, gold, silver, lead iron and tin. The places that supplied these articles were Jedda, Aden, Mecca and a few others.⁸⁹

Finished articles like brassware from China were in demand by the Muslims. Good varieties of scarlet cloth, camlets, taffetas and silk were imported at Calicut from Jedda, Aden and other places. Silk was imported from China also⁹⁰. Among the articles of merchandise that went every year from Goa to Vijayanagar, were velvets, damasks and sathens, armesine or Portugal and pieces of China.⁹¹ Velvets came from Mecca also.⁹²

83. Vasco da Gama, *The First Voyage*, p. 77; Major, *India*, pp. 7-8.

84. *Barbosa*, II, p. 125; Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, I, pp. 358-59.

85. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 207-08.

86. *Dr. B. C. Law Volume I*, p. 119.

87. *Barbosa*, I, p. 129.

88. *Ibid.*, I, p. 130; II, pp. 159-61.

89. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 47, 202-03.

90. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 46-7, 107.

91. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, x, p. 99.

92. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

(c) *Luxuries*

The articles of luxury that were imported were precious stones which were in great demand by the royalty and nobility. Though some kinds of pearl were produced in the country itself, several special varieties were imported from outside. Among them were precious stones brought for sale from Pegu, Ceylon and Ormuz, as also pearls and seed pearls. The precious stones circulated in the country more freely than elsewhere on account of the great esteem in which they were held. Ceylon also supplied rubies, sapphire-garnets and cats' eyes.⁹³ Tin was imported from Tennesserim.

Exports

From the quantitative point of view South India appears to have exported articles in excess of her imports. The countries to which they were sent were Persia, Arabia and the coasts of Arabia in the west and China in the east. Besides, there was active commercial intercourse between Ceylon and South India as also some coastal towns in North India. The articles that were exported from the country may be grouped under three broad heads :—

(a) Food products, spices and drugs

(b) Metals and

(c) Manufactured goods

(a) *Food products, spices and drugs*

The most important food product that was exported to foreign countries was rice. It was available at Melinde, Aden, Ormuz and some other places in the west and Ceylon in the south and was generally of the black variety which was comparatively cheap.⁹⁴ It is interesting to note that though Malabar exported rice to Ceylon and other places, it itself imported rice from Mangalore.⁹⁵ About the export of rice Barbosa observes : "Many ships from abroad, and many as well of Malabar, take in cargoes thereof and (after it has been husked and cleaned, packed in bales of its own straw, all of the same measure to wit, each bale containing

93. Barbosa, I, pp. 202-03.

94. Ibid., I, pp. 23, 56, 64, 178 and 188; Varthema, p. 192.

95. Ibid., I, p. 123.

four alqueries and a half and worth from a hundred and fifty to two hundred *reis*) take it away". Ormuz had a supply of white rice.⁹⁶

The next important article that was exported was sugar of the powdered variety. An *arroba* of it was worth about two hundred and forty *reis*.⁹⁷ The other important foodstuffs that were exported were wheat and millet.⁹⁸ Cocoanut or the Indian nut was exported from the ports of the west coast to places like Aden and Ormuz.⁹⁹

The dye stuffs that were shipped included cinnnabar, henna, indigo, myrobalan, the last of which was available in large quantities at Bhatkal and the Malabar ports¹⁰⁰. Sandalwood and teak-wood both as wood and as plank were sent to foreign countries from the west coast.¹⁰¹

Among the other articles which were in great demand in foreign countries in the west and east were spices and drugs. Pepper, particularly of the black variety, was an article that was produced for export to foreign countries and for consumption in the country itself, for it was used for dressing food.¹⁰² The pepper produced in the west coast was of an excellent variety and was in large demand in different countries and was exported from such ports as Cochin and Calicut.¹⁰³ Likewise were cloves, ginger and cinnamon. The first among them appears to have been imported into the country from Java, the Nicobar islands and the Moluccas to be exported to countries in the west.¹⁰⁴ Ginger was grown in large quantities in the west coast and exported to foreign countries. There were two broad varieties of it, the green ginger and the dried ginger, both of which were in demand. The process of drying it was to cast ashes on it and expose it to the sun for three days by

96. *Barbosa*, pp. I, 195-96.

97. *Ibid.*, p. 188.

98. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

99. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 55-56, 92.

100. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 188-89.

101. *Ibid.*, I, p. 107.

102. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 95 and 203.

103. *Ibid.*, II, p. 215.

104. *Ibid.*, I, p. 92 ; II, 227-28.

which time it would become dry.¹⁰⁵ Ginger was shipped from the ports of Calicut, Cannanore, and Mangalore to countries like Persia and Yemen.¹⁰⁶ Cinframon was a product largely of the west coast though a better variety of the article was imported to Malabar from Ceylon to be re-exported to foreign countries.

(b) *Metals*

The important metal that was exported from Bhatkal to foreign places like Ormuz was iron.¹⁰⁷ Among the precious stones shipped to countries like Arabia were carnelian, cats'eye, garnet, pearls, diamonds, rubies, sapphires, giagonzas, amethysts, topazes, chrysolites and hyacinths.¹⁰⁸

(c) *Manufactured goods*

The finished products exported from the country to Ormuz and other places were cotton cloths and porcelain articles.¹⁰⁹ The Portuguese bought cloth from the Vijayanagar merchants at Ankola and Honavar.¹¹⁰ Pulicat and Mylapore exported a large quantity of printed cloth to Malacca, Pegu and Sumatra.¹¹¹

The kinds of Calico cloth made in the Vijayanagar Empire were *tzinde* (silk cloth with red stripes), *patta katuynen* (cloth with red stripes) *dragon* (black and red cloth) *sallalo* (blue and black cloth) *bastan* (white and black cloth, starched and folded up four square) *kassa* (white unstarched lawns), *kreyakam* (red starched cloth), *kantely* (black starched cloth), *toorya* (painted unstarched coarse cloth) *paw* (silk cloth with frings on the end) etc. They were exported to Bantam and other places in return for cloves.¹¹²

Though the above were the articles that largely entered trade either as exports to foreign countries or as imports from them, there were a good number of articles of inland trade. We have however no clear description of them except the casual references made to them in the inscriptions of the period and the writings of the foreign travellers who visited the country. Konḍavidu inscription of

105. Major, *India*, p. 6.

106. *Barbosa*, I, p. 195.

107. *Ibid.*, I, p. 188.

108. See Foster, *Letters received by the East India Company from its servants, in the East* I, 1602-1613, (London, 1896), p. 73.

109. *Barbosa*, I, pp. 53-56.

110. Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, pp. 62-63.

111. *Barbosa*, II, p. 132.

112. See *B. C. Law Volume*, I, p. 125.

Nādiṇḍla Gōpa gives a list of the articles of inland trade. It included many articles of food (with the exception of rice) such as pulses, millets, ragi, wheat, vegetables, salt, tamarind, spices like pepper, cloves, nutmeg, mace etc. cocoanut, ghee, oil, jaggary, sugar, betel leaves and arecanut, dyes such as dammer and gall nuts, fruits, metals such as iron, lead, tin and copper, raw materials such as cotton, cleaned and uncleaned manufactured goods like steel, chisels, cotton-thread and gunny bags.¹¹³ Animals like pack-horses, bullocks and asses were also on sale.¹¹⁴ Vijayanagar was a well provided city stocked with provisions of rice, wheat, grains, Indian corn besides barley and beans, green gram, pulses, horse-gram and many other seeds which were grown in the country.¹¹⁵ Thus the articles of inland trade were many. They were sold both in the bazaars and in the *śarîtes* or fairs which were held regularly on fixed days throughout the year. Many other places in the Empire must also have been well provided with similar articles.

113. *E. I.*, vi, pp. 232-39, see also *E. C.*, iii, Ml.95; Nj.118, v, Cn, 174.

114. 18 of 1915.

115. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

SECTION III

COMMERCIAL COMMUNITIES

Arabs and Muslims

The trade of the country was practically in the hands of a few commercial communities, both foreign and indigenous. Among them the Muslims were important. Slowly and steadily they established themselves permanently on the soil and made for themselves good business influence. By the beginning of the fifteenth century there was a substantial Muslim population at Calicut.¹¹⁶ Likewise the other cities on the west coast had each a good Muslim population.¹¹⁷ Vijayanagar had a Muslim quarter and it is possible that many inland cities also were well peopled with Muslims. Some influential Muslim businessmen had agencies in different parts of the country. Thus the Muslim merchants of Calicut appear to have had their agents at Mangalore and Basrur.¹¹⁸ The Muslims also maintained many ships of their own and carried on extensive trade till the Portuguese took their place in the west coast by the beginning of the sixteenth century.¹¹⁹ Shaykh Zaynu'd-Din, the author of the *Tahfatal-Mujāhidīn*, gives a good description of how the Portuguese drove out the Muslims from active commercial life in the west coast. According to him the Portuguese established their power in a large number of ports over which they held their sway by opening trade factories in them. "Their trade was flourishing in these ports, and elsewhere, while the Muslim merchants in these places were humbled and made to submit to the Portuguese as slaves. The Muslim merchants were not permitted to trade except in goods for which the Portuguese had little interest. The commodities in which the Portuguese had interest yielded large profits. They assumed the right of exclusive possession of the trade in such commodities, and it was not possible for others to encroach on their rights. Their monopoly started

116. Mahuan, *JRAS*, 1896.

117. *Varthema*, p. 114.

118. Strurrock, *South Canara Manual*, I, p. 68.

119. *Barbosa*, II, p. 126.

with pepper and ginger but gradually they added to the list cinnamon, cloves, spices and such other articles which yielded large profits. The Muslims were forbidden to do business in all these articles and to undertake sea-voyages for trade purposes to the Arabian coast, Malaqa, Ashi, Danasri and other places. Thus there remained nothing for the Muslims of Malibar, but the petty trade in arecanut, coconut, clothes and such other things..... The journey by sea was not possible for the Muslims except under the protection of the Portuguese and with their passes..... There was little traffic on sea for the Muslims and their carrying-trade was through the ships of the Portuguese.”¹²⁰ But the Muslims continued to retain some hold and influence in the commercial life of the east coast. They brought goods from China, Malacca and Bengal and supplied them to the people. The coastal trade of South India was largely controlled by them. The arrival of the Portuguese adversely affected the for country tunes of the Arabs on the west coast of India only.

Portuguese

The commercial history of South India attained a new phase with the coming of the Portuguese to the country at the beginning of the sixteenth century and the establishment of their settlements at places like Goa and Diu. As said above, they practically drove out of the market the Arabs, who had a monopoly of the trade in horse in South India till then. They gradually became masters of the trade of the coast to the exclusion of the Arabs and Moplahs and collected a kind of tribute in grain from all the ports on the west coast. Thus Barcelor had to pay annually five hundred loads of rice, the ruler of Barakūr one thousand, the ruler of Carnad near Mulki eight hundred, the ruler of Mangalore two thousand loads of rice and thousand of oil, the ruler of Manjeshwar seven hundred loads of rice and the ruler of Kumbla eight hundred.¹²¹ Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya who was frequently at war with Ādil Shāh of Bījāpūr availed himself of the opportunity to get a large supply of horses on monopolistic terms from them. In 1511 he sent an embassy to the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa and expressed his desire to get through them horses from Arabia and Ormuz of which he was in dire need. The Viceroy expressed his willingness to send him all

120. *Annals of the Oriental Research Institute, (Madras University)* VI, No. 1.

121. *South Canara Manual, I, pp 68-9.*

the horses available at Goa rather than to the Sultan of Bijāpūr. Three years later the Emperor sent another embassy under the leadership of one Retilim Cherim (Ceṭṭi), Governor of Barcelor (Basrūr) and offered the Viceroy twenty thousand pounds for the exclusive right of buying thousand horses; but the offer was rejected by the Portuguese Viceroy on the ground that it would adversely affect their trade in the country. However, when the 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpūr made a similar tempting offer to the Portuguese, Albuquerque informed Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya that he would exclusively supply him with all the horses if he would pay him thirty thousand *cruzados* per annum for the supply and send his own servants to Goa to fetch them.^{121a}

During the early years of Sadāśiva Rāya's reign the relations between the Vijayanagar king and the Portuguese were not cordial. But early in 1546 Sadāśiva Rāya swore eternal friendship to the king of Portugal and promised that he would never wage war against the provinces of Salsette and Bardez which were given away to them; and in 1547 Rāma Rāja sent an ambassador to the Viceroy of Goa to confirm on behalf of his master the treaty of alliance proposed in the previous year. Subsequently the ambassador met two other officers appointed by the Portuguese Government as a result of which the following treaty was concluded :

“ Both parties, the King of Portugal and the King of Vijayanagara, oblige themselves to be friends of friends, and enemies of enemies, each of the other; and, when called on, to help each the other with all his forces against all kings and lords of India, Nizām Shāh always excepted.

“ The Governor of Goa will allow Arab and Persian horses landed at Goa to be purchased by the King of Vijayanagara; none being permitted to be sent to Bijāpūr nor to any of its parts; and the King of Vijayanagara will be bound to purchase all those that were brought to his ports on quick and proper payment.

“ The King of Vijayanagara will compel all merchants in his Kingdom trading with the coast, to send their goods through Onor (Honāvar) and Barcelor (Basrūr) wherein the King of Portugal will send factors who will purchase them all; and the Governor of India will be forced to send the Portuguese merchants there in order to

121a. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p 127; Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, p. 59.

buy them. In the same way, the King of Vijayanagara will forbid the exportation of iron and saltpetre into the Kingdom of Āḍil Shāh from any port or town of his own; and his merchants will be compelled to bring this merchandise to the harbour of this Kingdom of Vijayanagara, where they will be quickly purchased by the Governors of India, not to cause them loss.

“All the cloths of the Kingdom of Vijayanagara will not be brought over to the ports of Āḍil Shāh, but either to Ankola or to Onor (Honāvar); and in the same way the Governors will bind the Portuguese merchants to go there to purchase them, and to exchange them for copper, coral, vermilion, mercury, China silks, and all other kinds of goods which come from the Kingdom; and he, the King of Vijayanagara, will order his merchants to purchase them.

“The King of Vijayanagara will allow no Moorish (Muslim) ship or fleet to stop in his ports; and if any should come he will capture them and hand them over to the Governor of India, whosoever he may be.

“Both parties agree to wage war with Āḍil Shāh: and all the territories taken from the latter shall belong to Vijayanagar, except lands to the West of the Ghats from Banda to the Chintakora river, which lands did long ago belong to the ownership and jurisdiction of Goa and will remain attached for ever to the Crown of Portugal”.¹²²

Though the relations of the Portuguese with the Vijayanagar rulers were one of apparent harmony, their relations with some of the feudatories of the Empire were not always cordial. They had frequent wars with the rulers of Bhatkal and Uḷḷal.¹²³ In 1558 there arose a small quarrel between the Portuguese and Rāma Rāja himself leading to the latter's invasion of Mylapore, where the Portuguese had made a settlement. Likewise there were quarrels with them on the fishery coast in the far south in which they sustained reverses.¹²⁴ In spite of such small skirmishes between Vijayanagar and the Portuguese, their good relations were not very much disturbed. San Thome continued to be a flourishing trade centre even at the end the reign of Sadāśiva.

122. Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, pp. 62-3.

123. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 185 and 187; Heras, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-90.

124. *Ibid.*, pp. 150-62.

Referring to this state of affairs in Mylapore Caesar Frederick observes: "It is a marvellous thing to them which have not seen the lading and unlading of men and merchants in Saint Tome as they do". This place traded particularly with Pegu and Bengal, with the former in gold and sealing wax and with the latter in eatables, particularly sugar. The fine cloths produced in the Coromandel were in great demand in Portugal. In the month of September the Portuguese used to send to Malacca a ship laden with these coloured cloths which obtained for them a great quantity of money.¹²⁵ The trade between the city of Vijayanagar itself and Goa was also great. The Italian traveller Philippo Sassetti says: "Large quantities of goods that came from our possessions via Alexandria and Soria were then consumed and all the cloths and linen, which were made in such a large quantity could be disposed of there. The traffic was so great that the road going from here (Goa) to that town was always as crowded as the roads leading to a fair, and the profit was so sure that the only trouble was to bring the goods there. Anything that was carried there by the merchants after a fortnight of walking, was sold there with a profit of twenty-five or thirty per cent. Besides, they came back with other merchandise, diamonds, rubies, and pearls. In these things the profit was even greater. And finally the tax on the horses that came from Persia to go to that Kingdom yielded in this town a hundred and twenty or a hundred and fifty thousand *ducats*".¹²⁶

But the Hindu defeat at Rakṣas Tangḍi struck a rude blow at the prosperity of the Portuguese trade. The Portuguese commerce which was very extensive and paying was shattered because of the political effects of the battle. Since then the Portuguese trade declined. Couto gives a doleful picture of the results of the battle on the trade of the Portuguese. He says: "By this destruction of the kingdom of Bisnaga, India and our State were much shaken; for the bulk of the trade undertaken by all was for this kingdom to which they carried horses, velvets, satins and other sorts of merchandize by which they made great profits; and the Custom House at Goa suffered much in the revenues so that from that day till now the inhabitants of Goa began to live less well; for baizes and fine cloths were a trade of great importance for Persia and

125. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, x, p. 109; Heras, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.

126. Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 71 and fn. 1.

Portugal and it then languished and the gold pagodas of which every year more than five hundred thousand were laden in the ships of the kingdom were then worth seven and a half *Tangas*, and today are worth eleven and a half and similarly every kind of coin".¹²⁷ Caesar Frederick who visited the country just two years after the battle also gives a good account of the loss Goa had sustained in trade on account of the set back Vijayanagar suffered at the battle. He says that the country was so much infested with thieves that he was forced to stay at Vijayanagar for six months more than he had intended to.¹²⁸ Philippo Sassetti also remarks that the trade between the two cities had completely perished; and referring to the loss the Portuguese sustained, he remarks: "The revenue of the tax on the horses that came from Persia for Vijayanagara was from a hundred and twenty thousand to a hundred and fifty thousand *ducats*; and the present revenue does not reach even six thousand". The Portuguese king was not prepared for this sudden fall for he wrote early in 1568: "If the merchandise that comes from Cannanor, Cochin and other places, to be sold in Narasinga (Vijayanagar) passes through Goa, the revenue derived from the tariff duties on them will be a great service to me".¹³⁰ Heras justly observes: "The Portuguese sovereign was never to see the finances of his 'State of India, increased by the commerce with Vijayanagara, the Portuguese trade in that city had perished for ever'.¹³¹ Upto 1587 A.D. the monopoly of the Portuguese commerce was practically in the hands of the government. But in that year it was handed over to a quasi-commercial company called the Portuguese Company of India and the East, which in 1630, gave place to the Commercial Company.

The Portuguese continued to stay on in the Empire trying to spread the tenets of their religion and painting figures for the kings, particularly Venkaṭa II though they acquired some small settlements at some places like Nāgapaṭṭinam (1612). But they slowly lost their influence in the Vijayanagar court, at Vellore and Chandragiri; and they were recalled by Philip III of Spain who suspected the behaviour of the missionaries that stayed with the King.

127. *Dec.* VIII. C, 15. quoted by Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-11.

128. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, x, pp. 98-99.

129. See Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, p. 240 and *fn.* 2.

130. *Ibid.*

131. *Ibid.*

Dutch

The close of the sixteenth century and the commencement of the seventeenth were marked by the appearance of the Dutch, Danes and the English on the east coast of India for a share in its commerce and the break up of the monopoly enjoyed in it by the Portuguese so far.

The Dutch who came to know about India and her commercial products fitted out between 1595 and 1602 as many as fifteen expeditions to the east. In 1602 all the Flemish companies were amalgamated into a United Company and an expedition was sent to find out a suitable trading centre in India. Towards the close of 1608 they got an *olla* from Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka of Ceñji for establishing a factory at Dēvanāmpaṭṭinam near modern Cuddalore in the South Arcot District. But there was great rivalry between the Portuguese and the Dutch. The Dutch "worked havoc to the Portuguese ships in the sea" but on land the Portuguese endeavoured by clandestine efforts to prevent them from getting a foothold. The Dutch also tried to found a factory at Triminipatan (Tirumalairājanpaṭṭinam) in the Tañjāvūr District. While they were building a factory at Dēvanāmpaṭṭinam, Venkaṭa II the Emperor of Vijayanagar, interfered on behalf of the Portuguese and ordered Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka of Ceñji to expel the Dutch from the place. After three such repeated orders the Dutch were expelled from it.¹³²

But some two years earlier the Dutch had got a *cowle* though with some difficulty, from Venkaṭa II to build a fort of stone at Pulicat to keep all kinds of war ammunitions, powders, lead, bullets, anchors, ropes, sail and all other kinds of merchandise to save it from fire, robbers and other accidents on condition of their paying two per cent on the goods and merchandise brought into it for trade purposes it being understood that what had been paid once need not be paid a second time and that rice and other necessities for the house had not to be paid for. The Emperor promised not to allow any other European nation to trade at the place. The Dutch on their part agreed to pay according to the agreement all painters and weavers who would make or paint cloth or sell linen there and promised to sell the king whatever goods, guns, war ammunition or such other things of theirs as were desired by the king for the price "they cost in our countries".

132. See T. I. Poonen, *The Dutch Beginnings in India* (Madras University), ch. vii.

The Portuguese considered the Dutch as a menace to their prosperity, and hence about the close of 1612 or early in 1613 attacked them and razed to the ground their fort at Pulicat. But in 1614 the Dutch re-occupied the place, getting permission from Venkaṭa II through the influence of Ōbi Rāju the brother-in-law of the Emperor, for re-establishing themselves there. A new fortress was erected at Pulicat, but at a different spot which commanded greater facility for defence. Further the fort was strengthened by the erection of several bastions round the walls and the picketing of artillery and soldiers. The newly constructed fort was called 'Castle Geldria'.

In 1619 A. D. under the terms of a treaty between the Dutch and the English concluded between James I and the States General, the English were allowed to erect a factory at Pulicat along side of the Dutch on a joint account. Under this new arrangement the Dutch and the English agreed to a sort of partnership in the Far East, the English to have one-third of the trade in Moluccas and one-half of the Bantam pepper trade, and both parties to unite in providing a fleet for defence against the Spaniards and the Portuguese. According to the seventh article of the Treaty of Defence "the English Companie shall freely use and enjoy traffique at the place of Pellicate and shall bear the moyette of the charge of maintenance of the fort and garrison there; this to begin from the tyme of the publication of this treaty in those parts.¹³³ The English arrived at Pulicat in June 1621 and worked for some time the experiment of joint trade. But it was not quite successful on account of the mutual suspicion between the Dutch and the English. The Dutch Governor-General wrote to the Dutch agent at Masulipatam directing him to discontinue at Pulicat and other places the practice of buying cloth jointly with the English. He said: "We are not bound to do so by the Contract and we do not consider it advisable to bind ourselves in the matter, so do your best, without making the English any wiser than they are. We again warn you not to trust them in the least, for we find it productive of no good. It is also desirable that they should live outside rather than inside the fort. Do not let them infringe on our jurisdiction, honour and prerogative. Make them pay from month to month the half of all expenses of the fort and garrison of Pulicat and do not agree to the payment of any portion here (unless it be to your advantage). In this way we shall avoid the necessity of

133. William Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1618-21*, Intro., p. xiv.

running after the English, and they on the other hand will have to come to us".¹³⁴ The English factors held similar suspicions. Methwold felt that the Dutch "hould us to the strick sense of all agreements, whilst themselves violate or infringe in part of all authentick and serious treatyes".¹³⁵ Mathew Duke wrote to the Company from Pulicat as follows: "I cannot but thinke they finde that trade moast profitable. But all thinges are carried by a single duple voice and not ordered by consultation; which I could wishe were otherwise, for considering that the factory of Petapoli is dissolved, wee are enow to have steered our owne course and not to saile by another man's compas. I doe not incert this caution, upon any certen ground or just cause of suspition other than common reason doth lead mee to; which is to doubt the worst, for the old fable is that wolves are often clothed in sheepes skines, and it is alwaies good to doubt the worst."¹³⁶

Thus the treaty only raised the mutual suspicions of the parties on one another and let to much heated controversy. As a consequence, the English, decided to abandon their factories from the Moluccas, Banda and Amboyana. But even before the decision was given effect to, occurred the famous "massacre of Amboyana" in which ten English-men were charged of conspiring to capture the Dutch fortress in that island, made to undergo an irregular trial and tortured and put to death early in 1623. This abominable outrage roused the just ire of the English who gave up the idea of co-operation with the Dutch. Pulicat was abandoned by the English who retired to Masulipatam.

Danes

The successful commercial enterprises and profits of the Portuguese and the Dutch in the East paved the way for similar enterprises being undertaken by some other nations of Europe like the Danes and the English. The Danish East India Company was started at Copcnhagen under the patronage of king Christian IV in 1616. The Kandyan king in Ceylon was greatly in need of the Danish help to drive out the Portuguese from the island. Hence Marcellus de Bosahowver, a Dutchman, negotiated on behalf of the Kandyan king a treaty with the king of Denmark with forged credentials. In 1618 a ship was despatched to Ceylon under

134. William Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

135. *Ibid.*, p. 298.

136. *Ibid.*, pp. 304-305.

Roelant Crape, a Dutchman, followed some time later by four others. At the suggestion of the Kandyan king he captured some Portuguese junks laden with rice and arecanuts and passed to the Coromandel coast. The Portuguese soon attacked the Danish ship off the Coromandel coast as a result of which Roelant Crape, the Dutch Captain, made his way with a few others to Tañjāvūr, where they were well received by Raghunātha Nāyaka the ruler of the region. The next batch of Danish ships reached Ceylon in 1620 under the captainship of Ove Geede. The Captain after getting the cession of Trincomali to the Danes moved on to the Coromandel coast and concluded a treaty with the Nāyak of Tajñāvūr, according to which Raghunātha ceded to them Tranquebar, where they built a small fort called the "Castell". One Henrick Here was appointed commandant of the fort. The Danes soon built up a prosperous trade. By 1622 the fort was strengthened since the Danes had gained an important place in the commercial life of that part of the country.¹³⁷

English

On 31st December 1600 some merchants of London obtained a charter from Queen Elizabeth to trade with the East and sent out expeditions in 1601 and 1604 both of which did not meet with success. In 1607 the English made a settlement at Masulipatam. A year later they tried to settle at Pulicat. The English Captain Hippon went to the place and sought an interview with one Conda Ma (Kondama) said to have been Governess of the place with a very good present with a view to get her permission to establish a factory at Pulicat. But she refused to give him audience, sent word that the place had been granted to the Dutch by Emperor Venkaṭa and suggested that they might obtain from him another place for themselves.¹³⁸ The English then returned to Masulipatam.

To their surprise Venkaṭa II sent an embassy to the British traders at Masulipatam with letters from Ōbammā, queen of Pulicat, Jaga Rāya, Governor of San Thome and the surrounding country and Appa Koṇḍaja, - Secretary of the Emperor suggesting to them that they might choose a place "right over against the fort of Polecatte" which he would grant with all such privileges as they would desire besides great promises. Subsequently, the Emperor

137. *The English Factory Records*, I, intro., and p. 266; II, p. 117.

138. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, iii, p. 320.

sent a *cow*/, in a leaf of gold wherein he begged excuse for the former fault done to them at Vellore and granted them a town "of about four hundred pound of yearly revenue" with promise to do more at their coming.¹³⁹ They had an idea of going to Pulicat; but hearing of the death of Venkaṭa II in 1614 and the troubles consequent on that, the proposal was dropped.

But independent of that, the English made an attempt to start trading with the people at Pulicat and to establish a commercial settlement there. However, they met with no better result this time also and hence they gave up the attempt.

In 1611 the English were allowed to establish a factory at Pettapoli (Peddapalli) now called Nizampatam. The place is about 70 miles to the north of Pulicat and 36 miles south of Masulipatam, where again the English opened a factory under the patronage of Abdulla, the Sultān of Golkonda. The place accommodated a warehouse, offices and residences for the factors, and was subject to Bantam.¹⁴⁰ Abdulla was merciless in his exactions and hence the English had to shift to some other place; but their attempts in that direction were foiled by the Dutch. The English therefore established factories in 1616 at Calicut and Cranganore, on the west coast under the protection of the Zamorin of Calicut. Some three years later, the English, as said earlier, concluded a defensive alliance with the Dutch at Pulicat for joint trade on a partnership basis, but on account of mutual suspicions among them the contemplated joint business did not work successfully. Largely on account of this reason and the 'massacre of Amboyana' the English withdrew from the place.¹⁴¹

In 1622 one Johnson sent information to the Superior Council at Bantam that the Nāyak of Tañjāvūr was anxious to open trade relation with the English. Brickceden, the Preseident of the English settlements of the East and the Council at Bantam communicated the news to the Directors of the Company in England. The English Council at Bantam decided to send a ship with 'a chief factor' and four assistants. It was fixed that the stock must be fifty-two thousand *rials*, four-fifths of which was to be invested in pepper and the rest in calicos.

139. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, pp. 336-37.

140. W. Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1618-30*. Intro, p. XXXVIII.

141. *The English Factory Records*, Vol. II, Intro, pp. 37 and 38.

The British reached Karaikal with a ship and went to Tañjāvūr on an invitation from the Nāyak of the place. He promised them free trade and the grant of the port of Karaikal at an easy rate. But it appears that the Nāyak was bribed by the Danes on account of which he demanded a yearly payment of seven thousand *rials* of eight for permission to trade at Karaikal, though the English agreed to pay three thousand *rials* of eight as rent for the port. Hence being disappointed in the attempt, the English factors made their way to Masulipatam touching Tranquebar, Dēvanāmpaṭṭinam and Pondicherry on the way. Another reason for the return of the English from the Nāyak court appears to be the fact that the trade of the country did not very much attract them for they found the pepper of the place to be limited in quantity and of "a very sort that always was much wet with fresh water in portage from the upland mountains".¹⁴²

Subsequently the Council at Bantam suggested to the Board of Directors in England the desirability of concentrating their attention on the trade in the Coromandel coast. Soon a small trading establishment was started at Armagon, forty miles north of Pulicat, through the good offices of a local chief by name Ārumuga Mudali. The place itself was called after him. Though it did not enjoy the advantages which Masulipatam did on account of its comparative distance from the local seats of manufacture, yet Masulipatam had to be abandoned in 1628 on account of the heavy exactions demanded by the Sulṭān of Golkonda. Armagon was fortified with twelve mounted guns. The English factors did business at that place in cargo brought from England to be invested in piecegoods to be taken to Bantam and Maccassar. The ships returned from those places laden with pepper and spices. But the English found that their commercial needs could not be supplied on account of the smallness of Armagon as a business centre. Hence the factory at Masulipatam was reopened in 1630, two years after its abolition, which satisfied the local merchants of the place. Henry Sill of Bantam was appointed agent of Masulipatam. The English soon regained their important place in the commercial life of the coast and had their factories working in the area at Masulipatam, Pettapoli, Mōṭupalli, Armagon and Viravasam, the last of which was a small town eight miles to the north of the fort of Narsapur in the Godavari District.¹⁴³

142. *The English Factory Records*, III, Intro, pp. 12 ff.

143. Foster, *The English Factories in India*, 1630-33, pp. 170, 262, 265 and 312.

But the area soon fell a prey to a terrible famine as a result of which the “major part of weavers and washers were dead and the country almost ruined.” The Sultan assured the English that “under the shadow of me the King, they shall sit down at rest and in safety” in return for which, they promised to import Persian horses for him. However, as days rolled on, it was found that even the change for Masulipatam did not give them the desired result. Further the Nāyak of Armagon was not friendly to the English. Hence the Directors of the Company ordered in 1638-39 that Armagon must be dismantled and abandoned. But the English factors at the place delayed the execution of the order because they were anxious to find out a better settlement before abandoning it.

Thomas Ivie, the chief of Masulipatam, passed through Armagon on his way from Bantam and authorised Francis Day, the factor of Armagon, to explore the coast for a better place. In 1637 Day appears to have gone as far as Pondicherry in search of a site and at last pitched upon “Madras-patam” three miles to the north of San Thome. Then Damarla Venkaṭappa, known also as Venkaṭātri, according to the English records, was “Lord General of Carnataka” and “Grand Vizier to the King”, Venkata III. This Venkaṭappa and his younger brother Aiyappa belonged to the Velugoṭi family of Kālahasti. The former was the chief of Wandiwash exercising much influence over his master Venkaṭa III and commanded an army of about or twelve or fifteen thousand soldiers while the latter Aiyappa Nāyaka lived at Poonamalle and attended to the administration of the coastal area.

Francis Day secured from Venkaṭātri Nāyaka through Aiyappa Nāyaka a grant of the territory of Madraspatam besides privileges and licence to construct a port and make a settlement at the place. According to the terms of the grant :

(a) The English could build a fort and castle “in or about Madraspatam”, the charges for the first instance being met by him and then defrayed by the English on their taking possession of it;

(b) The English could have full power and authority to govern and dispose of the port of Madraspatam during the space of two years from their occupying it;

(c) The English were to receive a moiety of the customs and revenues of the port ;

(d) The English were to import into or export goods from Madraspatam for ever, customs free;

(e) The English were to pay customs duties on goods passing through the Nāyak's territories or those of any other Nāyak;

(f) The English at Madraspatam were vested with the right of perpetual free coinage ;

(g) The Nāyak was to make good advances by the English to merchants, painters (i.e. dyers), weavers, etc., in the said port in every case where he had guaranteed such repayments, or deliver up such persons if they be found in his territories ;

(h) The English at Madraspatam could buy provisions to themselves and for their ships free of all duties in the Nāyak's territories; and

(i) The English could have restitution, upon demand, of everything found in ships which suffered ship-wreck in any part of the Nāyak's territories, provided they belonged to the English or any nation whatsoever which come to trade at Madraspatam.¹⁴⁴

The total length of the site granted to the English measured about three and three-fourths miles from the north to south and a mile from east to west. The place gained in importance with the construction of a fort, Masulipatam falling to the background. The fort was built by the English who met its entire cost. "They were very hopeful of a bright future, because, in spite of the opposition of the Portuguese at San Thome, they had so prospered in the new settlement that three hundred or four hundred families of weavers, painters and other workmen had come to live in the town planted by the north side of the fort. In fact the Directors were assured that a considerable quantity of long cloth and painted cloth and many other kinds of stuff and clothing which were in demand at Bantam and at other places in the Archipelago might be easily procured at Madras"¹⁴⁵ Śrī Ranga III, who succeeded Venkaṭa III, confirmed the grant to the English in 1646. This royal confirmation runs as follows:

144. See *Mysore Gazetteer* (new Edn.) Vol. II, pt. iii, pp. 2342-3.

145. See C. S. Srinivasachari, *A History of the City of Madras*, p. 9.

“For as much as you have left Armagon and are come to Sriranga Rayapatam my town at first but of small esteem, and have there built a Fort and brought trade to the Port; therefore, that you may be the better encouraged to prosecute the same and amplify the town which bears our name, we do freely release you of all customs or duties upon whatsoever goods brought or sold in that place appertaining (unto) your Company. Also we grant unto your Company half of all the customs or duties which shall be received at the Port and the rents of the ground about the village Madraspatam, as also the Jackal ground we give you towards your charges, by way of *piscash*.

“Moreover for the better managing your business, we surrender the government and justice of the town into your hands And if any of your neighbours of Poonamallee shall injure you we promise you our ready assistance. And for what provisions shall be brought out of that country we will that no *junken* (*sunkam*) be taken thereon.

“If it fortune that any of your Company’s ships shall by accident of weather or otherwise be driven ashore at that Port whatsoever can be saved shall remain your own; and the like touching all merchants that trade at the Port, if the owner comes to demand it; but if the owner be not to be found, then our officers shall seize the same to our behalf.

“We also promise still to retain the town in our protection and not to subject it to the government of Poonamallee or any other Nāyak. And whatsoever merchandises of yours that shall pass through the country of Poonamallee to pay but half customs.

“In confidence of this our *cowle*, you may cheerfully proceed in your affairs: wherein if any of our people shall molest you, we give you our faith to take your cause into our own hands to do you right and assist you against them. And that this (your) Port and this our *cowle* may stand firm as long as the sun and the moon”¹⁴⁶

Native Merchants

Though the overseas trade of South India in the Vijayanagar period was largely in the hands of foreigners there were also a good number of native merchants who took an important part in it. Among them were the *Cettis* in the Kannaḍa, Telugu and Tamil

146. C. S. Srinivasachari, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-5; also article by the author ‘The Grant of Madraspatam to the English East India Company’ in *The Indian Year Book of International Affairs* (Madras University), 1953.

areas who were all enterprising businessmen. The articles in which they dealt were pepper, which, they bought from the farmers when it was ripe and sold to foreign ships when they passed by, and precious stones and costly wares.¹⁴⁷ In the *Haravilāsamu* of Śrīnātha which was dedicated to the merchant prince Tippayya Ceṭṭi of Simhavikramapaṭṭaṇa (Nellore), there is a graphic description of the foreign trade carried on by the Ceṭṭis. According to it, Tippayya Ceṭṭi and his brothers Tirumala Ceṭṭi and Sāmi Ceṭṭi imported valuable articles by both land and sea and supplied them to Harihara of Vijayanagar, Kumāragiri of Koṇḍavīḍu, Feroz Shāh Bāhmani and the Gajapati ruler of Orissa. Among the goods imported by them were camphor, plants from the Punjab, gold (plate or dust) from Jalanogi, elephants from Ceylon, fine horses from Hurumanji (Ormuz), musk from Goa, pearls from *āpoga* (sea), musk (*kastūri kaṭārikam*) from Cotangi (Chautang) and fine silks from China.¹⁴⁸ In the later phases of the commercial history of the Vijayanagar Empire also the Ceṭṭis played an important part. During the period of the establishment of trade settlements by the English in South India, they were very influential. At that time one Mallai or Mallaya *alias* Cinnaiah or Cinana Cetti was an influential merchant with whose help the Dutch were carrying on their transactions with Indian traders, weavers, etc. One of his dependants was a Śēṣādri Ceṭṭi of Porto Novo who in course of time rose to the position of the Chief Indian Merchant at Madras. Mallai was a very important figure in the troubled politics and trade of the Carnatic for nearly half a century.¹⁴⁹

The Ceṭṭis did business in the west coast area also. About them Barbosa says: "The more part of them are great merchants and they deal in precious stones, seed pearls and corals and other valuable goods, such as gold and silver, either coined or to be coined. This is their principal trade and they follow it because they can raise or lower the prices of such things many times; they are rich and respected; they lead a clean life, and have spacious houses in their own appointed streets.....They go naked from the waist up, and below gather round them long garments many yards in length, little turbans on their heads and long hair gathered under the turban. Their beards are shaven, and they

147. Mahuan, *Account*, JRAS, 1896, p. 344.

148. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 57-58.

149. See C. S. Srinivasachari, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-7

wear finger marks of ashes mixed with sandalwood and saffron, in their breasts, foreheads and shoulders. They have wide holes on their ears into which an egg would fit, which are filled with gold with many precious stones, they wear many rings on their fingers, they are girt about with girdles of gold and jewellery and ever carry in their breasts great pouches in which they keep scales and weights of their gold and silver coins and precious stones. They are great clerks and accountants, and reckon all their sums on their fingers. They are given to usury, so much so that one brother will not lend to another a *ceitil* without making a profit thereby.”¹⁵⁰

The Cettis settled in the far eastern countries like the Archipelago for purposes of trade. Barbosa mentions that there were in Malacca *Chetige* merchants from the Coromandel “who were very corpulent with big bellies, they go bare above the waist and wear cotton clothes below”.¹⁵¹

The Malabarees were another important enterprising community that carried on a part of the trade of the country. They supplied the products of their country such as spices cocoanut products, palm sugar and palm wine to the Canara people and took in return coarse rice and iron.¹⁵² During periods of famine in the Coromandel area they brought great store of rice and cocoanuts and took back shiploads of slaves.¹⁵³

Among the Brahmans of the country there were also many who were engaged in trade and settled down as merchants.¹⁵⁴ The Baniyas were found doing business in some parts of the west coast.^{154a}

The merchants of the day were keen businessmen. Barbosa testifies to their ability and says: “The more part of all of the Heathen merchants or Chatis who live throughout India are natives of this country (Coromandel) and are very cunning in every kind of traffic in goods.”¹⁵⁵ Referring to their sons he says that they, even when they were ten years of age, went about changing coins.¹⁵⁶

150. *Barboosa*, II, pp. 71-73.

151. *Ibid.*, p. 177.

152. *Barbosa*, II, pp. 186-97.

153. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

154. *Sewell*, op. cit., p. 245.

154a. For the role of Indian merchants in the foreign trade of the country see also A.I. Hicherov, *Economic Development in the 16th-18th Centuries* — (Outline History of Crafts and Trade)

155. *Barbosa*, II, pp. 125-26.

156. *Ibid.*, II, p. 73.

They were also men of standing.¹⁵⁷ Nuniz observes that they were honest men given to merchandise very acute and of much talent, very good at accounts.¹⁵⁸

In the purchase and sale of articles different methods appear to have been followed by the merchants. Among them was the system of buying in advance. Referring to the merchants, *vyābūris* of the Malabar coast, Barbosa says: "They deal in goods of every kind both in the seaports and inland wherever their trade is of most profit. They gather to themselves all the pepper and ginger from the ryots and husbandmen and oftentimes they buy the new crops beforehand in exchange for cotton clothes and other goods which they keep at sea-ports. Afterwards they sell them again and gain much money thereby".¹⁵⁹ Sometimes the merchants made advances to the weavers and purchased calicos, chintz and muslins.¹⁶⁰ The advances were usually made through middlemen, later known as *dubashes* (interpreters who knew the two languages English or French and the local language). The middle men guaranteed the proper and timely supply of cloth, bleached and unbleached, including painted and printed varieties.¹⁶¹ The articles that came into the country were valued in the following way at Quilon. What obtained there might have been followed in the different parts of the Vijayanagar Empire. In such a procedure the broker had an important place. Mahuan says: "When a ship arrives from China the King's overseer with a Chitti goes on board and makes an invoice of the goods and a day is settled for valueing the cargo. On the day appointed the silk goods, particularly the Khinkis (kincobs), are first inspected and valued". When that had been decided on, in the presence of all, the broker announced that the price of the goods had been fixed and could in no way be altered. The price of pearls and precious stones was arranged by the "weinaki broker" and the value of the Chinese goods taken in exchange for them was the one previously fixed by the broker in the above manner. They had no abacus on which to make their calculations, but in its place they used their toes and fingers, and curiously enough they never went wrong in their calculations.¹⁶²

157. *Barbosa*, II, p. 73.

158. *Sewell, op. cit.*, p. 390.

159. *Barbosa*, II, p. 56.

160. W. Foster, *The English Factories in India*, Intro., p. xxxviii.

161. C. S. Srinivasachari, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

162. Mahuan, *Account*, JRAS, 1896. pp. 346-47.

Varthema gives an interesting description of how sales were effected. He says: "The merchants have this custom when they wish to sell or to purchase their merchandise, that is wholesale. They always sell by the hands of the *Cortor* or of the *Lella*, that is of the broker. And when the purchaser and the seller wish to make an agreement, they all stand in a circle, and the *Cortor* takes a cloth and holds it there openly with one hand, and, with the other hand he takes the right hand of the seller, that is the two fingers next to the thumb, and then he covers with the said cloth his hand and that of the seller, and touches each other with these two fingers, they count from one *ducat* upto one hundred thousand secretly, without saying 'I will have so much' or 'so much'. But in merely touching the joints of the fingers they understand the price and say, 'yes' or 'no'. And the *Cortor* answers, 'no' or 'yes'. And when the *Cortor* has understood the will of the seller, he goes to the buyer with the said cloth and takes his hand in the manner above mentioned, and by the said touching he tells him he wants so much. The buyer takes the hand of the *Cortor* and by the said touching says to him: 'I will give so much'. And in this manner they fix the price".¹⁶³

163. *Varthema*, pp. 168-69.

SECTION IV

COMMUNICATION AND TRANSPORT

Facilities for easy transport, external and internal, give an impetus to trade; while harbours, either natural or artificial, encourage navigation and foreign trade, good and safe roads and navigable rivers encourage the growth of internal trade. The existence of these facilities in a fair measure in the Vijayanagar Empire helped the progress of trade in it.

Ports

As said earlier the Vijayanagar Empire covered practically the whole of South India below the river Kṛṣṇā and extended from coast to coast. But there is a wide contrast between the eastern and western coasts of the peninsula. The former is a barren sandy shore monotonously stretching away till it fades in the heat haze. It is without shade or refuge, and mile after mile we see only the sandy beach and the breaking waters. The western coast presents a different aspect. It affords a very interesting panorama of grand and picturesque scenery. Along the coast are high ranges sometimes lifting their peaks above the belts of clouds, sometimes covered by thick forests and at some places allowing their rocky feet to be washed by the waves of the Arabian sea. Occasionally a patch of fertile region separates the hills from the waters of the sea “ To the ship sailing fast the shore presents an even varying outline generally a dark serried belt of cocoa trees whose roots are washed by the waves, divided at frequent intervals by the gleaming mouths of broad rivers. Rocky head lands, seldom uncrowned with old fort or white pagoda jut out, forming a succession or winding bays.....A special feature in the aspect of the country is a flatless uniform, yet infinitely diversified. The description of one suffices for the general features of all, but there is an endless variety of picturesque likeness just as no Devonshire combe repeats another.”

According to Ābdur Razzāk there were in both the coasts three hundred ports each of which was equal to Calicut, an impor-

tant and well known port even in those days.¹⁶⁴ According to the *Burhan-i-Mazir* there were sixty ports in the Vijayanagar Empire.¹⁶⁵ Perhaps these sixty were the more important ones among them. It is possible that some might have decayed giving place to new ones in course of time. In the sixteenth century the Vijayanagar kings lost such important ports as Goa, Chaul, and Dabhol, though Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya might have added a few ports to his Empire in the north-east by his reconquest of the provinces of Udayagiri and Koṇḍaviḍu.

A few words may be said here about some of the important ports in the Empire. To begin with, on the west coast lay the ports of Chaul, Dabhol and Goa. Chaul was such an important place in the period that during parts of the year a great fleet of ships was found there doing business in spices, cocoanuts, drugs, palmsugar, cotton goods, wheat, grains, rice, millet, etc.¹⁶⁶ It was also important as a great centre for the trade in horses, and the manufacture of silk, muslin and calicoes. Dabhol was another important place where lived Muslims and Hindus. Its harbour was good and was visited by ships from Mecca, Aden and Ormuz, carrying many horses. It traded with Cambaya and other places in different articles.¹⁶⁷ Among the articles exported from the place were wheat, grain, chick peas and pulse. But Goa was the most important of the ports in the west coast and was conquered for Vijayanagar so early as 1391.¹⁶⁸ About the trade carried on in the port Barbosa says: "In this port of Goa there is a great trade in many kinds of goods from the whole of Malabar, Chaul, Dabul and the great kingdom of Cambaya, which are consumed on the main lands, and from the kingdom of Ormuz come every year ships laden with horses and great numbers of dealers from the great kingdom of Narsyngua, and from Daquem, come hither to buy them".¹⁶⁹ The merchants from Ormuz took from the place cargoes of rice, sugar, iron, pepper, ginger and other spices of different kinds besides

164. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 103.

165. *Ind. Ant.*, L, p. 143. It may be noted here that there are in all about fifty ports in the Madras Andhra and Kerala States at the present day including the "major ports of Madras, Vizagapatam, Tuticorin and Cochin.

166. *Barbosa*, I, pp. 159-60.

167. *Ibid.*, I, p. 165.

168. *JBBRAS*. iv, p. 107; Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 45. fn. 2.

169. *Barbosa*, I, p. 178.

drugs.¹⁷⁰ This important port passed into the hands of the Muslim first and then into those of the Portuguese.

In the Kanara country there were a number of ports among which may be mentioned Honāvar, Bhatkal, Bākanūr, Mangalore, Mañjēśvar, Cumbola and Nīlēśvar. Honāvar was governed by a Rāja paying tribute to the Vijayanagar kings.¹⁷¹ It was important for commerce. The Malabarees carried on great trade at the place and took great store of black rice and brought in return cocoanuts, oil, palm, sugar and palm wine.¹⁷² Barbosa says that every year a multitude of *zambuiquos* both great and small came for that trade, for much rice was consumed in Malabar by reason that it was their chief diet. Bhatkal in the south was another important seaport to which the Ormuz ships brought horses and pearls and returned with white rice, black rice, myrobalan, powdered sugar and cargoes of iron. Much copper was used at the place and taken inland for coinage, besides for manufacturing vessels used by the people. Likewise, quicksilver, vermilion dye, coral, alum and ivory were also available there.¹⁷³ Bākanūr was visited by many ships from abroad as well as from Malabar for taking in cargoes of husked rice. Great stores of it were taken to Ormuz, Aden, Cannanore, and Calicut and bartered for copper, cocoanuts and molasses.¹⁷⁴ Mangalore was an equally important place from which many ships took cargoes of black rice to sell in Malabar. Rice was also taken to Aden and Ormuz by the Muslims.¹⁷⁵ To Cumbola the Malabarees went to purchase black rice to be sold to the humbler classes of people. Black rice was also sold in the Maldivé islands in exchange for cairo (coir).¹⁷⁶ Lower down were the ports of Cannanore, Fandarina, Dharmapatam, Mañjalūr Jarfattan, Shāliāt, Balimkūt, Tiruvarankād, Tānūr, Ponani, Idakād, Kodungallur, Cochin and a few others. But many of them were outside the frontiers of the Vijayanagar Empire. Calicut was a rendezvous for ships from China to East Africa and vessels sailed from the place to Makka, for the most part laden with pepper. Nikitin says that it was "a noble emporium for all India, abound-

170. *Barbosa*, I, p. 178.

171. Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*, p. 186.

172. *Barbosa*, I, pp. 185-86.

173. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 188-91.

174. *Ibid.*, p. 194.

175. *Ibid.*, pp. 195-96.

176. *Ibid.*, p. 197.

ing in pepper, lac, ginger, a larger kind of cinnamon, myrobalans and zadoary".¹⁷⁷ Affonso de Albuquerque, while referring to Cochin and Calicut says that they were the principal marts for ginger, for the whole of the pepper of Malabar and for the precious stones of Narsinga (Vijayanagar).¹⁷⁸ In the south were Quilon and Kāyal, the latter on the southern extremity of the east coast of South India. The former was 'a very great city with a right good haven, where traded Muslims, Hindus and Christians'. According to Barbosa, the Moors and Heathens were great traders and possessed many ships dealing in goods of diverse kinds and in which they sailed in all directions to the Coromandel, Ceylon, Bengal, Malacca, Sumatra and Pegu. But they did not trade with Cambaya. There was a great store of pepper at the palce.¹⁷⁹ Kāyal a port nearby was also a very good haven, whither every year sailed many ships from Malabar and other places, the Coromandel and Bengal, so that there was at the port great traffic in goods of many kinds coming from many regions. The Ceṭṭis of Kāyal were men of high standing, dealing in abundant precious stones and seed pearls. According to Barbosa the right of fishing in these things belonged to the king.¹⁸⁰

The Coromandel also contained some good ports which were busy in those days. During the days of Barbosa, Nāgapattinam was an important one to which many ships sailed from Malabar to take cargoes of rice. Large quantities of goods were brought to the place from Cambaya, such as copper, quick-silver, vermilion, pepper and goods of other kinds.¹⁸¹ But by the days of Caesar Fredrick it dwindled in importance. However it again became an important port after 1610. In 1660 it was seized by the Dutch. Among the other ports in the coast were Tirumalairājanpaṭṭinam, Tranquebar, Porto Novo on the bank of the Vellār, Dēvanāmpaṭṭinam near modern Cuddalore, Collemat and Caturangapaṭṭinam (Sadras). Tranquebar was acquired by the Danish East India Company from the Nāyak ruler of Tañjāvūr. At Dēvanāmpaṭṭinam trade was carried on in all kinds of cotton cloths, printed and woven, saltpetre and indigo. Among the articles imported into the place were pepper, nutmeg, cloves, sandalwood, *aglenhout*,

177. Major, *op. cit.*, p. 20; Barbosa, II. 85.

178. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India* p. 285.

179. Barbosa, II, p. 97.

180. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

181. *Ibid.*, II. p. 125.

lead, *speauter*, sulphur, alum, raw-silk from Sumatra and China, silk manufactures, musk, vermilion, quicksilver, and camphor from China and Borneo.¹⁸² Collimat was probably the same as Collim of Nuniz and may be identified with Kūnimēdu some eleven miles to the north of Pondicherry.¹⁸³ Vestiges of a Dutch settlement of the seventeenth century in the form of delapidated structures, tombs etc., are found in the place.

The port at Caturangapaṭṭinam was very much improved by the Dutch. Some forty miles to the north of it was Mylapore (San Thome), a seaport, which during the days of Barbosa, was almost deserted.¹⁸⁴ But with the coming of the Portuguese it became important again after 1550. According to the Italian traveller Caesar Frederic who visited it about 1565 it enjoyed a good volume of trade. Still farther north lay Pulicat, a very important emporium of trade on the east coast. It was resorted to by the Muslims doing trade in different goods. Pulicat had trade relations with Pegu, Malacca and Sumatra in the east and Malabar and Cambaya in the west. Besides, many traders came to the place from the interior of the country to purchase goods of many kinds for which they brought from Pegu great store of rubies, spinels and large quantities of musk which could be purchased cheap by one who knew how to buy and choose them.

Printed cotton cloths were available there in large quantities which were highly valued in foreign countries. There was also available at Pulicat copper, quicksilver and vermilion besides other Cambaya wares, dyes in grain (Mecca velvet) and rose water.¹⁸⁵ Masulipatṭinam and Mottupalli were also important ports on the east coast.¹⁸⁶

Shipping

The extensive trade of South India with the transoceanic people both in the east and the west presupposes the existence of many ships in the country and a good knowledge of shipping by the people. An inscription of 1413 A.D contains such terms as

182. Schorer's Account of the Coromandel Coast, IHQ. xiv, p. 827.

183. See B.A. Saletore, 'Some aspects of the Overseas Trade of Vijayanagar', *B.C. Law Volume*, I, pp. 122-23.

184. *Barbosa*, II, p. 126.

185. *Ibid.*, pp. 130-32.

186. V.R. I.M.P., ii, On. IIIa; Foster *Letters received by the India Company from its Servants in the East*, 1. 1602-13, p. 73.

ship, cabin and high mast.¹⁸⁷ According to Nicolo dei Conti, the Indian ships were larger than those of his country and capable of containing two thousand butts and five sails and as many mats. Their lower part was constructed with triple planks in order to withstand the force of tempests, But some ships were built in compartments so that if one part "should be shattered, the other portion remaining entire may accomplish the voyage".¹⁸⁸ Varthema observes that at Calicut were made vessels, each of three hundred or four hundred butts.¹⁸⁹ Barbosa says that the Muslims in the days of their prosperity in trade and navigation "built keeled ships of a thousand two hundred *bahares* burden. These ships were built without any nails, but the whole of the sheathing was sewn with thread, and all upper works differed much from the fashion of others, they had no decks".¹⁹⁰ It is interesting to note that nail was not generally used in the construction of the ships. But the pieces of wood were sewn together by coir made from the husks of the cocoanut. Sails were made of mats. Compared to the Chinese ships, the Indian ones appear to have been poorly provided with mats, oars, rudder, etc. They had generally only one mast and one sail. Their anchor was small and either of marble or hard wood.¹⁹¹ Ships were also built for South India in the Maldivé islands. They were made of palm trunks sewn together with threads and there was no timber. Smaller boats were also built for rowing, like *brigantins* or *fustas*. They were very graceful, well-built and extremely light.¹⁹² In Goa "fair galleys and *brigantins* were built after the Portuguese fashion and style."¹⁹³ The important places where ships were built were largely in the west coast and the Maldivé islands.

River transport was an important problem in the Vijayanagar days and it was done by means of ferries and basked boats. To facilitate easy ferrying, good fords were provided at important riverside places to cross rivers.¹⁹⁴ The people were then familiar with the *harigolu* or coracle or round basket boat covered with

187. E.C., ii. No. 258.

188. Major, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

189. Varthema, p. 154.

190. Barbosa, II, p. 76.

191. Vascoda Gama, *The Threc Voyage*, p. 241.

192. Barbosa, II, pp. 107-08.

193. *Ibid.*, I, p. 177.

194. M.A.R., 1920, p. 36.

hides.¹⁹⁵ Paes gives an interesting description as to how the basket boats were rowed at Anegundi. He says "A captain lives in this city (Anegundi) for the king. People cross to this place by boats which are round like baskets; inside, they are made of cane and outside, are covered with leather; they are able to carry fifteen to twenty persons and even horses and oxen can cross in them if necessary; but for the most part these animals swim across. Men row them with a sort of paddle, and the boats are always turning round as they cannot go straight like others; in all the kingdom where there are streams there are no other boats but these."¹⁹⁶ Nuniz also refers to the use of basket boats in the rivers.¹⁹⁷ In the Tamil districts, boats called *parisu-s* made of wicker and leather were used. In the Coromandel coast was in use a type of boat known as the *masala* which is in use even now and is admirably contrived to resist the impetues of the surf. It was built of planks of wood sewed together with jute twine and caulked with coarse grass not a particle of iron being used in the entire construction. Both ends of the boat are sharp and narrow and tapering to a point so as easily to penetrate the surf. Besides, rafts (floating logs or bundles of brushwoods of reeds or rushes tied together) dug-outs or hallowed trees, canoes or boats of pieces of wood fastened together with fibres of vegetable growth also appear to have been used. Another kind of small boat was made out of the body of a tree and could hold only two people. Men who rowed the boats sat one at each end with a pair of little oars and rowed extremely fast even against the currents. Barbosa testifies to the provision of good river communications in the Empire.¹⁹⁸

The fisherfolk largely used the *catamarans* to sweep the rivers and the seas. The catamarans were several thick pieces of wood fastened together in the form of rafts.¹⁹⁹

Trade with important places in the West was carried generally by the Red Sea route, though the narrow sea was difficult of navigation on account of the extreme fog in the area and the existence of small rocks and islands in it. This prevented travel by night in the region.²⁰⁰ Another route was through the Persian Gulf. To the East there appear to have been two routes, one by

195. *E.C.*, vii, Sh. 3.

196. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

197. *Ibid.*, pp. 292 and 293.

198. Barbosa, I. p. 165.

199. Lockman, *The Travels of the Jesuits*, I, p. 358.

200. Varthema, p. 54; Major, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

sea and the other by land, the latter by way of Bengal. In order to avoid tempests in the seas the ships did travelling in summer. The merchants started in February and returned between August and October of the same year.²⁰¹ The mariners used charts for navigation purposes.²⁰² Navigation seems to have been extremely slow, the average distance traversed by a ship in a day being not more than forty miles. For instance it took eighteen days to travel from Mascat to Calicut,²⁰³ fifteen days to travel from Cambay to Calicut and another fifteen days to travel from Calicut to Ceylon.²⁰⁴ Besides, there was good deal of coastal traffic, and articles were carried from Bengal to Cochin and Calicut along the important ports on the east coast of the country. Likewise there was good coastal trade between the ports in the west coast also.

Piracy

Though a large volume of trade was carried on with foreign countries it was done only at great risk for the seas were infested with pirates especially on the west coast, who often attacked the merchants carrying cargoes, and robbed them of their wares. During winter they lived by fishery; but during summer they lived by piracy of all they could find on the sea. They made use of small rowing vessels with a *bargatin*. Barbosa says that they were great oarsmen and a multitude of them gathered together, all armed with bows and arrows in plenty and thus they surrounded any vessel, they found becalmed, with flights of arrows until they took it and robbed it.²⁰⁵

It is curious that piracy on the seas was to some extent encouraged by the rulers of the day, though they did so with a purpose. Thus Honāvar was the headquarters of two pirates, Timoja and Raogy, both brothers, who paid a part of their plunder to the ruler of Garsopa who was then ruling that part of the country.²⁰⁶ Timoja was practically and in effect the commandant of the Vijayanagar fleet.²⁰⁷ According to Barbosa each of them maintained five or six large ships with crews of well-armed men in great numbers. They went forth to the sea, took all the ships they met except those

201. *Barbosa*. II, pp. 63 and 77.

202. Purchas, *His Pilgrims* I. pp. 110ff.

203. Elliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-8.

204. Major, *op. cit.* p. 19.

205. *Barbosa*, II, p. 96: See also I, p. 153.

206. Vasco da Gama, *The Three Voyages*, p. 309.

207. Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, p. 57.

of Malabar and robbed them of whatever they carried, leaving the men alive. Then they shared the stolen goods with the lord of the land to get his favour.²⁰⁸ These pirate chieftains were commissioned to attack the Muslim trade ships and hence they did not molest the ships of the Malabarees (Hindus). This policy of encouraging piracy was followed by the Hindu Government to molest the trade of the Bahmani kingdom. Likewise, farther south the area round Quilon was infested by pirates.²⁰⁹ Nikitin complains that the sea was not safe on account of piracy.²¹⁰

Besides, the coastal area was subject to the piratical activities of the Portuguese, who, not content with the profits of their business, took to these nautical operations. We have a description of their practices in the following words: "Besides these cruelties perpetrated on the land, the Portuguese were also responsible for unmentionable atrocities on the sea. The Feringi ships alone did not keep the peace. The Muslim ships were the special objects of their fury. Every ship had to carry safe-conduct issued by the Portuguese captain. But even with that they were not safe. The Portuguese seamen demanded heavy bribes and *bakshish*, and if whatever they asked for was not given, the ships would be confiscated".²¹¹ It is, however, refreshing to note that the east coast did not suffer from the dangers of organised piracy in the Vijayanagar days, though one hears of stray cases of piratical attacks.

Inland Trade

Though there was such an extensive volume of foreign trade carried in South India during the period, the people were largely a land people doing a good lot of internal trade. Hence the problem of transport within the Empire was even more important than oceanic transport and considering the standards of the age, the Vijayanagar kings tried to solve the question in the best possible way and tried to contribute to the maintenance of an active commercial life in the Empire.

The different parts of the vast Empire were connected by roads to which we get occasional reference in literature. As the capital of

208. *Barbosa*, I, pp. 180-87.

209. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 95-96.

210. Major, *India*, p. 11.

211. Panikkar, *Malabar and the Portuguese*, p. 94. For a description of the Portuguese piratical practices see also Shakh Zaynu'd-Din's *Tahfat-al-Mujahidin*, *Annals of the Oriental Research Institute*, Madras University v., No. 1

the Empire, the city of Vijayanagar was connected with important cities in the Empire. One road connected the capital with Goa through Bankāpur, a fortress in the Karnāṭaka country situated forty miles south of Dharwar on the direct road from Honāvar to Vijayanagar. Another road seems to have run from Bhatkal on the west coast to Vijayanagar through Honāvar, Bankāpūr, Banavāsi and Rāṇi Bennūr.²¹² A road appears to have connected Vijayanagar and Mylapore running through Candragiri, Tirupati and Pulicat.²¹³ Barbosa refers to a trade route connecting Vijayanagar and Pulicat.²¹⁴ There appear to have been two roads in the north, one going from Masulipatam to Kōvilkoṇḍa and another from Kōvilkoṇḍa to Kampili.²¹⁵ In the south a road connected Kāyamkuḷam and Tirunelveli through the kingdom of Quilon²¹⁶. Besides, the routes which Kṛṣṇaḍēva Rāya followed in his military campaigns and religious tours indicate the existence of the following roads:—

1. Vijayanagar to Sivasamudram and Śrīrangapaṭṭanam.²¹⁷

2. Vijayanagar to Āḍavāni and Raicūr²¹⁸.

3. Vijayanagar to Udayagiri, Koṇḍaviḍu, Koṇḍapalli and along the coast to Simhācalam and Śrīkūrmam.²¹⁹

4. Vijayanagar to Kāḷahasti, Tirupati, Kāñci, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, Cidambaram, Madurai, Rāmēśvaram and Dhanuṣkōḍi.²²⁰

The roads appear to have been generally good ones. Paes says that on the road from Bhaktal to a town called Zambuja there were some ranges with forests and that “nevertheless the road was very even”.²²¹ Pietro Della Valle who visited the Empire a century later remarks: “The way between Ikkēri and Sāgar is very handsome, plain, broad, almost totally direct, here and there beset with great thick trees which make a shadow and delightful

212. See Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 122 and *fn.*

213. Major, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

214. *Barbosa*, II, p. 180.

215. *JBBRAS*, xxii, p. 28.

216. Panikkar, *Malabar and the Portuguese*, p. 96. For a reference to some other roads see N. Venkataramanayya, *Studies in the History of the Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, pp. 296-97.

217. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, pp. 112-113.

218. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

219. *Ibid.*, pp. 316-19.

220. S. K. Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

221. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 236-37.

verdure".²²² It is not possible to form any definite idea of the width of the roads; but the fact that there was difference in their breadth is indicated by such terms used in inscriptions as *peruvaḷi*, *vaḷi* and *teru*.²²³ Though there is thus evidence to show that there were roads connecting the different parts of the Empire, we are not sure if the total mileage of roads could have been as much as we have at the present day. Besides, it is doubtful if at least the more important of them were metalled and provided with good drainage, culverts and bridges. The wide prevalence of the ferry system in the rivers points to the fact that there were no good bridges over many of them.²²⁴

Articles were carried over long distances by carts and pack animals.²²⁵ But it appears that carts were not used on a large scale in some parts. Articles were usually conveyed by *kāvaḍis*²²⁶ head-loads, pack-horses, pack-bullocks, packponies and asses. Barbosa observes that goods were carried by means of buffaloes²²⁶ oxen, asses and ponies and refers to the consignment of pepper from Malabar on oxen and asses.²²⁷ Oxen and sumpter-mules as beasts of burden are referred to by Paes and Nuniz also. The former says that to Bhatkal came every year five or six thousand pack-oxen.²²⁸ Caesar Frederick also observes that the people rode on bullocks with panels, girts, and bridles and that they had a very commodious pace.²²⁹ Barbosa gives the interesting information that usually there was one conductor or driver in charge of twenty or thirty oxen.²²⁰ The use of horses is referred to in the *Āmukta-mālyada*.²³¹

Canals were used for transport of articles. Barbosa mentions for instance that from the inland regions great store of cloth came

222. Della Valle, *op. cit.*, II, p. 266.

223. 422 of 1912; 130 of 1933-4; 358 and 368 of 1923.

224. It may be of interest to note here the total mileage of roads in the Madras State at the present day. There are 32-35 miles or so of roads for every 100 square miles of area, while in Britain there are 2.4 miles of roads, in Germany 1.2 and in France 1.9 per square mile. There are still thousands of villages with a population of a thousand and over that are not connected with good roads.

225. *Vathema*, pp. 179-80; Sewell *op. cit.*, p. 254.

226. *E. C.*, iv. Nj. 266; *E. I.*, vi, pp. 230-39; 18 of 1915; *Rep.*, para 48.

227. *Barbosa*, (Stanley) pp. 85 and 86.

228. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 237, 238 and 366.

229. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, x, p. 98.

230. *Barbosa*, I, p. 163.

231. *Canto*, II, v. 96.

down the river.²³² For that, *parisus* were largely used. After the cargo had been disposed of, the boats were broken up and sold away for what the bomboo would fetch, while the leather was doubled up and carried by the owners to be used again in a similar manner.

The articles of internal trade were usually sold at fairs held daily, weekly or at periodical intervals or in the regular bazaars. Regarding the first, a few words may be said here. Fairs (*sante*) were usually established by the ruler or the local chieftain in order to encourage trade in the country, for as the demand for goods by the consumers increased, particular localities were not able to supply all of them.²³³ Besides, it was also a source of income to the Government, for a small duty was collected on articles sold in the fairs. The fairs attracted traders from great distances and were an instrument of periodic trade. Usually fairs were held once a week or twice a week. But in a big city like Vijayanagar a fair was held every day in a part of the city.²³⁴ The articles of trade that entered a fair were horses, bullocks and grains, besides many others of a similar nature. In order to attract merchants to bring their articles to such fairs, concessions were at times shown to them.²³⁵ The bazaars appear to have done retail trading as well. The trading centres were generally important towns to which were taken the raw and finished articles that were produced in the neighbourhood. However, the articles that were carried a long way for sale, were either of small bulk and high price, or those that had been localised in a few places, perhaps on account of physical reasons.

232. *Barbosa*, I, p 165.

233. Inscriptions mention a number of places where fairs were held. (See, for instance, *E. C.*, v. Bp. 75).

234. *Sewell*, *op. cit.*, pp. pp. 255, 256.

235. *E.C.*, x, Sg. 112; Bp. 2.

SECTION V

THE STATE AND COMMERCE

The role of the State in the expansion of commerce and the fostering of an active commercial life in the country can hardly be exaggerated. An unwise economic policy would stifle commerce and kill industries. Want of security in the empire may paralyse ail trade and shatter the economic well-befng of the society. A study of the economic policy of the Vijayanagar kings shows that they were anxious to encourage trade.

As said earlier, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya lays down in his *Āmuktamālyada* the maxim to be followed by the kings in this respect. He says; “A king should improve the hárboûrs of his country and so encourage its commerce that horses, elephants, precious gems, sandalwood, pearls and other articles are freely imported into his country. He should arrange that the foreign sailors who land in his country on account of storms, illness and exhaustion are looked after in a manner suitable to their nationalities.”²³⁶ In another place he observes: “Make the merchants of distant foreign countries who import elephants and good horses be attached to articles yourself by providing them with daily audience, presents and allowing decent profits. Then those articles will never go to your enemies”.²³⁷ That these maxims were followed in the Empire is borne out by the evidence of Barbosa, who, referring to Vijayanagar, observes: “There is great traffic and an endless number of merchants and wealthy men, as well among the natives of the city who abide therein as amongst those who come thither from outside, to whom the king allows such freedom that every man may come and go and live according to his own creed, without enquiry whether he is a Christian, Jew, Moor or Heathen”.²³⁸ Likewise

236. *Canto IV*, v. 245.

237. *Ibid.*, IV. v. 258.

238. *Barbosa*, I. p. 202.

the State sought to assure security to the merchants who brought their goods from distant countries. In Calicut, for instance, there was such great security prevailing that 'Abdur Razzāk noted with pleasure that rich merchants brought to that place from maritime countries large merchandise, which they disembarked and deposited in the streets and market-places, and for a length of time left it without consigning it to any one's charge or placing it under a guard. The officers of the custom house took it under their protection and kept guard over it night and day.²³⁹ A word about the safety of the ships which on account of weather or some other reason reached a place to which it was not bound. It was the usual practice in other countries to plunder such ships. But in India the treatment given to them was different. According to 'Abdur Razzāk whatever place a ship may come from or wherever it may be bound, when it reached the port, it was treated like other vessels and had no trouble of any kind to put up with.²⁴⁰

To use a modern expression the policy of the government was the encouragement of free trade in preference to a policy of protection. The available evidence indicates that the articles from foreign countries were subjected to a customs duty at the place of imports. 'Abdur Razzāk says that "a duty was collected at Calicut at the rate of two and a half percent."²⁴¹ But it appears that the rate gradually rose to five percent towards the close of the fifteenth century. It is refreshing to note that the Persian Ambassador says that the duty was levied only when the sale was effected. If the goods were not sold no charge was made on them. Caesar Frederick records that the horses that went into the country from Goa paid a custom "two and forty pagodie" each.²⁴² On the east coast at 'Ādiravāsagan paṭṭinam (modern Sadras), for instance, a duty was levied on certain articles of merchandise; ten percent was collected on the sale of cloth, fifteen percent on the sale of oil and two-fifths of a *paṇam* on every bundle of female cloth.²⁴³ This wise policy of the levy of a tax on the articles sold, and not on the articles come for sale, must have very much encouraged the sale of merchandise, more specially the foreign ones.

239. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 98.

240. Major, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

241. Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

242. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 92.

243. 173 of 1933; *Rep.*, para 37.

Successful trade would depend largely on the safety and security available on the trade routes and in the markets. Such security was sought to be provided by the Government by the organisation of a Police system and the imposition of several punishments for offences²⁴⁴. Those that were on police duty were given additional grants of land since they had to make good the loss of any property within the limits of the village boundary. But it was limited to the extent of their means to do so; for the remainder was levied on the village as a whole²⁴⁵.

The foreign travellers who visited the Vijayanagar Empire were impressed with the sense of security prevailing in it. Varthema says that in Vijayanagar one could go anywhere in safety.²⁴⁶ Barbosa also refers to the prevailing equity and justice in the Empire²⁴⁷.

The observations of the foreign travellers do not however give the real picture. But even such fairly good arrangements with regard to the police organization did not completely free the roads from robbers, on account of which there was some insecurity in the Empire. Hence the merchants who travelled on roads with merchandise had to make arrangements with the *kāvalgārs* that they would pay a particular share of their earnings if they were protected from robbers. They even paid money to private persons to protect them from robbers in the dangerous zones on the roads. There are references to the existence of organised free-booters during the period. Even the Portuguese merchants seem to have indulged in some robbery in the south.²⁴⁸ It is for these reasons that the merchants usually travelled on the roads in company. Thus in spite of the protection afforded by the State the merchants sometimes appear to have carried on their trade under adverse conditions.

Then again, local dues were levied on articles of trade. Reference has been made to a kind of tax called the *mārgādāyam*.²⁴⁹ According to Nuniz, as said earlier, a particular gate at the capital was rented out for twelve thousand *pardaos* and every one carrying merchandise in to the city had to pay duty. The levy of such local

244. See *Supra*, pt. I, pp. 137ff.

245. Cp. 9 and 14 of 1913, *Rep.*, para 11.

246. *Varthema*, pp. 130-31.

247. *Barbosa*, I, p. 202; *Supra*, pt. I, p. 136.

248. Panikkar, *Malabar and the Portuguese*, p. 96.

249. See *Supra*, pt. I, p. 58.

taxes on articles of trade must have made the merchants raise the prices of articles.

The foregoing account of the commercial life in the Empire is largely based on the accounts of foreign travellers who visited Vijayanagar during the different periods of its history. Neither the indigenous literature nor the numerous inscriptions help us very much in forming a good idea of the commercial activities in the Empire. The lithic records which are of any help to us simply refer to some articles of trade that were taken to the market and the duties levied on them, but do not mention the other aspects of trade in the Empire. So our knowledge of the subject is still perhaps one-sided and not full.

APPENDIX

Weights and Measures

The inscriptions of the Vijayanagar period contain references to different units of weights and measures. The leading feature of the system is its wide diversity. Further foreign units of weights and measures obtained in the principal centres of trade. The foreign merchants refer to the measuring units in terms of the foreign ones. Very little was done to introduce any kind of uniformity in the prevailing systems of measuring units, particularly in the weight and surface measures. The different units of measures usually bore the names of the local ruler or chief who introduced the measures, and no serious attempt appears to have been made to standardise them.

The different units of measures may be roughly indicated here in the following tables though there was difference between the same unit at different places:

Square Measure

Tamil :

576 feet	1 <i>kuḷi</i>
100 <i>kuḷi</i>	1 <i>kāṇi</i>
5 <i>kāṇi</i>	1 <i>vēli</i>
1 <i>chei</i>	1 $\frac{3}{4}$ acres
<i>Karai</i>	?

In Thanjavur :

144 sq. feet	1 <i>kuḷi</i>
100 <i>kuḷi</i>	1 <i>mā</i>
20 <i>mā</i>	1 <i>vēli</i>
1 <i>vēli</i>	6.6 acres
1 <i>mā</i>	.33 acre
1 <i>kuḷi</i>	.0033 acre

Telugu :

1 cubit	19.68 inches
32 cubits	1 rod
1 rod sq.	2756 $\frac{1}{2}$ square feet
1 <i>junta</i>	.0663 acre

50 <i>junta</i>	1 <i>gurtu</i> or <i>goru</i> 3.1637 acres
8 <i>gurtus</i>	1 <i>kuccala</i> (25 acres)

Cubic Measures

Tamil :

2 <i>ālāṅku</i>	1 <i>uḷakku</i>
2 <i>uḷakku</i>	1 <i>uṟi</i>
2 <i>uṟi</i>	1 <i>nāḷi</i> 1 <i>paḍi</i> (108 inches of cubic capacity.
8 <i>nāḷi</i> (<i>paḍi</i>)	1 <i>kurun̄i</i> (<i>Marakkāl</i>) $\frac{1}{2}$ cubic foot
2 <i>kurun̄i</i>	1 <i>padakku</i>
2 <i>padakku</i>	1 <i>tūṇi</i>
3 <i>tūṇi</i>	1 <i>kalam</i>

Telugu :

4 <i>citti</i>	1 <i>śola</i> 70 <i>tōla</i> of heaped rice
4 <i>śōla</i>	1 <i>munta</i> -280 <i>tōlas</i> of $3\frac{1}{2}$ <i>pucca seers</i>
4 <i>muṇta</i>	1 <i>kuncam</i> , 1, 120 <i>tōlas</i> or 14 <i>pucca seers</i>
1 <i>kūṇcam</i>	1 <i>tūm</i> , hundred weight about
20 <i>tūm</i>	1 <i>candy</i> or <i>puṭṭi</i> or about a ton

Kannada :

4 <i>Śollage</i> (<i>manam</i>)	1 <i>ballam</i> (2 seers)
4 <i>bāllam</i>	1 <i>kōḷaga</i>
20 <i>kōḷagas</i>	1 <i>khaṇḍugam</i>

Weights

Tamil :

3 <i>tōlas</i>	1 <i>palam</i>
3 <i>palam</i>	1 <i>cutca seer</i> .
40 <i>palams</i>	1 <i>viss</i> or 3.0857 lbs.
20 <i>maunds</i>	1 <i>candy</i> or <i>bāram</i>

Telugu :

1 <i>pagoda</i> weight	52 $\frac{1}{2}$ grains troy
1 <i>tōla</i>	180 grains troy
10 <i>kuruck pagodas</i> or 3 <i>tōlas</i>	1 <i>pollam</i>
8 <i>pollams</i> or 24 <i>tōlas</i>	1 <i>pucca seer</i>
5 <i>seers</i> or 120 <i>tōlas</i>	1 <i>viss</i>
8 <i>viss</i> or 960 <i>tōlas</i>	1 <i>maund</i> (100 pounds Tory)
20 <i>maunds</i>	1 <i>candy</i> or <i>puṭṭi</i> . ¹

1. Allen Butterworth and V. Venugopal Chetty, *A Collection of the Inscriptions on Copper Plates and Stones in the Nellore District*, Vol. III, pp. 1487-88.

CHAPTER XI
THE STATE AND SOCIAL WELFARE
SECTION I
CHARITY AND FAMINE RELIEF

Works calculated to give timely relief to the poor and suffering received due attention at the hands of the Vijayanagar kings. Religious sentiment usually played a notable part in the organisation of poor relief; and provision of charitable works was considered an act of merit. Even in ordinary times charitable works were undertaken. In this connection the following words of Colonel Sykes are apposite: "in the universal sentiment of charity which is inculcated both by precept and example in all grades of society..... Beggars in India...rarely appeal in vain for alms; indeed they ask with confidence if not with insolence, knowing devotional sentiment which inculcates the gift of alms in expiation of sin".¹ And harm done to works of charity was considered to be a great sin. The inscriptions usually say: "Whoso maintains this gift will derive the merit of performing countless horse sacrifices. Whatever sinner unable to let it live destroys it, will incur the sin of killing cows and Brahmans in the Ganges, of parricide, and of causing a mother to eat the flesh of her son".² The inscriptions usually contain the imprecatory verse which ends by saying that one attains *svarga* by making gift; but one who protects it attains the abode of Acyuta.³ Such gifts were made on important days like *sankrānti*, lunar or solar eclipse, birth - day or death anniversary of the donor, and so on.

The charitable acts done in the period may be classified under two broad heads, the unorganised and the organised.

1. *JRAS*, 1860, p. 239.

2. For instance, Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 26.

3. See *E.C.*, vi, Kp. 50.

Under the former class may be grouped grants and gifts to individuals or groups of persons like Brahmans, while under the latter class may be brought together organised effort at poor relief undertaken by the state and philanthropic persons.

To make gifts to Brahmans was considered an act of great merit. The Vijayanagar epigraphs are replete with instances to show that the sovereigns took every opportunity to make grants of land and gifts to them. They also enumerate the different kinds of gifts that were made in favour of Brahmans. Among them were the gifts of the golden egg, the golden wheel, the golden pot, the golden cow, the seven golden seas, the wishing tree, the golden cow of plenty, the golden earth, the golden horse-chariot, a man's weight in gold, a thousand cows, a golden horse, a golden-wombed Brahmā, a gold elephant chariot and the five ploughs.⁴ The *ānandanidhi* (a pot of gold) was another such grant.⁵ By making this grant Acyuta Rāya claims to have made Kubēras of Brahmans. The kings delighted in bestowing these great gifts again and again together with the grants associated with them.⁶ Likewise the ascetics received gifts, though Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya discourages indiscriminate charity to them.⁷

Mahuan gives an excellent description of these ascetics in the following words: "Here also is another class of men called *chokīs* (yogis) who lead austere lives like the Taoists of China, but who, however are married. These men from the time they are born do not have their heads shaved or combed, but plait their hair into several tails, which hang over their shoulders, they wear no clothes, but round their waist they fasten a strip of rattan, over which they hang a piece of white calico, they carry a conch-shell which they blow as they go along the road; they are accompanied by their wives, who simply wear a small bit of cotton cloth round their loins. Alms of rice and money are given to them by the people whose houses they visit."⁸ Though begging by the ascetics and their wives might have been a feature of the life in the area visited by Mahuan it appears that celebrate ascetics were given alms as a religious duty in different parts of the country.

4. *E.I.*, i, p. 364; *E.C.*, v, Hn. 13.

5. *MER*, 1904, para 24; 1923, para 81; 1920 para 89.

6. *E.C.*, vii, Sh. 1.

7. *Āmuktamālyada*, IV. v. 242.

8. *JRAS*, 1896, pp. 343-44.

Many took to street begging. They adopted, as they do even now, different methods for obtaining alms. The description of two of them by Barbosa may be cited here. He says: "When they wished to obtain alms, they took great stones, wherewith they beat upon their shoulders and bellies as though they would slay themselves before them to hinder which they gave them great alms that they may depart in peace"; "others carry knives with which they slash their arms and legs, and to those too, they give large alms that they may not kill themselves".⁹

So much sanctity was attached to acts of charity that many people made provision for affording relief to the needy. The most common method of doing so was the provision of watersheds, resthouses and water troughs for animals.

Among the organised methods of doing charity was the making of provision for running a *catra* or *dharmacatra*.¹⁰ We are told, for instance, that Śrīgirinātha Voḍeyār gave munificent donation for a *catra* or rest house, and Sangamā Dēvi, apparently his wife, gave up the house she was in, together with the well and fruit trees for the nineteen Brahmans of the *catra*, for their stay. It was arranged that for the ten Jangamas for whom the *nāḍ* people had provided in the *catra*, the Brahmans who attended to them and the two servant women to clean up, for all the thirteen persons the manager of the Brahman *catra* must collect from the *nāḍ* people the amount specified and provide rice for them. The funds that were in surplus were to be utilised for miscellaneous expenses and in course of time for the construction of houses.¹¹ A king made a *sarvamānya* gift of thirteen *vēlis* of land for the maintenance of a feeding house (*catra*) attached to the temples at Tiruvāmāttūr.¹² During the days of Venkaṭa II a powerful chief by name Dēvalu Pāpa Rāya, with three hundred Brahmans under him, gave hospitality to the pilgrims who went to, or came from Tirupati.¹³ It appears the state had some control over these inns.¹⁴ At times the temples also appear to have maintained such *catras*.¹⁵ Provision was made by them for the distribution of food to mendicants and others on certain days of the month. Besides, some temples maintained

9. Barbosa, I, p. 111.

10. E.C., x, Mb. 39; iv, Cn. 185.

11. Ibid., viii, Tl. 33. An inscription near Kodumuru (Kurnool District) of A.D. 1452 mentions a grant for maintaining a gruel centre, *ambati-catram* (33 of 1960-61).

12. 27 of 1925.

13. Heras, *Aravida Dynasty*, I, p. 322.

14. E.C., x, Bn. 24.

15. Ibid., viii, Tl. 103.

schools and hospitals, fed school children and gave relief to the suffering. Likewise private individuals made provision for the maintenance of *Rāmānujakūṭams*.

But it was during periods of famine that the relief given to the people was more in evidence. The cause of famines was usually the unfortunate circumstance that agriculture formed almost the sole occupation of the mass of the people. Generally failure of rain was followed by a famine, bringing in its wake rise in prices and occasionally the outbreak of epidemics like cholera, necessitating the migration of people from the affected area to places less affected by them.¹⁶ Unprecedented floods also resulted in such famines. In the last decade of the fourteenth century South India experienced a severe famine, on account of which the price of paddy rose very high and “innumerable skulls were rolling about and paddy could not be had even at the rate of ten *nāḷis* per *paṇam*.¹⁷ Its severity reached the maximum in 1396 and resulted in the depopulation of whole districts and was called *Durgādēvi* probably to distinguish it from famines of ordinary severity. In 1412–13 there was a famine in South India followed by another ten years later. About the middle of the fifteenth century the country, particularly the region covered by the modern districts of Ramanathapuram, Tiruchirapalli and the Pudukkottai area experienced a famine (*kṣāmam*) apparently on account of the failure of rains. This appears to have continued for some time.¹⁸ Some twenty years later the Telugu districts and the Deccan proper had a similar experience for about five years, besides that of cholera on account of which the people migrated to Malwa and other places.¹⁹

In 1507 the modern Mysore territory experienced four tremours, which brought in their wake a great famine in 1509 A.D.²⁰. Some two decades later there was another famine which appears to have lasted for about ten years. An inscription of 1540 says that the famine in the Mysore country was so rigorous that men ate men.²¹ The historic battle of Raksas Tangdi appears to have caused a famine in the region round the capital.

16. 276 of 1907; *MER*, 1908, *Rep.*, para 73.

17. 239 of 1906; *Rep.*, 1907 para 53.

18. *I.P.S.*, 753.

19. Briggs, *Ferishta*, II, p. 493.

20. *E.C.*, ix, Nl. 71 and Kn. 21.

21. *Ibid.*, iii, Cn. 108.

The years following the death of Venkaṭa II in 1614 were marked by the prevalence of famine conditions in South India, apparently on account of the Civil War that raged in the country. This encouraged a system of slave trade in the Empire, which, with the coming of the Europeans, increased. William Methwold, the Chief in the English settlement at Masulipatam describes in the following words the effects of the Civil War on the economic condition of the country: "Since the last King (of Vijayanagar) who deceased about fifteen years since, there have arisen several competitors for the Crowne unto whom the Naickes have adhered according to their factions or affections; from whence hath followed a continual civil war in some parts of the country and such extreme want and famine in most of it that parents have brought thousands of their young children to the sea side selling there a child for five *panams* worth of rice, transported from thence into other parts of India (i.e. the East Indies) and sold again to good advantage if the gains be good that ariseth from the sale of souls."²² President Rastell wrote to England about the famine as follows: "There was an universal dearth over all this continent of whose like in these parts noe former age hath record; the country being wholly dismantled by draught.....the poor mechaniques, weavers, washers, dyers, etc. abandoning their inhabitations in multitudes and instead of relief elsewhere have perished in the fields for want of food to sustain". An eye witness described the famine in the Coromandel coast in the following words "Masulipatam and Armagon were sorely oppressed with famine, the liveinge eating up the dead and men dust scarsly travel in the country for fear they should be killed and eaten". Consequently the factors at Armagon were not able to make much profit since they were 'miserable times full fraught with the calamitie of war, pestilence and famine.'²³ This famine appears to have been more severe than that of 1540.

Thus famines seem to have visited the country at periodical intervals causing much suffering to the people. As said earlier some of them were caused by floods. In 1402-03 for instance, parts of the Tañjāvūr district experienced unprecedented floods in the river Kāvēri which submerged vast areas of cultivated land,

22. Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1630-33. Intro. xxxiii and p. 331.

23. *Ibid.*, xiv and xviii; see also Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, pp. 204-19.

washed away the demarcation bounds and silted up the irrigation channels. Consequently cultivation of lands necessarily ceased.²⁴ The discontent among the people on account of the ill-adjusted or at times heavy taxation policy of the Government led in a few cases to the migration of people from their original habitation which resulted in a few cases in the prevalence of famine conditions in the areas concerned.^{24a}

There is some difference between famines of the modern day and famines of ancient and medieval times. In ancient and medieval India the hardship that resulted from famines was great and heart-rending; conditions in the modern day are probably not so appalling. The earlier ones were more or less local in character: and relief measures could reach the place only at slow pace. But in the modern day with the availability of quick means of communication and transport like railways and the spread of banking and credit facilities immediate relief measures could be undertaken and resources supplied quickly. Hence in ancient and medieval India people affected by famines had to be allowed largely to drift for themselves in spite of the efforts of the government to give them relief so that many of them had to abandon their lands and possessions and seek shelter elsewhere.

Though famines were frequent in the Vijayanagar period there is no evidence of the existence of a well-shaped famine code or famine policy to guide the Government. One hears only of some instances where the Government tried to afford relief to people during famine times. From such cases it is difficult to say that there was a clear-cut policy followed by the Government in all such matters. But the available evidence points to the fact that the medieval kings were as anxious as anyone else to afford relief to the suffering people during times of famine.

The kings realised that in order to avert the recurrence of famines the irrigation facilities in the Empire must be improved. As has been mentioned earlier, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya emphasises the point in his *Āmuktamālyada*.^{24b} A survey of the irrigation activities of the Vijayanagar rulers has also been made earlier.^{24c}

During the famine of 1472 a certain ruler is said to have ordered those in charge of relief measures that the thousand

24. 422 of 1912; *Rep.*, 1913, para 52.

24a. 59 of 1914; *Rep.*, 1915, para 44; 92 of 1918; *Rep.*, para 68; 216 of 1917, *Rep.*, para 68, 246 and 254 of 1928-29, *Rep.*, para 79.

24b. *Canto* iv, v. 236.

24c. *Supra*, pp. 82-91.

bullocks belonging to the transport establishment maintained for his court should be used for affording relief and he himself "travelled incessantly to and fro between his dominions and Gujerat and Malwa which had escaped the visitation, bringing thence grain which was sold at low rates in the Deccan."²⁵ Likewise during the famine that visited the Deccan at the beginning of the fifteenth century the state tried to relived the sufferings of the affected people by opening to them the public stores of grain. Though these refer to the rulers of the Deccan a similar policy must have been followed by the Vijayanagar kings also.

In this field of activity private initiative was not lacking. Among the private bodies or agencies that undertook relief work during such times mention may be made of the temple. For instance, when in the middle of the fifteenth century there was a famine in parts of South India, particularly in the region covered by the modern districts of Ramanathapuram and Tiruchirapalli and the Pudukkottai area two women who had fallen into debt and were harassed by their creditors sought the protection of the trustees of a local temple who relieved them from the oppressions of their creditors.²⁶

25. *Cambridge History of India*, iii, p. 385.

26. *I.P.S.*, No. 753.

SECTION II

STANDARD OF LIVING

For estimating the standard of living among the people in the middle ages we have to draw largely from the writings of the foreign travellers who visited the country during the period. But their evidence is incomplete and one-sided and is apt to lead us to hasty conclusions. The foreign travellers visited various parts of the Empire in different periods. Making due allowance for differences of time and place it appears from their evidence that though the country was very rich and its resources were great, there was much disparity in the living conditions of the various classes of people. Poverty amidst plenty, may be a true description of their condition. While the nobles lived in luxury and were lavish in their tastes and expenditure and indulged on wasteful extravagance and reckless expenditure in perfumes, unguents and personal ornaments, the mass of the people lived under conditions of extreme poverty even during normal times, not to speak of periods of famine or drought. The remarks of Nikitin are specific and forceful on the point. He says: "The land is overstocked with people; but those in the country are very miserable while the nobles are extremely opulent and delight in luxury". Varthema notes with particular care the miserable condition of the people in Ma'abar and refers to the poor accommodation of their houses, the value of which would be half a *ducat* each or one or two *ducats* at most. Nuniz also refers to the poor condition of the ryots on account of the oppression of the nobles.²⁷ Commenting on such a description by Nuniz, Sewell endorses his remarks.²⁸

Prices

All available evidence points to the existence of a great abundance of specie in the Empire. The luxurious extravagance exhibited at the palace ceremonials bears evidence to it. Paes observes that there was much money in the land, and the chiefs

27. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 373 and 379.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 379 *fn*; see also *India Before the English* by the same author, pp. 36-58.

were very wealthy; and referring to Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya he says: "The previous kings of the place (Vijayanagar) for many years past have held it a custom to maintain a treasury, which after the death of each, is kept locked and sealed, not to be opened except when the kings have great need". He further adds that the king (Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya) put in it every year ten million *pardaos* without taking from them one *pardao* more than what was needed for the expenses of his house.²⁹ Varthema also observes that the ruler of Vijayanagar was the richest king he had ever heard spoken of and that the Brahmans said that he possessed a revenue of twelve thousand *pardai* per day.³⁰ An idea of the wealth of Vijayanagar may be had from Hindu camp at the battle of Rakṣas Tangdi. The plunder was so great "that every private man in the allied army became rich in gold, jewels, effects, tents, arms, horses and slaves" and after the defeat "five hundred and fifty elephants laden with treasure in gold, diamonds and precious stones valued at more than a hundred million sterling...left the city."³¹

There is sufficient evidence to show that the prices of articles were low in the Vijayanagar Empire. Even in the middle of the fourteenth century Vijayanagar had won a name as a rich country well supplied with all good things. Nikitin remarks about Calicut that everything was cheap there.³² Vasco da Gama is more explicit on the point. He says that corn was available in abundance at Calicut and that bread sold at three *reals* (less than a penny) and was sufficient for the daily sustenance of a man. He adds: "Rice, likewise, is found in abundance.....a very fine shirt which in Portugal fetches three hundred *reis* was worth here only two *fanaos* (which is equivalent to thirty *reis*." ³³ Barbosa found rice selling very cheap in the country.³⁴ Paes also bears testimony to the cheapness of articles in Vijayanagar. He describes it as the best provided city in the world and stocked with provisions such as rice, wheat, grains, Indian corn (*jola* or *jowar*) and a certain amount of barley, beans, pulses, horse gram, and many other seeds, which grow in the country, and says that they were all very cheap. Fowls were sold at the rate of three per *vintem* (1.7 d) within the

29. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

30. Varthema, p. 129.

31. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-206.

32. Major, *India*, p. 20.

33. *The First Voyage*, p. 132.

34. Barbosa, I, pp. 195-197.

city while outside four could be had for the sum.³⁵ Likewise a *vintem* fetched six or eight partridges or twelve to fourteen doves.³⁶ Grapes were available in large quantities and sold at three bunches a *fanam* or *hana* and pomegranates at ten a *fanam*. Similarly sheep sold cheap, for in the city markets twelve live sheep could be had for a *pardao* while in the hills the same coin would fetch fourteen or fifteen sheep.³⁷ If the salaries paid to the humbler servants of the government can have any relation to the general level of prices of the articles of daily consumption by them, the conclusion is inevitable that they sold cheap, for in the Vijayanagar days a knight with a horse and a slave girl was expected to live on a

35. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 258.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 375. Ant. Schorer who was a Junior Dutch Factor at Masulipatam in 1609 and returned to Holland about 1615 has left an account of the Coromandel coast which contains a list of the prices of a variety of articles in the area. Though Masulipatam was outside the limits of the Vijayanagar Empire, it is possible that the prices of those articles in the Vijayanagar Empire would not have been very different. According to his account the following is the list of prices of articles at Masulipatam — "Pepper, 25 *pagoda* per *bhaer*; Mace, 8 to 12 *pagoda* per *man*; Nutmeg, 33 to 60 *pagoda* per *bhaer*; Cloves, $5\frac{1}{2}$ to 12 *pagoda* per *man*; Sandalwood, 100 to 120 *pagoda* per *bhar*, *Aglenheut*, 7 to 9 *pagoda* per *man*; Lead, 17 to 20 *pagoda* per *bhaer*; *Speauter* or *tintenago*, 25 to 60 and 70 *pagoda* per *bhaer*; Tin, 75 to 80 *pagoda* per *bhaer*; Sulphur, 20 *pagoda* per *bhaer*; Alum, 12 *pagoda* per *bhaer*; Raw Chinese silk 40 to 45 *pagoda* per *man*; Twisted silk from China 1 *pagoda* per *seer*; Untwisted silk (not so much imported as twisted). 1 *pagoda* per *seer*; Musk, 10 to 12 *pagoda* per *seer*, Vermilion, much in demand, but not imported in my time; Quicksilver, 20 to 25 *pagodas* per *man*; Camphor of Borneo, according to size and whiteness, 5 to 20 *pagodas* per *seer*; Chinese camphor, 4 *pagodas* per *man*.

All kinds of porcelain-ware are also imported, chiefly little things, and are sold at great profit, each according to its quality and for this reason I am not quoting their prices.

Red crimson cloth, 6 *pagoda* per *gass*, *gass* being equal $1\frac{1}{4}$ Dutch *ell*. Red Carmosynen Kerdeys, 2 to $2\frac{1}{4}$ *pagodas* per *gass*. Other colours of cloth as also of Kerdeys are not much in demand, particularly black. Chinese velvet, 1 to $1\frac{1}{4}$ *pagodas* per *gass*; Chinese rolled damask, 5 to 6 *pagodas* per piece; Chinese plaited damask $2\frac{1}{4}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ *pagodas* per piece; Chinese gold-wire, 1 *pagoda* each paper; Chinese *armosynen*, $1\frac{3}{4}$ to 2 *pagodas* per piece. Chinese lacquer work is not much in demand. Some round lased boxes have been sold for $\frac{3}{4}$ to 1 *pagoda* per piece; but not many. Tortoise shell, 70 to 80 *pagodas* per *bhaer*; Tinsel was sold in my time at from 3 to 4 *pagodas* per *man*; but it was very much soiled. There is also demand for pretty beer glasses made of crystal, 2 or 3 of which are sold for 1 *pagoda*. Pretty mirrors could also be sold, but it is to be noted that the glass should be pretty, if it is not so, they want another to be put into the frame; *Benjeurya* 6 to 8 *pagoda* per *man*; Wax, 2 to $2\frac{1}{4}$ *pagoda* per *man*; Sugar 5 to 6 *pagoda* per *bale* each *bale* weighing about 6 *man*" (*Indian Historical Qrly.* xvi, pp. 834-35).

monthly allowance of four or five *pardaos* or twenty-two rupees eight annas or twenty-five rupees.³⁸

It is curious that though there was abundant specie in the country the articles of consumption sold comparatively very cheap, thus questioning the quantity theory of money according to which abundance of specie cannot go hand in hand with low prices. But it may be noted here that, though such articles of consumption required even by ordinary people were selling very cheap, the same may not be said of all the articles sold in the Empire. Though our data are not sufficient to warrant any definite conclusion on the subject, it appears pretty certain that the articles of luxury sold at a high price which could have been afforded only by the wealthier classes of people in the Empire.

Debt and Interest

While on this subject, a few words may be said on debt and current rates of interest. The materials for a study of this interesting question are, however, very meagre. The inscriptions which refer to the rates mention them in connection with the endowments made to temples for the provision of specified offerings and worship and the supply of certain articles.³⁹ Further, information is confined only to the temple treasuries which gave loans to the people whenever they were in need of money. Besides, we get reference to debts and interest only in rural areas where agriculture usually preponderated. The rates of interest prevailing in the country appear to have varied from time to time and from place to place. The available evidence may however be indicated in the following table :

Reference	Date A.d.	Place (District)	Rate % per year	Kind of money	Monthly, yearly etc.	Remarks
<i>E. C.</i> , iv, Hg. 61	1407	Mysore	30	Gold	Monthly	1 bale ($\frac{1}{2}$ a <i>hāga</i>) per month on half <i>gadyāna</i>
<i>Ibid.</i> , Hg. 63	„	„	„	„	„	„

38. *Barbosa I*, p. 210.

39. 529 of 1919.

Reference	Date A.d.	Place (District)	Rate % per year	Kind of money	Monthly, yearly etc.	Remarks
<i>E.C.</i> , Cn. 160	1492	Mysore	20	Gold	?	2 <i>haṇa</i> for every 10 <i>honnu</i> .
56 of 1892	1530	Tiruchi- napalli		„	Monthly	1½ <i>paṇa</i> per 100 <i>pon</i> per month
<i>TTDI</i> , v, No. 61	1545	Chittore	12	„	Yearly	
561 of 1919	1547-8	Chingle- put	„	„	Monthly	1 <i>paṇa</i> pe. cent on <i>pon</i>
<i>E.C.</i> , vi Kp	1569	Kadur	„	„	„	interest at 1 per cent on 12000 <i>varāha</i>

The recovery of debts was as important a problem in those days, as it is to-day, and it received attention. Nicolo dei Conti observes that the debtor who was insolvent was everywhere adjudged to be the property of the creditor.⁴⁰ The foreign travellers say a few words regarding the repayment of debts. Varthema, for instance, says that when “a man had a right to demand anything of another and he happened to meet him, he had only to make a circular line upon the ground and to make his debtor enter it which the latter never failed to do and the debtor could not leave this circle without satisfying his creditor or obtaining the remission of the debt”. He also adds that if the debtor left the circle without paying the debt he was liable to be put to death by the king.⁴¹ Though the above is a contemporary description of how repayment of debt was demanded of the debtors, yet the epigraphs or the indigenous literature of the period make no reference to the practice. On the other hand we hear from the inscriptions that the creditors appropriated the lands of the debtors wherever possible to the extent necessary to recover the debt. Information about the manner in which insolvent debtors were dealt with is not available.

Most people were poor, and suffered under many economic disabilities. It is not surprising that after the historic battle of Rakṣas-Tangḍi the Empire did not recover from the blow. The

40. Major, *India*, p. 31.

41. *Varthema*, pp. 147-48.

history of the world records even more decisive battles; but it does not seem that they affected the economic condition of the respective countries and demoralised the economic resources of the people to the extent to which the battle of 1565 did in South India. The fact appears to be that the Hindu defeat at Rakṣas-Tangḍi gave the *coup de grace* to a people suffering under many economic disabilities in a weak and overgrown Empire. The battle gave the final blow to the already disorganised economic life of the country. The Empire had outlived its purpose and usefulness. Though Vijayanagar continued to make a show of outward glory for another century or so it could hardly maintain its strength, power and influence.

The general poverty of the people must have been due to various factors. The taxation policy of the Government which has been dealt with earlier probably had much to do it ⁴². The top heavy administration and the unproductive nature of many of the undertakings of the kings must have contributed to the general poverty stricken condition of the majority of the people. It is said that Athens grew at the expense of Greece. Likewise cities like Vijayanagar grew in size with buildings, amenities and population and enormous sums of money were spent on them. Such impulses of course gave great encouragement to the allied arts of architecture, sculpture and painting and gave employment to many artisans and workers in those lines. However, such large expenditure on buildings, religious and civil, resulted in considerable drain on the public purse, thereby starving many productive enterprises in the country. But such were the impulses and conditions of the age. The top heavy nature of the administration as also its very nature could also have contributed their share.

The items of expenditure of the people do not appear to have been many. The occasions for such expenditure were usually personal and occasionally social. Many people in the urban areas lived an artificial life and cultivated certain habits largely influenced by the life in the court and the houses of the nobility which entailed costly and extraragant living. Some people must have taken to pilgrimages, inspite of the absence of quick means of communication and conveyance. Marriages must have consumed a good part of their resources; and we hear of sales of lands to meet the expenses connected with them. High or low, rich or poor, the people decked themselves with as many jewels as they could afford and at times exceeding the limits of their resources. They do not

42. See *Supra*, Pt. I, Chapter on Revenue Administration.

appear to have had other means of spending money as at the present day. Thus it is reasonable to assume that the majority of the people were in the same economic condition as most people are now. But one thing may be said. The people in the Vijayanagar days who were largely tradition bound generally lived a contented life, unlike their descendants of the modern day, whose minds are influenced by many economic ideologies and agitated over many economic problems.

CHAPTER XII
RELIGION
SECTION I
INTRODUCTORY

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, India south of the Vindhyas presented a deplorable picture. It was then a land of warring kingdoms and principalities. It was divided among four important powers, the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, the Kākatiyas of Warangal, the Hoysaḷas of Dvārasamudra and the Pāṇḍyas of Madurai in the extreme south. It was at this time that the Sultans of Delhi actively interfered in South Indian politics and thus added to the confusion that already existed there. Muhammad-bin-Tughlak invaded the Hoysaḷa territory in 1327 and compelled Ballāḷa III (1310—'42) to submit. The dispute between Sundara Pāṇḍya and Vīra Pāṇḍya in Madurai over the question of succession to the throne had already weakened the Pāṇḍya Kingdom and made it easy for the Muslim invaders to invade the area, plunder its territories, add to its weakness and hasten its fall.¹

Muhammad-bin-Tughlak “subdued the whole of the Karnatak both in length and breadth even to the shore of the sea of Oeman”² in 1327 and appointed Jalal-ud-din to rule over Madurai, which was made a province of the Delhi Empire. But Jalal-ud-din declared his independence in 1334. The Tughlak Emperor arranged an expedition against the rebel chief, but it proved abortive. The Madurai Sultan was murdered and was succeeded by his son-in-law Ghias-ud-din, who in the course of a war with Hoysaḷa Vīra Ballāḷa III inflicted “the worst of all defeats” on the Hindus and murdered the Hoysaḷa ruler (1342). Ghias-ud-din was successively followed on the throne by Nasir-ud-din, Ādil Shāh, Fakrud-din Mubārak Shāh and Alā-ud-din Sikandar Shāh. The Sultanate seems to have come to an end about 1371, as a result of its conquest by the Vijayanagar prince Kampaṇa.

1. See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pandyan Kingdom*, pp. 201-11.

2. Briggs, *The Rise*, I, p. 413.

The Muslim invasions and occupation of parts of South India in the early decades of the fourteenth century were something of a regular *jihad* and tyranny. Ibn Battuta found his brother-in-law Ghias-ud-din the Sultan of Madurai to be a cruel tyrant and 'a fiend in human shape'. The temples were the special objects of Muslim attack, and in the course of the Muslim invasions the renowned temples of Cidambaram and Śrīrangam suffered most. As soon as the Muslims had reached near Śrīrangam, the image of Śrī Ranganātha is said to have been taken away from the place by Vēdānta Dēśika. The *Pāṇḍyan Chronicle* says: "The proper tutelary deity of Madura went into the Malayalam country. Then the wall of the temple, the fourteen towers on it and the streets inside were destroyed".³

The *Kōyilolugu* says that the God with his Nācciyār was taken by Piḷḷai Lōkācārya to Tirumāliruṇjōlai (Aḷagar koil near Madurai) and from there to the Malaiyālam country.⁴ According to the *Prapannāmṛtam* the God was taken to Gheṣṭhipura (Tirukkoṣṭhiyūr near Tiruppattur) and from there to Jyotiṣkuḍi (Kālaiyārkoil, Ramnathapuram District) and later to Tirunārāyanapuram (Melkote). An inscription describes in the following words the rule of the Muslims at Madurai: "The times were *Tulukkan* (Muslim) times; the *devadāna* lands of the Gods were taxed with *kuḍimai*; the temple worship, however, had to be done without any reduction; the *uḷavu* or cultivation of the temple lands was done by turns by the tenants of the village."⁵ An inscription at Kaṇṇanūr the capital of the Hoysaḷas⁶ states that the temple of Pōsalisvaram Uḍaiyār at the place was demolished upto the *ādhāraśilai* and converted into a mosque by the Muslims during their occupation of the region. The *Madhurāvijayam* of Gangādēvi also gives a vivid, though somewhat poetic, description of the character and effects of the Muslim occupation of

3. *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, I, p. 35.

4. *Kōyilolugu*, Ed. by V. N. Hari Rao, pp. 128-30.

4a. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 34-35.

5. *M.E.R.*, 1916, para 33; for a similar description of the difficulties experienced elsewhere on account of the Muslim occupation, See *Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*, No. 669.

6. In the Tiruchirapalli District. 162 of 1936-37; *Rep.*, 1937, para 51. The temple was constructed by the Hoysala king Vira Someśvara. The *Kōyilolugu* also says that the stones of the *prakara* walls of the Śrīrangam temple had been used by the Muslims for constructing fortifications for their garrison at Kaṇṇanūr (*Kōyilolugu*, *op. cit.*, p. 128).

occupation of Cidambaram and Madurai. "The place now known as Vyāghrapuri (Cidambaram) has been continuously so, for tigers inhabit it now where men once dwelt. The Vimāna (the dome of the central shrine) of Śrīrangam is so dilapidated that now it is the hood of Ādiśeṣa alone that is protecting the image of Ranganātha from the falling debris. The Lord of Gajāraṇya (Tiruvānaikkōil, Jambukēśvaram near Śrīrangam), who once killed an elephant to obtain its skin for his garment, has now again been reduced to this condition, because he is stripped bare of all the clothing; while the *garbhagṛaha* (central shrine) of many another temple is crumbling, its *maṇṭapa* is overgrown with vegetation and the wooden doors of the temple eaten up by white ants. Where there resounded once the joyous music of the *mṛdangam* (a kind of drum) there is heard at present the howl of the jackal that has made it its abode. The river Kāvēri that was curbed by proper dams and flowed in regular channels has begun to run in all directions. In the *agrahāras* where the smoke issuing from the fire offerings (*yāgodhūma*) was largely visible, and in which the chant of the Vedas was everywhere audible, we have now the offensive smelling smoke issuing from the roasting of flesh by Muslims and the harsh voice of these ruffians alone is heard there. The beautiful cocoanut trees which were gracing the gardens surrounding the city of Madura have been cut down by these intruders, and in place of these we see plenty of *śūlas* (stakes for impaling persons) with garlands made by stringing human heads together, resembling and recalling in a remote manner the cocoanut trees. The water of the river Tāmparaparṇī which used to be rendered white by the sandal paste rubbed away from the breasts of the youthful maidens who were bathing in it is now flowing red with the blood of cows slaughtered by these monstrous sinners." Behind all the poetic imagination and exaggeration, the above description was based on facts.

The Muslim invasions and occupation of South India created a feeling of great horror among the Hindus. The Hindus felt the necessity for united action. They wanted to stem the tide of Muslim aggression beyond the R. Kṛṣṇā. This desire to strengthen the cause of Hindu unity in South India necessitated their united action and the foundation of a powerful kingdom. The establishment of the new Empire which was to play a very important part.

7. *Madhurāvijayam*, Intro., pp. 5-6; also *Tiruvēkatachārī*, *Madhurāvijayam*, pp. 63 ff.

in the history of South India marked not only the assertion of Hindu independence by South India but also the resurgence of Hinduism.

The object of the foundation of Vijayanagar was largely to preserve Hindu religion, traditions and *Dharma* from the onslaughts of Islam. This work necessitated a greater amount of attention being paid to the maintenance and strengthening of the Hindu social order and religious activity in the land. This activity in the field of religion led also to greater attention being paid to literature, for in India the character and number of literary productions had close connections with the religious movements in the country. Thus the foundation of Vijayanagar had three effects: the Muslims were held in check, religious activity was given an impetus, and the period was marked by great literary efflorescence.

Soon after its foundation, the Sangama brothers and their sons, especially Kampana, the son of Bukka I, engaged themselves in freeing a large part of South India from the effects of Muslim domination. According to the *Kōyiloḷugu*, the idol of Ranganātha of Śrīrangam after being taken to Tirunārāyaṇapuram by way of Jyōtiṣkuḍi, Tirumālirunṅṇōlai (Aḷagarkōyil), Kōlikkūḍu (Calicut) and Pūnganūr and kept at that place for some time was finally removed to Tirupati. When Gōpaṇṇa, a minister and subordinate of Kampana and ruling from Ceṇṇji heard of the vicissitudes of the idol, he had it removed to Ceṇṇji where he kept it in the beautiful rock-cut shrine of Ranganātha at Singavaram near the place. Meanwhile the chief who was left in charge of Śrīrangam removed his headquarters to Kaṇṇanūr, a village six miles north of Śrīrangam, owing to considerations of health, and fortified that place with the stones obtained by demolishing the outer enclosures of the Śrīrangam temple. A dancing girl got into intimate relations with the Muslim chief with the object of saving the temple from destruction, and a Kāṇiyāḷa Brahman named Śingappirān secured a post in his service and was serving him faithfully. As soon as news of the foundation of Vijayanagar reached the ears of the distressed people of South India, Tirumanattun Nambi, the son of Śingappirān, sent one Uttama Nambi, one of the *sthānattārs* of the temple, to inform Gōpaṇṇa of the condition of Śrīrangam. Soon communications were started between Ceṇṇji and Śrīrangam. In 1370-71 Gōpaṇṇa defeated the Muslim chief "who had

degenerated by drink and debauchery and become thoroughly powerless to resist an attack," and re-established the image of Ranganātha in the temple.⁸

The activities of Kampana in the south proved a death-knell to Muslim power in the Tamil country. Ruined temples were restored by him and worship in them was revived. When he was active in the south, the enthusiastic sons of Sangama were active in the north. In this arduous task they were helped by the distinguished pontifical heads of the Śṛṅgerī maṭha, Vidyātīrtha and Vidyāraṇya. Vidyāraṇya had a large share in the foundation of the city of Vijayanagar for the preservation of Hindu religion and *Dharma*. Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita of the Kāḷāmukha school of Śaivism also joined hands in the Hindu effort to save south India from Islamic aggression. "It is a recognised element of national psychology that where a society is on the defence it cherishes every inherited tradition and holds fast to all things good and bad which it has inherited. Conservatism becomes a national virtue, the maintenance of what has been a point of national honour. That is not the time for reforms, for the *raison d'être* of the State is the defence of what exists. The orthodoxy of the kings became therefore the central point of the State. Hence it is that the great States which stood out the Mahommedan influence..... ..like Vijayanagar..... became the citadels of orthodoxy, places where customs which in a free India never had universal acceptance came to be considered orthodox and unchangeable".⁹ The ideal for which the Vijayanagar kings stood is well indicated by an inscription of 1376 which states: "In the world Acyuta (Kṛṣṇa) was born to Yośōdā and Nanda Gōpa and gave them a promise that he would eventually reappear as a king to deliver the world when it was overspread by Mlecchas. Accordingly he was born in the region of Pampāpura to

8. See *Madhurā vijayam* pp. 12-25; 18 of 1899; S. K. Aiyangar, *South India under the Muhammadan Invaders*, p. 116. *The Pāṇḍyan Chronicle* describes in vivid colours how the temple looked when it was opened by Kampana. It says: "Then things were found precisely as on the day when the temple was shut; the lamp that was lighted on that day, the sandal wood powder, the garland of flowers, and the ornaments usually placed on the morning of festival days were now found to be exactly as it is usual to find them on the same evening of such festival days." (Taylor, *Or. His. Mss.*, I, pp. 35-7). See also *Kōṭilolugu op. cit.*, pp. 130-133.

9. K. M. Panikkar, *Origin and Evolution of Kingship in India*, pp. 153-54.

Sangama and his wife Kāmāmbikā as Bukkamahīpati".¹⁰ Probably there were also corroding influences that undermined and weakened the vitality of pristine Hinduism. Hence Hinduism and all that it stood for had to be saved. It was therefore an epoch of religious excitement and moral awakening when the forces of Hinduism had to be strengthened and many important branches connected with Hindu religion and *Dharma* required restatement and systematisation. The active interest taken in and lead given to such a movement by the kings of Vijayanagar are borne out by such titles as *Vedamārgapraṭiṣṭhāpanācārya* and *Vaidika mārga praṭiṣṭhāpanācārya* which the early rulers of Vijayanagar took. Such titles as these were not conventional ones, but they had great significance and remind one of the title *Dharmamahārājā-dhirāja* taken by the early Pallava kings like Śiva Śkandavarman.^{10a} It is said in one inscription that Gods caused king Sangama to be born in a great royal line for the help of *Dharma*.^{10b}

According to the *Guruparamparā*, Vidyāranya, the *Advaita* teacher, and Akṣōbhyamuni, the follower of the *Dvaita* philosophy, had a controversy regarding their respective doctrines of illusion (*māyā*) and reality (*tattva*). Both of them sent their contentions through the king of Vijayanagar to Vēdānta Dēśika (then at Śrīrangam) for arbitration. The *Viśiṣṭādvaita* teacher decided in favour of Akṣōbhyamuni. Though the chronology contained in the story is not above doubt yet "the story..... sufficiently illustrates the state of conflict between the two schools of philosophy."¹² But such hot controversies and differences of opinion in regard to highly philosophical questions did not prevent the rival schools from working together for the preservation of their religion. The activities of Vidyāranya who was on very intimate terms with the royal house of Vijayanagar are known to us better. He helped Bukka I and Harihara II in the task of religious revival and tried to do his work with their help. He added to his religious undertakings others of a political nature and boldly played the parts

10. *E.C.*, IV, Yd. 46; also Intro., p. 23.

10a. *E.I.*, I, p. 5; also D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, I, p. 407.

10b. *MAR.*, 1929, p. 166.

12. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XXIV, p. 293; *Life and Times of Sri Vēdānta Desika* by V. Rangachary; see also C. M. Padmanabhachar, *The Life and Teachings of Madhvachariar* (Coimbatore, 1909); see contra. Bhandarkar, *Vaishnavism, Saivism and other Minor Religious Systems*, pp. 59 ff.

of a statesman and empire builder.¹⁴ Vidyāraṇya is said to have invited Vēdānta Dēśika who was living in Satyamangalam to Vijayanagar perhaps to work together. But the Dēśika appears to have preferred working by himself in seclusion to active participation in the political movements of the period. Thus he was a shining contrast to the great *Advaita* teacher of the fourteenth century.

14. See *M.A.R.*, 1908 ; paras 18 and 19.

SECTION II

HINDUISM

1. *Smārtas* :

Among the religious groups in the Vijayanagar Empire the Smārtas and the Śaivas constituted a large majority. The Smārtas or the Smārta pañcopāsakas believed that the particular deities whom they worshipped were but the manifestations of one Supreme Being.¹⁵ Unless they were initiated into a particular cult like Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava or Śākta they were worshippers of Gods like Gaṇapati, Śiva, Ambikā, Viṣṇu and Sūrya. It is probably on account of his systematisation of the worship of the above five deities along with Subrahmanya that Śrī Śankara came to be called *Sanmatasthāpanācārya*.¹⁶ All the above Gods were worshipped by all Smārtas. They had faith in the efficacy of Vedic rites, the practice of Vedic rituals and the institution of *Varṇāśrama-dharma*. They were the followers of the Advaita philosophy of Śrī Śankara. Apart from the smaller Advaita maṭhas like the one at Puṣpagiri and the other at Virūpākṣam, the two important Advaita maṭhas respectively at Śṛṅgeri and Kāñcīpuram besides a number of others propagated the Smārta religious system and the Advaita philosophy. They were patronised by the Vijayanagar kings.¹⁷

From time to time the Vedānta school of Śrī Śankara produced scholars of eminence who contributed much to the propagation of Advaitic thought by writing works on its doctrines.¹⁸ They had controversies with the exponents of other schools of Indian philosophy. As said earlier, tradition affirms that Vidyāraṇya had philosophical dispute with Akṣobhya Muni, a disciple of Madhva and a good exponent of Madhva philosophy. Later Appayya Dīkṣita, a great scholar and philosopher who flourished in the

15. See J. N. Banerjea, *Pauranic and Tantric Religion*, p. 155.

16. See *Śankara and Sanmata*.

17. In A.D. 1346 the five Śaṅgama brothers made a joint grant to the Śṛṅgeri maṭha (E.C., VI, Sr. 1). From the evidence of a *Kaṭita* at Śṛṅgeri it appears that sage Vidyāraṇya of the Śṛṅgeri maṭha died at Hampi and a *samādhi* was constructed over his mortal remains behind the Virūpākṣa temple at the place.

18. See *Preceptors of Advaita*, ed. by T. M. P. Mahadevan.

second half of the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries was an able controversialist and had disputes on questions of high philosophy with scholars like Vijayindra Tirtha of the Madhva *maṭha* at Kumbākōṇam.

ii. *Saivism*.

i. Pāśupatas and Kālāmukhas :

The Pāśupatas and Kālāmukhas with probably minor differences among themselves were important Śaiva sects in the Vijayanagar Empire. The Pāśupatas paid greater attention to the Śaiva Agamas, though they did not reject the Vedas on that account. There were two divisions among them, the Vaidika Pāśupatas and the Avaidika Pāśupatas. The Vaidika Pāśupata school of thought appears to have been more popular among the two. It is not clearly known if the Pāśupata cult had a large following in south India in the Vijayanagar period, though some inscriptions mention that the head of a particular *maṭha* had a lakh of disciples under him.¹⁹ The southern most limits of the influence of the Pāśupatas appear to have been the Tiruchirapalli district of the present day. There is no definite evidence to show that they were flourishing farther south in the Pāṇḍya country.²⁰

The Kālāmukhas were influential and popular in parts of the Vijayanagar Empire in the earlier period of its history. There were great believes in the supremacy of Rudra, as also in *Paṭi*, *Paśu* and *Iāśa*. They stood for the strict observance of Vedic *dharma*s and the practice of *varṇāśrama* ideals. The Pāśupatas and Kālāmukhas seem to have had much to do with the management of Śiva temples. In fact the Jambukeśvara temple at Tiruvānaikōil near Tiru hirapalli was managed by a family of Pāśupata *grahastas* even in the sixteenth century.²¹ Both the Pāśupatas and the Kālāmukhas had their *gurus* and interpreters. The first few kings of the Sangama dynasty were followers of the Kālāmukha school of Śaivism, though they were tolerant to and patrons of other religious systems also. Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita of the Kālāmukha school was the *Kulaguru* of the early Vijayanagar kings.

19. See K. R. Venkatarama Ayyar, *A Manual of the Pudukkottai State*, Vol. II, pt. i, p. 685.

20. See *Journal of Indian History*, XXVII, pt. I, pp. 44-53 for an article on 'The Pāśupatas in South India', by the author.

21. See *Journal of Oriental Research*, pp. for an article, 'A Family of Pāśupata *Grahas*tas in Jambukesavaram' by the author; also 'An Inscription dated 1584 concerning Reform of a *Matha*' by J. Duncan M. Derrett, in *Studies in Indian History and Culture* (Prof. P. B. Desai Felicitation Volume), pp. 91 ff.

ii. *Vira Śaivism* :

The Vira-Śaivas constituted an influential religious sect in large parts of the Empire. They were an offshoot of the Śaivas. Vira Śaivism as a religion was given a popular turn by Basava (Vṛṣabha), a minister and contemporary of king Bijjala of the Kaḷacūri dynasty. The way had, however, been prepared for him by a succession of Śaiva teachers. They did not concern themselves very much with the philosophical doctrines of the Vedāntins. "What philosophy the Jangamas professedly have is Vedāntic, but in fact they are deistic (not pantheistic) disciples of.....Basava (Vṛṣabha) who taught Śiva worship in its grossest form, the adoration of the Linga (Phallus); while his adherents, who spread all over India under the name of Jangamas, 'vagrants,' or Lingāyits 'Phallus wearers', are idolatrous deists with but a tinge of Vedāntic mysticism."²² They are staunch Śaivas and carry the phallic (Lingam) always with them. They reject the authority of the Vedas, discard the Vedic ceremonies, disbelieve in the doctrine of re-birth, object to child marriage and approve of the remarriage of widows. They received the patronage of the kings also, as may be seen from the title *Vira Śaivāgamasampanna* assumed by Dēva Rāya II. It is said in a late Kannāḍa work, the *Cannabasava purāṇa*, that the king patronised Lingāyat *gurus* and even gave his daughter in marriage to Kerasthaḷada Virappa.²³ They constitute even now a very powerful religious community in the Karnāṭaka country, especially among the trading classes.

iii. *Śaiva Siddhāntā* :

The Vijayanagar period saw the spread of the cult of Śaiva Siddhāntism among the Śaivas. The author of this movement was one Meyakaṇḍadēva who wrote the *Śivajñānabōdam* which contains the principles and tenets of the creed.²⁴ He stressed the impor-

22. Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p. 482.

23. *M.A.R.*, 1923, No. 92. Views have at times been expressed that Deva Rāya II and his successors were themselves Vira Śaivas. But there is not much evidence to prove it.

24. The date of Meykaṇḍa is one of doubt. Seshagiri Sastri, suggests that he lived about A.D. 1550. (*Rep. on Sans. and Tam. Mss.*, 1896-97, pp. 52 and 56). The author of the *Madras Manual* assigns him to the eleventh century and says that the Siddhar schools came into existence after Ativira Rāma Pāṇḍya whom he places in the eleventh century (Vol. I, pp. 57 and 120). Gopinatha Rao, however, thinks that Ativira Rāma Pāṇḍya lived about A.D. 1236 (*Madras Review*, 1904). See in this connection *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLIII, pp. 156-57. Meykaṇḍa appears to have lived in the twelfth century at the latest Umāpati Śiva, fourth in the spiritual succession to Meykaṇḍa, wrote his *Sankarṣa Nirākarnam* in Ś. 1235 (A.D. 1313). See S. Anavaratavinayakam Pillai, *Śaiva Siddhānta Varalāru*, p. 33.

ance of Śiva in the religious pantheon, and made Śaivism popular among the masses. Meykaṇḍa had a worthy line of followers in Aruḷnandi-Śivācārya, Maraijñānasambanda. Umāpati-Śivācārya and a few others. The Śaiva siddhānta philosophy is largely based on the *āgamas* which are twenty-eight in number. It seeks to determine the relation between God, matter and soul. The system stresses the importance of *bhakti* or devotion in preference to rituals and ceremonies. Śiva Vākyaṛ ridiculed idol worship thus: "What is the use of decking stones with flowers? What true religion is there in the ringing of bells, the performance of set obeisances, the going around fanes, the floating of incense, the offering of things arranged as if in a market?" About pilgrimages he asked: Can a bath in the Ganges turn black into white?" But he said: "Shun illusions, repress the senses, then the sacred waves of Kāśī will swell within your breast." Paṭṭaṇattu Piḷḷaiyār had no love of worldly life. He says about the body: "It is a property claimed by various agents,—by fire, by worms, by the earth, by kites, jackals, and curs. Its ingredients, moreover, are nasty and of bad odour". He insists upon the love of God. To him forms of worship and the scriptures are all 'godward perfidy'. He pleads for the true love of God.²⁵ This movement was strong in South India during the Vijayanagar days.

iv. Śivādvaita:

Another school of Śaivism which flourished during the period was that of *Śivādvaita*, according to which *Brahman* was identified with *Para Śiva* who was superior to the *Trimūrtis* i.e., *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Śiva*. The chief exponent of this system was Śrīkaṇṭha Śivācārya who probably lived early in the fifteenth century. He explained his system in his *Śaiva bhāṣya* for which a commentary, the *Śivārkamaṇḍipika*, was written later by Appayya Dīkṣita.

v. Siddhars:

There flourished in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the Tamil country a monotheistic creed known as the *Sittars* (Siddhars?). Literally the term means one who has attained perfection, as distinguished from *bhaktas* who attempt to perceive God. They were a class of mystics and rose above all religious and communal barriers. Eight main *siddhis* are mentioned for them namely contracting like the atom, (*aṇimā*), taking big proportions

25. See *Ind. Ant.*, XLIII, pp. 157-58; also *Madras University Journal*, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 111-127 for an article 'Truth in the Śaiva Siddhānta' by S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri.

like the *mēru* (*mahimā*), becoming light like air (*ilagumā*), becoming weighty (*garimā*), conquering all things (*prāpti*), enticing (*vaśitvam*) taking and entering the body of another (*pirākāmyam*) and doing and enjoying all desired things.

It is considered that the teachings of the Śittars may be the result of Muslim and Christian influence, though without much foundation. Their history is obscure but their beginnings may be traced to very early times. Some of the charming lyrics which are attributed to the tenth century mystic and poet Paṭṭaṇattu Piḷḷai bear unmistakable characteristics of the Śittar spirit. Some of the Śittars are known by curious names like Ahappēy (Inner demon), Pāmbāṭṭi (Snake charmer) etc.

Among the Śittars of the Vijayanagar period was Śivaprakāśa who lived in the seventeenth century. He is known to have met a Christian missionary for a philosophical disputation, and composed a polemic the *Ēśumada Nirākaraṇam* in which he refuted the Christian creed. The work, however, is no longer extant. Another was Tattvarāyar who wrote a work against idolatry. The relationship between these mystic Śittars and the followers of the Siddha school of medicine is, however, not known.²⁶

3. Vaiṣṇavism :

The Vijayanagar days were very propitious for the spread of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism in South India. Since the days of Rāmānuja, the great Śrī-Vaiṣṇava philosopher and teacher, who carried out certain reforms calculated to bring the philosophical teachings of the Vedānta to the masses and uplift them morally and spiritually the Vaiṣṇava creed had gained a large number of adherents. But in the course of a few decades his followers had effected certain modifications in his teachings and introduced doctrines, rituals and observances, which the founder of the sect had not enjoined and probably would not have sanctioned.

Within a few decades after the death of Rāmānuja the Vaiṣṇavas were falling into two definite camps, each with particular views on specific religious and social questions, though the beginnings of such differing views may be traced to an earlier period. Their differences were generally doctrinal, ritualistic and social in character. The first point at issue was whether Sanskrit or Tamil was to be the

26. Many of the hymns of the Śittars have been collected in the anthology known as *Śivavākyaṁ* (Śiva's utterance).

medium for worship, whether the Sanskrit Vedas or the Tamil *Prabandhas* were to be recited. Rāmānuja by himself drew no difference between the Sanskrit and Tamil works for use in religious worship; but later when the Vaiṣṇavas came to be divided into two wide and distinct groups each preferred one language. While the Vaḍagalai Vaiṣṇavas preferred the Vedas to the Tamil *Prabandhas*, the Tēngalai Vaiṣṇavas preferred the Tamil *Prabandhas* to the Sanskrit Vedas. The importance of the *Tiruvāymoḷi* was emphasised and the *iḍu* (commentary on the *Tiruvāymoḷi*) tried to set the mystical experiences of the Āḷvārs in the context of the Vedānta philosophy and logic. But while the former did not neglect Tamil, and in fact Vēdānta Dēśika wrote many Tamil works, the latter neglected Sanskrit.

The question as to the method by which salvation could be sought was also one of the grounds for the differences between the two schools. The doctrine of *bhakti* as a most essential requisite for attaining Heaven had been developed by the Āḷvārs into that of *prapatti* or *śaraṇāgati* (self-surrender). Rāmānuja who was a Vaiṣṇava Vedāntin accepted this doctrine of self-surrender and interpreted the *Upaniṣads* and the *Vēdānta Sūtras* in the light of this doctrine. But after his days differences arose among the Vaiṣṇavas as to the circumstances and method by which one could seek to attain salvation. The Vaḍagalai school held that before one surrendered oneself to the divine will, he must try to attain salvation by his own effort; it was only after he found that he could not attain salvation by such unaided effort, that he might abjectly surrender to the divine grace. But the Tēngalai school held that for a man desiring salvation, self-effort was not absolutely necessary, for divine grace was spontaneous and overflowing, and hence one could reach Heaven even without self-effort, if only he surrendered himself to God. Their views on this question are expressed by an analogy. The Vaḍagalais said that the individual must endeavour towards salvation in the same way as the young one of a monkey clings to its mother while she is hopping from place to place (*markaṭanyāya*); but the Tēngalais argued that God's grace being spontaneous, acted like a cat carrying the kitten in its mouth (*mārjārananyāya*); hence even without one's self-effort one could attain salvation, and there was required nothing but an attitude of receptivity to the free flow of God's grace.²⁷ Commenting on this question, Bhandarkar says: "The tendency of Rāmānuja's system seems to be to give an

27. *Ind. Rev.*, Dec. 1908.

exclusive Brahmanic form to the traditional method of *bhakti* or devotion to God, and this is definitely seen in the doctrines of the Vāḍagalai, while the Tēngalai, or south, learning is more liberal and so shapes the doctrines of the system as to make them applicable to Śūdras also".²⁸

The difference in the idea as regards the nature of God's grace led to another differentiation in the matter of sin and forgiveness. The Tēngalai school held that God's grace was spontaneous which could be had even by sinners by the interposition of the divine mother as the mediator. It was thus argued that the perpetration of sin alone was a test of God's grace. But the Vāḍagalai school contended that sins could not be committed, for God simply ignored the commission of sins, but did not like it.



The two schools again held different views regarding the position of Lakṣmī. The Vāḍagalai school held that Lakṣmī could not be considered as one different from God, for she lived in and through him; she was one with the Lord and hence cooperated with him in his work of the preservation of the universe. But the Tēngalai school relegated her to a lower position, argued that she was as much a finite being as any body else, but held a superior position as a servant of God, and was only a mediator between the sinner and the Lord. According to them she could only plead for the sinning soul, but did not have any power of independent action.

As regards the institution of caste there were differences between the two sects. The Vāḍagalais believed in the caste system and held that one was bound by the rules governing one's *varṇa*; but the Tēngalais held that a true *prapanna* rose above all castes and creeds, and said that a man of the lower order was equal to a Brahman if he was a true *bhaktā*.

Similarly the Tēngalais were liberal enough to think that spiritual knowledge could be obtained through a teacher of the lower order, while the Vāḍagalais opposed such notions. The Vāḍagalais believed in pilgrimages, but the Tēngalais had no such belief in theory at least. As regards religious ceremonies like a *śrāddha*, there were differences between them. While the Vāḍagalais held that food must be offered to God alone on the *śrāddha* day,

28. Bhandarkar, *Vaisnavism, Saivism and other Minor Religious Systems*, p. 57.

their opponents held that it must be offered to the *Nityas* and *Ācāryas* also. Then again while the former believed in the efficacy of sacrifices, the latter denounced them as involving cruelty to animals. In social practices also there arose differences between them. While the Vaḍagalais put a *nāmam* (*bhakti* mark) on their

forehead like this  the Tengalais put it like this.  While

the former enjoined the tonsure of widows the latter did not feel the need for it and said, there was no sanction for such tonsure. During the time of *pūja*, the Tengalais did not ring bells, for it was believed that Vēdānta Dēśika was an *avatār* of the *ghaṇṭā* of Vēṅkaṭanātha; but the Vaḍagalais rang the bells. The Tengalai people prostrated themselves before each other, though only once, irrespective of the fact whether the person to whom the prostration was made was old or young, a Non-Brahman or a Brahman, a *guru* or a disciple, a man or a woman or whether it was in the presence of a deity or a *guru*. But the Vaḍagalais protested that *namaskāras* could be made only by the young to the old, by a Non-Brahman to a Brahman, by a disciple to his *guru*, only to deserving women like the wife of a *guru* or a mother and held that they must not be made in the presence of a deity.²⁹ For them there was no limit for the number of such *namaskāras*.

Vēdānta Dēśika who flourished in the Tamil country in the fourteenth century, wanted to uphold the doctrines of Rāmānuja. He stood as an apostle of conservative orthodoxy and emphasised the necessity for one performing his duty according to his *varṇa āśrama*. His conservatism may probably be explained by the need for conserving the existing social order. He commanded a following which was willing to accept the doctrines of Rāmānuja and came to be known as the members of the Vaḍagalai sect or of the northern school. The leader of the

29. See *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XXIV, pp. 126-136; *Mysore Census Report*, 1881; Monier Williams, *Hinduism*, pp. 125-55; *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, pp. 1103 ff, and 1912 pp. 714 ff.; Barth, *Religions of India*, p. 227; *Ind. Ant.*, III, p. 175; Hopkins, *Religions of India*, pp. 500 ff; He says: "The monkey Ramaites are a sect of the north (*vaḍa*) and hence are called Vaḍagalais. The Cat or Calvinistic Ramaites of the south (*ten*) are called *Tengalais*". This appears to be a curious classification. Dr. Grierson also has misunderstood the true significance of the term. See *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, p. 566. S. M. Natesa Sastri thinks that the practices of the Tengalai Vaiṣṇavas are to a large extent influenced by non-Brahmanical practices. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 252 ff.

Vaḍagalais was one Nainār Ācāryā also known as Varadācārya, the son and successor of Vēdānta Dēśika. The other party which fought against conservative orthodoxy was headed by Piḷḷai Lōkācārya and Maṇavāḷa Mahāmuni, the latter a native of Āḷvār Tirunagiri and a disciple of Śrīśaila. He is believed to have flourished in the latter half of the fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth century, (1370 to 1444) and he was in a large measure responsible for the strengthening of the sect of the Tengalais as a separate sect. Maṇvāḷa Mahāmuni was followed in his arduous work of social reform by his successors in the eight *maṭhas* which he himself established for that purpose. This popular movement rapidly spread among a large number of Vaiṣṇavas; for its catholicity and mass appeal were responsible for admitting in its fold members of all castes, high and low; and in the course of a century the new faith was able to command a large number of adherents when compared with that of the Vaḍagalais.³⁰

One important aspect of the history of Vaiṣṇavism during the period was the development of the Viṭhobha or Viṭṭala cult centering round an aspect of Viṣṇu. It was popular in the Karnāṭaka area from at least the fourteenth century. Images of the God were carved on the walls and pillars of many Viṣṇu temples in the Vijayanagar empire. Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya is believed to have carried away an image of Viṭṭhala from Pandharpur and installed it in the temple that he erected for Him in his capital.

The Vallabha Sect:

The *bhakti* movement among the Vaiṣṇavas led to the rise of a sect known as the *Vallabhācārya* sect, so named after its founder. It was believed that the founder was an embodiment of a portion of Kṛṣṇa's essence. According to the religion he propagated, Viṣṇu was the highest God, and he was to be worshipped in the form of young Kṛṣṇa associated with Rādhā. Vallabhācārya held that Lord Kṛṣṇa must not be worshipped with fasting and self-mortification, but worshippers must do so without putting any restrictions upon themselves, for, according to him, every individual soul being a portion of the Supreme Soul, there must not be placed any restriction on man. The devotee should eat and drink, should satisfy his hunger and other wants and worship Kṛṣṇa in perfect satisfaction.

There is a tradition that Vallabhācārya was invited to the court of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya of Vijayanagar where a disputation was held, in which, it is believed, he succeeded even against the

30. Monier Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

celebrated Vyāsarāya Tīrtha, the Madhva teacher, and that he was elected the chief Ācārya among the Vaiṣṇavas. It is on record that the emperor was so much pleased with him that he performed his *kanakābhiṣeka*.³¹ Later he travelled over different parts of India for over nine years and finally settled at Vārāṇasi, where, it is said, he composed seventeen important works on his philosophy and religion. The followers of his religion are largely found among the merchant communities of Bombay and Gujarat, as also in a few portions of the Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh States. Their priests known as the *Mahārājas* are married men, and are recruited from the Telugu Brahmans who are related to its distinguished founder.

The followers of this new religion later grossly exaggerated the highly philosophical teachings of the founder especially in regard to his non-ascetical view of religion, and interpreted it in a gross and material sense. "Hence their devotion to Kṛṣṇa degenerated into the most corrupt practices, and their whole system was rotten to the core."³²

4. *Madhvaism* :

Originally founded in the thirteenth century by Madhva to propagate his theory of Duality, this religious school gained a good number of adherents in the Vijayanagar period. Among the great Madhva teachers, mention may be made of a few. One of them was Padmanābha Tīrtha, the immediate successor of Madhvācārya. He was the head of the Pādarāyamāṭha; one of the distinguished heads of the *maṭha* was Śrīpāda Rāya, a contemporary of Saṣuva Narasimha. Madhva Tīrtha was a great scholar who presided over the Uttarādi maṭha established by Madhvācārya. He was succeeded by Akṣobhya Tīrtha who was a contemporary of Vidyāraṇya. The controversy between these two famous teachers has been noticed earlier. Akṣobhya had two disciples, Jaya Tīrtha and Rājendra Tīrtha, both of them able logicians. But the most eminent of the Madhva teachers was Vyāsarāya, a contemporary of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya. Eight *maṭhas* were established to spread the teachings of the founder, and they carried on faithfully his work.

31. See *Vallabhācārya caritam* by Muralidharadāsa summarised in S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 154.

32. Monier Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 136 and M. Seshagiri Sastri, *Rep. on a Search for Sans and Tamil Mss.*, Vol. I, p. 16; See also Macnicol, *Indian Theism*, pp. 127-28 and *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, XII, pp. 580-83.

Vyāsarāya born at Bannūr in the Mysore District was the disciple Brahmanya Tīrtha and was initiated in the Madhva ascetic order. He was a logician and Vedāntin of rare ability, and the author of several works on certain important aspects of the *Dvaita* philosophical system, among which mention may be made of *Tātparyacandrikā*, *Tarkatāṇḍava* and *Nyāyāmṛta*, which are generally called *Vyāsatraya*: It is said of Vyāsarāya, that on account of his work, the *Nyāyāmṛta*, "he is not merely the founder of this new dialectic of his school but also the fountain-head of the entire controversial literature of the *Dvaita-Advaita* schools subsequent to him. His work was the beginning of a series of brilliant dialectical classics, whose composition and study became the chief intellectual occupation of the savants of the next centuries after him".³³ He was also the commentator of "all the *Sāstras*" and was called the *Vaiṣṇava Siddhānta pratiṣṭhāpanācāryah*.³⁴ He appears to have been a great favourite of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya. It is even said that the Emperor abdicated his throne for a short time in favour of Vyāsarāya to avert a serious calamity that was predicted for the Empire, should the king occupy the throne at a particular hour. Since the calamity was averted by his occupying the throne he is said to have been honoured with the title of *Karnāṭaka-simhāsanādhiśvara*.³⁵ A large number of villages were granted to him by the Emperor.³⁶ He lived at Tirupati for many years.³⁷ According to the *Sampradāyakuladīpikā*, a work of the sixteenth century, Vyāsarāya Tīrtha presided over a meeting held at the court of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya in which Vallabhācārya defeated his opponents in a dispute.³⁸ Among other scholars who accepted his superiority were Gadādhara Bhāṭṭa, Pakṣadhara Miśra and Basava Bhaṭṭa. He was held in such great esteem by the Emperor that he is said to have performed his *ratnābhiṣeka*. He is said to have installed the image of Yantroddhāra Hanumān at Hampi, which was followed by the installation of idols for Hanumān in

33. B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma, *Dvaita School*, p. 34.

34. *M.E.R.*, 1905, para 33.

35. This statement rests only on orthodox Madhva tradition. No corroborative evidence is available from other sources, though Somanātha Kavi the author of the *Vyasayogi Carita* and Purandaradāsa make mention of it.

36. 370 of 1919; *E.C.*, IX, Cp. 153; *E.C.*, VII, 85; *Intro.* pp. 51 ff. See also *Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. XV. pp. 43 ff. and *M.A.R.* 1911-12, para 107; 1919 para 30, *E.I.*, XXXI, pp. 139 ff.

37. 74 of 1899.

38. M. Seshagiri Sastri, *Rep. on the Search for Sans. and Tamil Mss.* Vol. I, p. 16.

different parts of the Empire which numbered 732.³⁹ Besides, he was virtually a Haridāsa who spread the teaching of Madhvācāra in Kannāḍa through the medium of *kīrtanas*, *sūlādis* and *ugabhogas*. On account of his remarkable ability he organised the Dāsakūṭa, and attracted to it Vādirāja Purandaradāsa and Kanakadāsa. Prof. Aufrecht says that he founded the Vyāsarāya maṭha.⁴⁰ He seems to have died at Hampi. "Even today the pilgrim who goes to the Pampākṣetra (Hampi) is shown the tomb of this great religious teacher and scholar on an island called Navabṛndāvana in the Tungabhadra river about half a mile to the east of Ānegondi."⁴¹

Another great Madhva teacher was Vijayindra Tīrtha, a contemporary of the great Appayya Dīkṣita. He is said to have been master of the sixty four *kalas* or branches of learning and composed a number of works. He spent the evening of his life at Kumbakōṇam and had a philosophical disputation with the Vīra Śaiva guru at the place; it lasted for eleven days, at the end of which he is said to have come out successful.

Vādi Rāja Tīrtha, the successor of Vāgiśa Tīrtha, in the Soude maṭha was also a great scholar and a reputed controversialist. He also wrote several work. Rāghavēndra Tīrtha, the disciple of Sudhīndra Tīrtha, was likewise a great scholar who lived in the seventeenth century. He was a powerful writer and a noted controversialist.⁴²

39. See 'Vyāsarāya' by the author in *A Seminar on Saints* (ed. by T. M. P. Mahadevan).

40. *Catalogus Catalogorum* p. 619.

41. *M.E.R.*, 1923, para 84. See *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies*, Presented to F. W. Thomas (ed. by S. M. Katre and P. K. Gode) pp. 265-84 for an article on Vyāsarāya Svāmi by B. N. K. Sarma.

42. See *E.I.*, XII, pp. 344 ff.

SECTION III

Jainism and Buddhism

Jainism received great patronage in the Vijayanagar days. the Jains were an influential religious sect with their sphere of influence largely in the northern and western portions of the Empire. The Vijayanagar sovereigns found religious toleration not only a sound policy, but also a political necessity; and in the case of the Jains also they were tolerant. For instance, when in 1368 there arose quarrels between the Jains and the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas, Bukka I settled their disputes and brought about reconciliation between the two rival sects. This Jaina—Vaiṣṇava compact marks an important epoch in the religious history of South India. The way in which such a reconciliation was brought about is interesting. Bukka I summoned the leaders of the two sects and declared that as there was no essential difference between the two sects they should remain friends. It is said that he took the hands of the Jains and placing them in the hands of the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas of the eighteen *nāḍus* including the *ācārāyas* of Śrīrangam, Tirupati Kāñcī and Melkōṭe and other Vaiṣṇava sects among whom special mention is made of the Tirukulas and Jāmbavakulas, i.e., Holeyas and Maḍigas,⁴³ decreed as follows: “The Jaina creed is, as before entitled to the five great musical instruments and the *kalāṣa* of vase. If loss or advancement should be caused to the Jaina creed through the Vaiṣṇavas, the latter will kindly deem it as loss or advancement caused to their own creed. The Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas will to this effect kindly set up a *śāśana* or inscription in all the *bastis* of the kingdom. For as long as the sun and the moon endure, the the Vaiṣṇava creed will continue to protect the Jaina creed Vaiṣṇavas and Jains are one body; they must not be viewed as different. Tāttayya of Tirupati will, out of the money levied from every Jaina house throughout the kingdom, appoint twenty servants as a body-guard for the God at Belgola and repair ruined Jaina temples. He who transgresses this decree shall be a traitor to the king, a traitor to the *sangha* and the *samudāya*.”⁴⁴ One fact deserves to be noted about this compact. The opening verse of

43. They are said to have helped Rāmānuja in recovering the image of Śelva Pillai from the Muslims at Delhi.

44. *E.C.*, II, (New Edn.), Sb. 344; (Old Edn.), Sb. 136; *E.C.* IX, Mg. 181.

these inscriptions is in praise of the Śrī Vaiṣṇava teacher Rāmānuja; and this is the last one of the five verses known as *Dhātu pañcaka* madoration of Rāmānuja.⁴⁵

An inscription at Tiruniṅkonṅrai mentions an Appāṇḍār Jaina temple on the hill at the place.⁴⁶ Irugappa Daṇḍanātha, the minister of Harihara II, was a Jain. He was a disciple of Puṣpasēna⁴⁷ and built the Kuntha Jīnālaya at Vijayanagar, the Present Ganigiṭṭi temple at Hampi,⁴⁸ and a *basti* for Pārśva Jīnanātha at Gooty.⁴⁹ His inscriptions are also found at Tirupparruttikuṅṅu, a small Jain colony near Kāñcīpuram where he appears to have constructed a *maṇṭapa* for music before the Jaina temple at the instance of his Guru Puṣpasēna and made a gift of land to the Trailōkyanātha temple at the place.⁵⁰ Harihara the son of Dēva Rāya I made a gift of land to the Candranātha Basadi in Vijayamangalam in 1412.⁵¹ According to an inscription engraved on the pedestal of a missing stone image now kept in the Archaeological Museum at Hampi Immaḍi-Bukka Mantriśvara son of Baicaya Daṇḍanātha, a disciple of Dharmabhūṣaṇa, Bhaṭṭārakācārya of the Mūla sangha, the Balātkāragagaṇa and the Sarasvati gaccha constructed a *caityālaya* at the city of Kandanavolu (Kurnool) and consecrated therein the image of Kumthu Tirthankara.⁵² Dēva Rāya II built a stone temple for Arhat Pārśvanātha in a street of the Pansupari bazaar at Vijayanagar.⁵³ Kuṅṅattūr, which was an important Jaina centre during the period contains an inscription of

45. *E.C.*, II, *Intro.*, p. 633.

46. 303 of 1939-40.

47. *E.I.*, VII, p. 115.

48. *S.I.* I, p. 156.

49. 326 of 1920.

50. 41 and 42 of 1890; *E.I.*, VII, pp. 115-116; See also T. N. Ramachandran, *Tiruppunttikunram and its Temple*, pp. 67 ff.

51. 596 of 1905.

52. 336 of 1935-36; *Rep.*, para 62.

53. *S.I.I.*, I, 82. From these grants and constructions by the members of the first Vijayanagar dynasty M. S. Ramaswamy Ayyangar concludes that they were Jains. He says: "These incidents are sufficient evidence to prove that the ruling families of Vijayanagar not only patronised but some of them professed the Jain faith". *Studies in South Indian Jainism*. p. 118). But his conclusions are not supported by facts. The Vijayanagar kings were never Jains though they largely patronised Jainism. Their liberal grants to Jaina temples and institutions cannot prove the assertions of the author.

the king which mentions the construction of a temple of Arhat at Kuṇṇrai (Kuṇṇattūr)⁵⁴ Sāluva Narasimha appears to have had interest in the revival of worship in the temples that had suffered in the course of the Orissan invasions (A.D. 1463). Among Jaina temples in which such worship was revived were those at Paṇappāḍi and Poṇparappu.⁵⁵ Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya and his successors also patronised Jainism,⁵⁶ and it was in a flourishing condition in some places in the Tamil country and in the northern and western portions of the Vijayanagar Empire. A Guṇabhadra cārya probably also called Guṇabaddira Muṇivan, a Jain teacher, is said to have been living at Tiruṇiṇkoṇṇrai (South Arcot District) in the sixteenth century. He was a great scholar both in Sanskrit and Tamil and hence described as the wise man (*vittagan*) of Koṇḍai malai (Tiruṇiṇkoṇṇrai).⁵⁷ He was probably the founder of a school of Jaina religion as may be seen from a reference made to him as *Virasanghapraṭiṣṭhācārya*.⁵⁸

During the days of Narasimharāya (Vīra Narasimha) lands belonging to a few Jaina temples like the Vīrarājendra śōḷapperumpallī fell into disuse on account of heavy taxation and hence Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya after his accession remitted the taxes on all *devadāna* lands including the Jaina and Buddhist temples in the Paḍaiviḍu and Candragiri rājyas and there by gave them necessary relief.⁵⁹ The Emperor gave a gift of land to the Trailokyanātha temple at Jina Kāñci.⁶⁰ The Jaina temples at Saṇbai, Hanumantagudi, Karandai and Nagarkoil also are some that find mention in inscriptions as having received gifts.⁶¹ There were

54. 103 of 1941—42.

55. 416 of 1937—38, *Rep.*, para 65.

56. 528 of 1928—29.

57. 302 and 303 of 1939—40.

58. 303 and 303 of 1939—40; *Rep.*, 1939—40 42-43, para 97.

59. 144 of 1939—40.

60. 45 of 1890; 188 of 1901 · 97 of 1923 *Rep.*, para 111, for other inscriptions mention is the king's interest in Jina Kāñci see 188 of 1901; *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 368; 45 of 1890; *S.I.I.*, II, 368.

61. 449 of 1937-38; 408 of 1907; 137 of 1939-40; 60-63 of 1896; K.K. Pillay, *The Sucindiram Temple*, pp. 38, 39; The gift of lands made to the Jaina temples were known *paṭṭiccamam*, *paṭṭivṭṭāgam*, *Śivagaipuram* etc.

also many other Jaina centres in South India particularly in the Chingleput, North Arcot and South Arcot Districts.⁶²

About the existence and popularity of Buddhism in South India during the period there is not much direct evidence, though it is certain that it was flourishing in a fairly good condition in particular places, such as Kāñcīpuram,⁶³ and Nāgapattinam, in the Tamil country and Kalāvati in the Karnāṭaka area. The Ekāmra-nātha temple at Kāñcīpuram contains some sculptures of the Buddha, a few of which may probably be assigned to the Vijayanagar days.⁶⁴ According to an inscription the village of Nāvalūr in the Chingleput district was endowed as a *paḷḷiccandam* to a Bauddha image called Kaccikku Nāyakkar. On the back of the stone on which the record is engraved is found the Buddhist symbol *Dharmacakra*.⁶⁵ Kāñcīpuram is also mentioned as a centre of Buddhism in the *Nāgakṛtāgama* a poetical work composed in 1365 by the Javanese poet Prapañca. While describing how king Hayam Wuruk the king of Majapahit (1350-89) was held in high esteem by people of many countries the poet speaks of Kāñcīpuram as follows :

“ All paṇḍitas of other lands compose *praśastis* on His Majesty the prince. The monk Buddhāditya composed a *bhogāvaḷi* (*praśasti*) on him in many *ślokas*. His place of residence is *sadvihāra* called Kāñcīpura in Jambudvīpa and the Brahman

62. See Seeni Venkataswami, *Samaṇamum Tamilum* (in Tamil), pp. 170-76. For some important Jaina centres and manuscripts on Jainism see Appendix to Introduction in *Mackenzie Manuscripts*, Vol. I, (Tamil and Malayalam) edited by the author, (Madras University, 1972).

63. In the Patna Museum are a number of Buddhist images many which contain the Buddhist formula and record that they were gifted by some persons from places in and around Kāñcīpuram. The inscriptions are in Sanskrit written in the Siddhamatrka alphabet of about the tenth century. One of them says that the particular image was the gift of one Prajña Simha born in the village of Narasimhacaturvedimangalam in Kāñcī in the family of Brāhmaṇas well versed in the Vedas and Vedāṅgas and who was a disciple of the *Sthavira* Vairocanasimha. Some others contain names like Rāhulavarman, and Candrarvarman, who hailed from Kāñcī. These inscriptions show that Kāñcīpuram was a centre of Buddhism in the tenth century and Buddhist teachers went to the north from the place. (*A.R.E.*, 177 to 190 of 1960-61; also *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XXVI, pp. 246 ff.)

64. See A. Aiyappan and P. R. Srinivasan, *Story of Buddhism with special Reference to South India*, pp. 100-101.

65. 138 of 1934-35; *Rep.*, 1935, para 56.

named Mutali Sahṛdaya composed a *praśasti* in correct *ślokas*".⁶⁶ In Korea an inscription in verse has been discovered. In the preface to it, written by Li Se in 1378 there is an account of the life and travels of an Indian monk called Dhyānabhadra. This account says that the monk was the son of a king of Magadha and a princess from Kāñci and that when he visited Kāñci he heard a sermon given by a Buddhist preacher on the *Kāñḍa Vyūha Sūtra*. Clearly this place was a recognised centre of Buddhism as late as the 14th century.⁶⁷ These show the fame of the place as a centre of Buddhism.

Like Kāñcīpuram, Nāgapattinam was an important Buddhist centre till at least the fifteenth century. This is borne out by the Kalyāṇi inscriptions which record that the place was visited by some Buddhist priests from Pegu. They say: "The Theras and Citradūta, however, travelled on foot to Nāgapattana, and there visited the site of *Padarikārāma* monastery and worshipped the image of the Buddha in a cave constructed by the command of the Mahārāja of Cīnadeśa on the spot, on the sea shore where the holy tooth relic was deposited in the course of its transit to Lankādvīpa in the charge of Daṇḍakumāra and Hemamālā who were husband and wife.⁶⁸ This is good evidence to show that the Buddhist shrines at the place constructed during the Cōla period were flourishing in the fifteenth century. Since it was believed that it was constructed by the Chinese emperor it was called in later times as Chinese pagoda. It was also known as *puduveḷigōpuram*, the Old pagoda and the Black pagoda.

Some inscriptions also refer to Buddhism in the Tamil country. One at Kumbakōṇam mentions a temple of the Buddha at

66. Kern, *Verspreide Geschieden*, VIII, p. 114, Zang, 93, sl. 1; also *M.E.R.*, 1934-5, para 56; also K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Sri vijaya* p. 74. A seated image of the Buddha in very good condition and assignable to about the tenth - eleventh century is deposited in a local High School at Kāñcīpuram.

Malanges Chinois et bouddhiques, Vol. I, (1931-32) pp. 335-

67. Arther Waley, 'New Light on Buddhism in Medieval India' in 376; mentioned in *2500 years of Buddhism*, (Ed. B. P. Bapat). The Publications Division, Government of India (1956), pp. 337-38.

68. *Ind. Ant.*, XXII, p. 45; also T. N. Ramachandran, *Nagapattinam and other Buddhist Bronzes in the Madras Museum*, p. 18. Later, however, the place lost its importance as a Buddhist centre. In the middle of the second half of the last century the Jesuit Fathers of the St. Joseph's College (now defunct) at the place demolished the Buddhist temples and used the materials for the construction of their College, (*Ind. Ant.*, VII pp. 224-7).

Tiruvilānduṟai.⁶⁹ The existence of images of the Buddha in the temples at Tiruvalaṇṇjūḷi and Paṭṭiśvaram and the Gaṇeśa temple at Kumbakōṇam now mistaken to be that of Bhārgavaṛṣi also point to the Tamil country. Caitanya while travelling in South India about 1510 is said to have had a disputation with the Buddhists somewhere in Arcot.⁷⁰

Buddhism appears to have continued to flourish in the Karnāṭaka area also in the Vijayanagar period. An inscription of 1397 in the Belur Taluk bears indirect evidence of the same. It describes, Keśava the lord of the place as one that was worshipped by the Śaivas as Śiva by the Vedāntins as Brahmā by the Bauddhas as Buddha, by the Naiyāyikas as Kartta, by the Jains as Arhat and by the Mīmāṃsakas as Karma.⁷¹ Again an inscription of A.D. 1533 from the Tiptur taluk of the Mysore State mentions a Buddhist town named Kalāvati near the Bhairava hill. It is however difficult to locate the place. In the Nallamalai range in the Kurnool district there is a mountain peak called Bairani-koṇḍa. If the Bhairava hill mentioned in the inscription may be identified with Bairani koṇḍa it is possible that Kalāvati was in the Kurnool district.⁷²

69. 292 of 1929 ; *Rep.*, para 94 ; for a list of Buddhist centres in the Tamil country. See Mayilai Seenī Venkataswami, *Baud-dhamum Tamilum* (in Tamil), pp. 38-80.

70. For more details see *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* (1953) for an article "Buddhism in the Tamil country" by the author.

71. *E.C.*, V Bl. 3.

72. *Ibid.*, XII, Tp. 1.

SECTION IV

CHRISTIANITY

Christianity appears to have come to South India even at a very early date. According to a few records, a Christian was the Dewan of Vijayanagar in 1445 under Dēva Rāya II.⁷³ But it was only with the coming of the Portuguese to India that Christianity began to spread in South India. The Jesuits who came to India had conversion as their main object, and their attempts met with partial success. About 1533 the Paravas of the fishery coast in the south were the first to be baptised. Unable to bear the oppression of the Muslims who claimed monopoly over the pearl fisheries, the Paravas sought the help of the Portuguese missionary Dr. Pero Vaz de Amaral, who was then at Cochin and in return for it promised to embrace Christianity. Latter, regular conversion was undertaken by the Jesuits who settled in Madurai. 20,000 of the Paravas were converted to Christianity.⁷⁴

A Jesuit missionary, Robert de Nobili by name, who came to Madurai in 1606, began a regular campaign of conversion of the Hindus, for he was of opinion that they had no true knowledge of God. In order to achieve his end he thought that he should sacrifice all his conveniences, don the robes of a Hindu Sanyasin and live like a high class Brahman. He wanted to win their respect and esteem before he could convert them to his religion. He learnt Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu and adopting the customs and ways of the people of the country, lead a life quite in keeping with the view 'when in Rome do as the Romans do'. He did not, however, condemn the Hindu religion, but induced the Hindus to accept his religion by setting an example to them. In this respect he was a noble figure, for though the expedients he adopted for converting the people to Christianity are not above criticism, yet his intense

73. See *Du Brahmanisme et de ses rapports, avec le Judaïsme et le Christianisme* by Mgr. Laoaenan, Pondicherry, I pt., II 402-03 referred to in *Mys. Gaz.*, New Edn., Vol. I, p. 341.

74. He is said to have died near Mylapore on 16th Jan. 1656. See Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*, pp. 118-21 and the authorities quoted therein; see also D'Sa, *Hist. of the Catholic Church in India*, II, p. 31; also Fr. Roberto De Nobili, S.J., the First European Indologist by Rev. A. Sauliere in *Indica* (The Indian Historical Research Institute Silver Jubilee Commemoration Vol. 1953) pp. 372-76.

devotion to his religion was so much that to him no sacrifice was too great to gain his object. With all his winning manners, sincerity of purpose and forcefulness of expression he could bring into his fold only a very few people. Nobili failed in his attempt at mass conversion; and that is easily explained. His method was opposed by a brother missionary, Father Fernandez, who said that it cut at the very root of Christianity. This apart, the period in which he came to South India did not afford a good opportunity for his policy of proselytism; for it was a period when Sri-Vaiṣṇavaism according to which there was no difference between man and man in the eyes of God was strong in South India. To the Hindus the Christian religion did not make any new appeal. Thus Robert de Nobili failed in his attempts to spread Christianity, though he tried his best and sacrificed all his comforts.

The Jesuits were also patronised by the Vijayanagar Emperor Venkaṭa II. He very often summoned them to his presence, honoured them and heard the philosophical disputes that were held in his presence between the Jesuit Fathers and the leaders of the rival Hindu faiths. They were allowed to establish their churches at Candragiri and Vellore. Venkaṭa also settled upon them an annual income of one thousand gold pieces. With this annual income the Candragiri mission and the College which they had established at St. Thome were conducted.⁷⁵

75 See Heras, *op. cit.*, pp. 464-65.

SECTION V

ISLAM

With the inroads of the Muslims into South India at the beginning of the fourteenth century there arose great antipathy between them and the Hindus. The Muslims pillaged and plundered Hindu temples and made forced conversions of the Hindus. But with the establishment and expansion of the Vijayanagar Empire, they cooled down in South India, and since then have remained a separate community. The Hindus have also been amicable towards them.

Dēva Rāya II set the example for giving encouragement to the Muslims to settle in the Empire, and this policy appears to have been followed by his successors. Ferishta says that Dēva Rāya effected some reforms in his army organisation, entertained Mussalmans in his service, allotted them *jagirs*, erected a mosque for their use in his capital, and commanded that no one should molest them in the exercise of their religion. He also ordered a *Koran* to be placed before his throne on a rich desk so that the Muslims might perform the ceremony of obeisance before him "without sinning against their laws".⁷⁶ The entertainment of Muslims in the Hindu service is also indicated by the evidence of inscriptions. An epigraph of 1430 states that Dēva Rāya II had 10,000 Turuṣka horsemen in his service.⁷⁷ Another inscription of 1440-41 mentions one Ahmad Khān, as a servant of the king Virapratāpa Dēva Rāya II, and that he built a well.⁷⁸ Pases referring to the Muslims in the service of the Hindu king, mentions a Moorish quarter which was at the very end of the city, and says that among them there were many who were natives of the country and who were paid by the king and belonged to his guard.⁷⁹ They were so much in the confidence of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, that in his campaigns against Raicūr, he sent the Moors in the royal service to lead the van.⁸⁰ The spirit of accommodation of the Hindus is also shown by the fact that in 1537 a pious Hindu constructed a

76. Scott, *Ferishta*, I, p. 118.

77. *E.C.*, III, Sr., 15, *Intro.*, p. 23.

78. 18 of 1904.

79. Sewell, *op.cit.*, p. 256.

80. *Ibid.*, p. 329.

mosque for the sake of the Muslims,⁸¹ The same policy was pursued by Sadāśiva and Rāma Rāja. The regent, like Dēva Rāya II, caused a *Koran* to be placed before him when the Muslims came to pay their respects to him.⁸² A large number of Muslims were appointed to posts of importance in the Hindu service. Prominent among such officers was one Amur Khān for whose maintenance Rāma Rāja granted an estate.⁸³ Ainana Malukka (Ain-ul-Mulk Gilani) was another important officer, at whose request the regent made the grant of the village of Bevanahalli to some Brahmans.⁸⁴ This officer was so much in the confidence of the regent that he was very often called his brother.⁸⁵ Another Muslim Dil-uvar Khān, who was an agent of Rāma Rāja, made a grant of a village as *baṭa agraḥāra*.⁸⁶ The Vijayanagar kings also appear to have encouraged the *Dārāga* an institution in all probability the shrine of the Muslim saint Babānatta, to whose astrological forecasts or to those of the priests who presided over that institution, much importance was attached by kings and peasants alike". The Vijayanagar sovereigns seem to have granted many donative villages to that institution meant for the encouragement of the study of *hōra* (horoscopy). For instance in 1538-39 Venkaṭa II renewed certain grants of villages to the *Darga* of Babayya at Penugonda.⁸⁷ Similarly Mangammāl, the Nāyak queen of Madura, made a gift of some villages near Trichinopoly in 1701-02 to the *Darga* of Babanatta. The reason for the grant was the forecast "that the state business of Tañjāvūr would result in ā success and it proved to be true"⁸⁸ The *Darga* at Nagur near Nāgapaṭṭinam appears to have gained in importance from the later Vijayanagar period.

81. *E.C.*, IV, Kr. 95.

82. Briggs, *The Rise*, III, p. 79.

83. *Ibid.*, p. 328.

84. *E.I.*, XIV, p. 210.

85. Briggs, *The Rise*, III, p. 381.

86. *E.C.*, X, Kl. 147.

87. *M.E.R.*, Cp. 17 of 1910-11; *Rep.* 1911, para. 59; Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 203.

88. Cp. 19 of 1910-11; *Rep.*, 1911, para 62; See also Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, Vol, II, p. 203.

SECTION VI

RELIGION OF THE KINGS AND THE SPREAD OF SRI VAISNAVISM

The history of the religion of the Vijayanagar house is in a way an epitome of the history of the religious movements in the Empire. The early Vijayanagar kings were Saivas of the orthodox type, but the later kings became staunch Vaiṣṇavas with a predilection for God Venkaṭeśa of Tirupati in preference to Śrī Virūpākṣa of Vijayanagar, the tutelary deity of the early rulers. The change of faith of the kings had its indirect effects on the faith of the people in the Empire and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Śrī Vaiṣṇavism spread in South India with amazing rapidity.

The early members of the Sangama dynasty were followers of the Kālāmukha—Pāsupata school of Saivism. Kāśivilāsa Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita, who was considered an incarnation of Śiva himself, was the *Kulaguru* of Harihara I and Harihara II.⁸⁹ Kumāra Kampana who conquered the southern districts for the Vijayanagar Empire also had Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita as his *Kulaguru*.⁹⁰ Mādhava Mantri, the Governor of Candragutti, Āraga and Konkana mentions in a grant made by him in 1368 that his *guru* was Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita and that at his instance he carried out a special Śaiva novena lasting for a year at the end of which he made a gift from the funds of his own property to eighty learned Kaśmiri Brahmans who were well versed in the Śaiva rites and were devoted to the Śaiva creeds.⁹¹ It was probably he that inspired the compilation of the *Saivāgamasāra samgraha* written jointly by Mārappa and Mādhava.⁹² His being the *guru* of Mādhava mantri is also mentioned in the prince's work, the *Tātparyadipikā*, a commentary on the *Sūtasamhitā*. A few inscriptions of Dēvarāya I refer to Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita as *Rāyarājaguru maṇḍalēcārya* and *Rāyarājaguru pītāmaha*.⁹³ Again the Daṇḍapalle copper plate grant of king

89. *E.C.*, V, Cn. 256.

90. *M.E.R.*, 1925, para. 30; *M.A.R.*, 1918, paras. 105, 106; *Machuvijayam*, canto I, V. 4. Mādhavācārya calls himself the *Kulaguru* of Bukka. Is it possible that the sons of Sangama had more than one *Kulaguru*?

91. *E.C.*, VII, Sk. 281.

92. *Ibid.*, VIII, Sb. 375.

93. *Ibid.*, XI, Dv. 23.

Vijaya Bhūpati records the grant of a village named Kriyāśakti.⁹⁴ All these point to the fact that the early rulers of the Vijayanagar house had the Kālāmukha-Pāśupata teacher of the period as their family guru.

Though a follower of the orthodox Śaiva school, Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita appears to have been tolerant to other religious sects in the Empire. Immaḍi Bukka, son of Harihara II, made a grant to the temple of Vidyāśankara with the permission of Kriyāśakti.⁹⁴ Again according to an inscription of Vāgata in the Bangalore District, Kriyāśakti himself made a grant of some lands to the local Viṣṇu temple.⁹⁵ These certainly speak very highly of the spirit of tolerance in the Empire.⁹⁶

Though the early rulers of Vijayanagar were disciples of Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita, they had close and cordial relations with the Śringeri maṭha and great veneration for its *gurus*, Vidyā Tīrtha and Vidyāraṇya, who contributed much to the foundation and early growth of Vijayanagar. In 1346 the five Sangama brothers jointly made a grant to the *maṭha*.⁹⁷ Bukka I was a devoted disciple of both Vidyā Tīrtha and Vidyāraṇya. In 1356 he is said to have gone all the way to Śringeri to pay his respects to the former.^{97a} Harihara II also was a disciple of Vidyāraṇya.⁹⁸ He is said to have acquired the empire of knowledge unattainable by other kings by the grace of Vidyāraṇya.^{98a} Virūpākṣa, one of his sons is said to have visited the sage and consulted him about the best means of acquiring merit.⁹⁹ In 1380 Cennappa Uḍaiyār, a nephew of Harihara II, made the grant of an *agrahāra* to Vidyābhūṣaṇa Dīkṣita, a sound scholar and a disciple of Vidyāraṇya and renamed

94. E.C., X. Mb. 11.

95. *Ibid.*, IX, Hk. 129.

96. A record of A.D. 1377 mentions Śinganna Oḍeya, the grandson of Kampana I, as a disciple of Ākaśavāsi Sāmavedigīru. It is stated in the inscription that he received the initiation (*upadeśa*) of Bhuvaneśvari from that *guru* and on that occasion he made a grant of the village of Perusaḷu to his *guru* (681 of 1917). The term Ākaśavāsi seems to be a variant of the more familiar term Ākaśamukhin, which indicates that the members of this sect lived always mentally in heaven. But more details about them are not available. (See *M.E.R.*, 1918, para 66; also Monier Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, p. 8).

97. E.C., VI, Sr. 1.

97a. *M.A.R.*, 1916, pp. 56, 59; E.C., IV, Yd. 46.

98. *M.A.R.*, 1933, p. 23.

98a. *Ibid.*, 1916, p. 58.

99. 54 of 1936-37; *Rep.*, para 54.

the village after Vidyāranya himself.¹⁰⁰ Dēva Rāya II and his successors continued to be followers of Śaivism, though they showed patronage to other religious sects also. In the latter half of the fifteenth century a gradual change came over the faith of the Vijayanagar house and the rulers came to have a partiality for Vaiṣṇavism.¹⁰¹ The Sālūvas were Vaiṣṇavas equally devoted to Nṛsimha of Ahōbalaṃ and Venkaṭeśa of Tirupati. But their

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100. *E.C.*, IX, Kn. 43; IV. Cn. 64; *E.I.*, III, p. 118 and *M.A.R.*, 1907, para 54 for a review of the cordial relationship between the Vijayanagar kings and the Śringeri *maṭha*.
101. According to the *Prapannāmytam* a celebrated Śrī Vaiṣṇava work by Anantārya (early seventeenth century), during the reign of Virūpākṣa of Vijayanagar "who secured the throne by the valour of his own sword", a change came over the faith of the Vijayanagar sovereigns. It is said that the relations whom Virūpākṣa had killed to gain the throne were born as ghosts, and haunted the palace in which Virūpākṣa lived, and hence he left it and lived in another palace. Two Vaiṣṇava Brahmans came to the old palace, saw the ghosts holding court and mistaking them to be living persons, read the *Rāmāyaṇa* to them to which they listened with great interest. After the course had been finished, they told the Brahmans that they were the ghosts of the relatives of Virūpākṣa who had been killed by him, and that by hearing the *Rāmāyaṇa* they had been rid of their *piśāca* life, and after presenting them with a large number of gold coins, they went to Heaven. Virūpākṣa who came to know of the whole story, began to entertain great reverence for the *Rāmāyaṇa*. He was also admitted to the Vaiṣṇava faith. And out of gratitude for relieving him from the troubles of the ghosts he changed the sign manual of Śrī Virūpākṣa for that of Śrī Rāma. (S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp 6 and 71-73; also *Text*, I, 90). In the spread of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism in Vijayanagar from the days of Mallikārjuna the members of the Śrīśailapūrṇa family played an important role (See *E.I.*, XII, pp. 161 ff; XIII, p. 3; *Tirumalai Tirupati Epigraphical Report*, p. 313; also 'Srirangam Inscription of Sadāśivarāya' by K. G. Krishnan in *E.I.*, XXIX, pp 71 ff.). The evidence of this Śrī Vaiṣṇava work indicates that the faith of the king Virūpākṣa had begun to change. S. K. Aiyangar thinks that the Virūpākṣa referred to in the work is the successor of Mallikārjuna, who according to the Śrīśailam plates won the throne 'by the valour of his own sword'. But T. A. Gopinatha Rao is inclined to think that the Virūpākṣa referred to in that work was Virūpākṣa II who won in the triangular fight for the throne on the death of Harihara II in A.D. 1404, and ruled for a short time. He bases his conclusion on the evidence of the sign manual Śrī Virūpākṣa used in the Śrīśailam plates of Virūpākṣa, and argues that the statement of the *Prapannāmytam* is contradicted by the sign manual used in the later inscriptions of the king. (*E.I.*, XV, p. 25) But there is no other evidence to show that Virūpākṣa II, changed his sign manual for Śrī Rāma. Hence the argument of Gopinatha Rao appears to lack support. But since the successors of Virūpākṣa II were staunch Śaivas, though tolerant towards the Vaiṣṇavas, and the successors of Virūpākṣa III came to have greater predilection for Vaiṣṇavism, it is reasonable to take the view that the Virūpākṣa referred to in the *Prapannāmytam* was the successor of Mallikārjuna, though there is no inscriptional evidence to show that he changed the sign manual; nor did the Sālūvas, the Tūluvas and the early rulers of the Araviḍu line change the sign manual.

patronage was given to Śaivism also. They made their *mahādānas* both to the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples. But the Vaiṣṇava temples received more attention ; grants and gifts to them were made on a larger scale. However, Śrī Virūpākṣa of Vijayanagar continued to be the tutelary deity of the Sāluvas.

Under the Tuluva rulers, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, Acyuta Rāya and Sadāśiva Rāya, Vaiṣṇavism gained greater influence. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, though a staunch Vaiṣṇava, showed patronage to the Śaivas and made grants to the Śiva temples. In 1517-18 he made a substantial remission of certain items of revenue amounting to 10,000 *vaṛāhan* in favour of the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples in the Cōḷamaṇḍalam.¹⁰² In 1517 he claims to have built the northern *gōpura* in the temple of the God Poṇṇambalanātha whom he worshipped at Cidambaram¹⁰³ on his southern tour after his successful campaign in the north. He made substantial additions to the main buildings in the Śiva temples at Kālahasti and Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. He also made grants to the Gaṇapati temple at the capital itself.¹⁰⁴ He built a *ranga maṇṭapa* (assembly hall) in front of the inner shrine of the Virūpākṣa temple at the capital and a *gōpura* before it. He also repaired a great *gōpura* in front of it. He made a gift to God Virūpākṣa of golden lotus set with the nine kinds of gems and a snake ornament.¹⁰⁵

But Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's grants to the Vaiṣṇava shrines were more numerous and richer. When he recovered the fort of Udayagiri, he found in it an image of God Kṛṣṇa which he carried to his capital with great veneration and had it enshrined in a temple specially erected for the purpose.¹⁰⁶ He also built portions of the

102. See *E.I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 297-309.

103. 174, 175 of 1892; 371 and 374 of 1913. Though Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya takes credit for having built the northern *gopuram* at Cidambaram it appears that he built only its superstructure for the basement of the tower up to the first of the seven tiers has all the features of a Cōḷa structure like the eastern and western *gopurams* of the temple. The construction of the superstructure of the *gopura* begun by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya was completed by Acyutadēva Rāya (See *J.O.R.*, Vol. XII, p. 172 where a Cidambaram inscription of Acyutadēva Rāya is edited by S. R. Balasubrahmanya Ayyar).

104. 398 of 1896.

105. *E.I.*, I, pp. 366 and 370; *A.S.A.* 1908-09, p. 175.

106. 25 and 26 of 1889; 498 of 1907. The Emperor seems to have commemorated the event by the issue of a special gold coin with the image of Kṛṣṇa imprinted on it for distribution among people. Later the symbol appears to have been used for the usual coins and such coins became a type. It was thought that the figure on the coin represent *turgā* (see *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. VIII, pp. 353-56).

Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple at the capital.¹⁰⁷ When he went to Tirupati in A.D. 1514 to pay his respects to God Venkaṭēśa, he bathed the God there in gold with 30,000 gold pieces, and presented Him a three stringed necklace and a pair of gold bangles of very high value set with pearls, diamonds, rubies and topaz.¹⁰⁸ Allasāni Peddana in the prologue to his *Manucaritamu* says that Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, his patron, was a great devotee of Venkaṭēśa.¹⁰⁹ This is also shown by the copper images of this king and his wives which are still in the temple of Śrī Venkaṭēśa at Tirumalai.¹¹⁰ In the next year he presented to God Ahōbala Narasimha at Ahōbala a necklace, a pendant set with diamonds and an emerald, wristlets set with diamonds, a golden plate and 1,000 *varāhas*.¹¹¹ He also made substantial improvements to the Varadarājasvāmi temple at Kāñcīpuram.¹¹²

Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya was an ardent worshipper of Viṭhōba. The Viṭhōba cult was a phase of Vaiṣṇavism that was popular in the Maharāṣṭra country. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya consecrated a temple at his capital for this God of his heart. "If the scale and highly artistic nature of a shrine could alone determine the strength of the devotion of the builder to the enshrined, we might say that Viṭhōba had the highest place in Kṛṣṇadēva's heart."¹¹³

Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's leanings towards Vaiṣṇavism are also seen in the encouragement he gave to Vaiṣṇava literary celebrities. Venkaṭa Tātārya, an eminent Śrī Vaiṣṇava teacher, was greatly honoured by the king, and he was also made the head of all the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas in the empire. In 1523 A.D. the king ordered that he was to be shown the first honours in every public assembly, and gave him a charter to that effect. The Śrī-Vaiṣṇava teacher was also given the power to punish delinquents in regard to religious and social matters.¹¹⁴ Another teacher of eminence who received great patronage at the royal court of Vijayanagar was Vyāsa Tirtha

107. 711, 712 and 713 of 1922.

108. 53, 54 and 55 of 1889.

109. Canto I, v. 47.

110. See *M.E.R.*, 1904, para. 9, *M.A.R.*, 1920, para. 87.

111. 64 of 1915.

112. 478, 513, 569 and 664 of 1919.

113. *Ind. Ant.*, XLIV, p. 222.

114. *M.A.R.*, 1918, para 110.

Yatindra, a great scholar and an ardent or exponent of the *Dvaita* philosophy. He was the recipient of many grants of villages.¹¹⁵

Acyuta Rāya was an ardent Śrī-Vaiṣṇava. But he was tolerant towards all other religions and sects. We see from his numerous munificent gifts to temples and institutions that while in the first half of his reign he showed equal patronage to both Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, in the second half, his leanings were more towards Vaiṣṇavism. Thus in A.D. 1534 he made a grant of a few villages to be distributed in equal proportion between the temples of God Varadarāja and Ekāmbaranātha at Kāñcipuram and communicated the order to his subordinate officer in that locality, who, however, being a staunch Vaiṣṇava, failed to do as he was instructed by the king, and granted a larger portion to the Varadarāja temple and a smaller share to the Ekāmbaranātha shrine. Acyuta Rāya who came to know of this unequal distribution redistributed the lands in equal proportions between the two temples by lots.¹¹⁶ But his large grants to the Varadarājasvāmi temple show that he was a staunch Vaiṣṇava. He performed the *tulābhāra* of pearls at Kāñci and made substantial grants to the temple of Varadarājasvāmi.¹¹⁷ He gave many gifts to the Viṭṭhala temple at Vijayanagar among which the *Svarṇakṣma* or earth of gold was one.¹¹⁸ In 1534 he made a gift of land with a house in the presence of Viṭṭhalēśvara to each of the two Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Brahmans who recited a *purāṇam* in the temple.¹¹⁹ He made a grant in A.D. 1539 of what was called the “Ānanda Nidhi” by which he claims to have delighted Viṣṇu and to have made Kuberas of Brahmans.¹²⁰ He set up the image of God Tillai Govindarāja

115. *E.C.*, VII, Sh. 85; 13 of 1905; *Catupadyamanimanjari*, pp. 161-2; See also *A Seminar on Saints* (Ed. by Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan), pp. 91-103 for a paper on Vyāsarāja by the author.

116. 544, 547 and 584 of 1919.

117. 511, 543 and 546 of 1919; *Rep.*, 1920, para 47.

118. *E.I.*, I. p. 364; *E.I.*, XVII, p. 171, *E.C.*, VII, Sh., *E.C.* X Hn. 13.

119. 240 of 1910.

120. *M.E.R.* 1904 para 24; *Rice. Mysore and Chorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 119; *M.A.R.*, 1920, para 89, *A.S.R.*, 1908-09, p. 119 fn. 1; *M.E.R.*, 1923, para 81. The exact significance of this grant speaks of it as “a very new thing” and as being greater than the “nine treasure of Kubera” R. Narasimhachar thinks that the gift consisted of a “potful of money as explained by Hemadri in his *Danakhanda*” (*M.A.R.*, 1920, para 89).

at Cidambaram in May 1539 according to the ritual of *Vaikhānasa Sūtra* and granted 500 *pon* for the daily worship in the temple.¹²¹

121. 272 of 1913 The Tillai Gōvindarajasvāmi temple at Cidambaram has had a chequered history. Tirumangai Ālvār and Kulaśekhara Ālvar mention a Viṣṇu shrine at Tirucitrakūṭam, which was probably a part of or near Thillai. According to the *Kulottunga Colan Ula* and *Rajarajan Ula* of Oṭṭakkūṭan king Kulōttunga II caused the Gōvindarāja idol to be thrown into the sea (his original abode) in order to facilitate the expansion of the temple precincts of Nataraja. (See *Journal of the Bombay Hist. Soc.*, IV, p. 40). It appears that Ramanuja who lived then brought back the discarded idol or made a new one with the help of his disciples and consecrated it in a temple he constructed at Tirupati (See R. Raghava Aiyangar, *Cenni Kulottungan Anapayan, Sen Tamil*, VIII, pp. 301-02; Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 299. See also S. K. Aiyangar, *Anc. India*, p. 320). According to the *Guruparampara*, Vedantacarya repaired and consecrated the Govindaraja shrine at Cidambaram with the help of Gopanna, though there was great opposition from the Saivas (see *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XXIV, p. 309). But since then till its consecration by emperor Acyuta Rāya of Vijayanagar in A.D. 1539, there appears to have been no Govindaraja shrine in the Nataraja temple at Cidambaram. In A.D. 1510 Krishnadeva Rāya made a gift of three villages with an income of 1,400 *rēkai* (*gadyāna*) for the *mahapuja* of Alagiya Tiruccirrambalam Udaiya Tambiranar (323 of 1913). When he visited the place in 1517-18, he is said to have worshipped Lord Poṇṇambala (Natarāja) and constructed the northern *gōpuram* (174 of 1892/371 and 374 of 1913). If there had been the Gōvindarājā shrine at Chidambaram at the time of his visit, he could not have failed to worship him as a staunch Vaiṣṇava and make grants or improvements to the temple. If it had existed he would have included it in the list of temples that were benefitted by his remission of 10,000 *varāhas* made in favour of many Siva and Visnu temples in Colamandalam. In March 1530 Acyuta Rāya made a grant of eighty-two villages for the celebration of the annual car festival of Nataraja and Cidambaresvara, and the construction or rather the completion of the northern *gōpuram* of the temple (2 of 1935-36; also *J.O.R.*, 1938, pp. 169-178). From this it is evident that there was no Govindarāja shrine in the temple on that date. It was consecrated only in A.D. 1539. An inscription of that year definitely states that Acyuta Rāya ordered that the image of Tillai Govindaraja Perumal might be set up at Cidambaram according to the ritual of *Vaikhānasa Sūtra*, and made a grant of 500 *pon* towards the daily worship in the new shrine (272 of 1913 and 1 of 1915). The shrine was set up in the terraced

mantap around the first *prakara* of the Nataraja temple. No foundation of a permanent character seems to have been laid for the new shrine for the steps, floral designs and friezes seen all round the *prākāra* walls and *mantapas* were also to be seen when the shrine of Govindaraja was demolished recently for carrying out certain repairs and improvements in the Vaiṣṇava shrine. The inscription of Achyuta Raya falsifies the statement in the *Prapannāmrtam* that Rama Raja restored the Vaiṣṇava shrine at Cidambaram after the defeat of the Saiva scholars of Citrakūṭa (Cidambaram) by one Mahacarya, a Vaisnava scholar who lived at Gahukūcala (Sholingar). (S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 202; *Ancient India*, p. 320). But the Govindarajasvami temple appears to have suffered subsequently. It was in the teeth of much opposition at the hands of the Saivas that in 1597 Kṛsnappa Nayaka of Cenji was able to erect the *dhvajasthamba* of the Visnu temple before it. But at some date subsequent to that, the Visnu temple appears to have suffered again at the hands of the priests of the Siva temple. They closed the Visnu temple and put a stop to worship in it. But in 1796 during the administration of Hazrath Muhammad Moiuiddin Khan Saheb, who was probably administering the area, they admitted the wrongs that they had committed against the Visnu temple and gave in writing that they had once again opened the temple and restored worship in it. (See *proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission* (1954), pp. 61-64 for a paper on "The Nawabs of the Carnatic and Hindu temples" by the author. See also Pvrchas, His Pilgrims, X, pp. ... , C. S. Srinivasachari. *A History of Gingee*, pp.

Finally, that Acyuta was an ardent Vaiṣṇava is shown by such phrases as “joined the feet of Viṣṇu” used to mention his death.¹²²

Srī-Vaiṣṇavism gained a stronger hold in the empire during the time of Sadāśiva. It was a happy combination then that both the *de jure* sovereign Sadāśiva and the *de facto* ruler, Rāma Rāja were ardent followers of Vaiṣṇavism in the empire. During this period grants to Vaiṣṇava temples are more frequent and costly and Srī-Vaiṣṇava teachers are shown greater favour. The Viṣṇu temples of Śrīperumbudūr (Chingleput district) and Śrīmuṣṇam (South Arcot district) not to speak of Tirupati and Tirumalai (Chittores), are the objects of special grants. The Tāḷḷapākkam family of Srī-Vaiṣṇava teachers were greatly honoured by Rāma Rāja. A few among them were Annamācārya, Tirumalācārya¹²³ and Tāḷḷapākkam Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha, the author of the work called *Paramyogivilāsam* and the establisher of two schools of Vedānta.¹²⁴ Govinda Dēśika, the royal preceptor of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāja, was displaced by Tātācārya, a famous Srī-Vaiṣṇava teacher.¹²⁵ According to the *Prapannāmṛtam* it was during this period that Doḍḍayācārya defeated all the Śaiva scholars of Citrakūṭa (Cidambaram) including Appayya Dīkṣita in a religious controversy, and succeeded in establishing the worship of Govindarāja at the place with the help of Tātācārya and Rāma Rāja.¹²⁶ Tātācārya wrote his well-known work *Pañcamatabhañjanam*. Doḍḍayācārya who made grants of land to the temple at Sholinghur, also wrote his *Caṇḍamārutam* in refutation of the Dīkṣita's work *Advaita Dīpika*.¹²⁷ At the instance of Kandāḷa Śrīrargācārya, another Srī-Vaiṣṇava teacher of the time, a grant of thirty-one villages was made to the Rāmānujakūṭam at Śrīperumbudūr (Chingleput district).¹²⁸

122. *E.C.*, IX, Cp. 186; *E.C.*, V, Hn. 7.

123. *M.E.R.*, 1916, para 72.

124. *Ibid.*

125. *M.A.R.*, 1906-07, para 53. See also 17 1943-44; *Rep.*, para 43.

126. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 202-203; though it is true that Appayya Dīkṣita spent his last years at Cidambaram, yet his defeat at the hands of Doḍḍayācārya is mentioned only in this Srī-Vaiṣṇava work, which, as a partisan work, naturally made prominent mention of the great Advaita teacher's defeat. But one thing is clear from the work; the Govindaraja shrine at Cidambaram received special royal support without which it is doubtful if the idol could have been restored within the precincts of the Nataraja temple.

127. *E.I.*, XII, pp. 346-47.

128. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 1-22, British Museum Plates of Sadāśiva.

With the coming to power of the Araviḍu kings, Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism received still greater support from the rulers. Tirumala I himself was a "repository of nectar-like devotion to Hari (Viṣṇu).¹²⁹ He made the *tulāpuruṣa* and other gifts, at Kāñci, Śrīranga, Śṣācala (Tirupati), Kanakasabhā- (Cidambaram) and Ahōbalādri.¹³⁰ Though he was a staunch Vaiṣṇava, the old formula was followed in the matter of invocatory verses were addressed to Śiva and Līlāvarāha (Viṣṇu) and the colophon *Śrī Virūpākṣa* written in Kannaḍa was retained.

Śrī Ranga also was a staunch Vaiṣṇava. In the Arivīli-mangalam plates he is called "the worshipper of Viṣṇu".¹³¹ One of the important services rendered by Śrī Ranga for the cause of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism was the restoration of worship in the Ahōbalaṃ temple. The place had been occupied by Ibrahim Qutb Shah and Malakappa, the chief of Haṇḍe Anantāpuram. Śrī Ranga defeated them and restored the temple to the Jīyyangāru who was in charge of it.¹³² The Vaiṣṇava shrines at Melkōṭe, Śrīperumbudūr, Śrīmuṣṇam and Tiruvallikkēni were the objects of numerous grant, during this time. Śrī-Vaiṣṇava scholars like Eṭṭūr Kumāra Tirumala Tātācārya received great patronage at the royal court. Śrī Ranga carried out additions and improvements to the Viṣṇu temple at Kāñci for which he had as his agent one Tiruppani Singaraṅgar.¹³³ He also constructed the *garbhagrāha ardhamaṇḍapa*, *mahāmaṇḍapa* and *gōpura* of the Vāmana kṣetra (Vāmana temple) at Śrīrangam.¹³⁴ Śrī Rāmānuja appears to have been deified and worshipped during this period. According to a record of 1575 Śrī Ranga, Tātācārya, his *guru*, and a few others provided for the recitation of the *Yatirāja Saptati*, a poem by Vēdānta Dēśika in praise of Śrī Rāmānuja in the temple of Melkōṭe.¹³⁵ But he, like his predecessors, had no antipathy to Śiva. He continued the formula of making obeisance to Śiva, Viṣṇu and Gaṇeśa at the beginning of his grants.¹³⁶

129. *Ibid.*, XVI, p. 245.

130. *E.C.*, XII, Tm. 1; Ck 39.

131. *E.I.*, XII, p. 357, v. 20.

132. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 233-34; *M.E.R.*, 1915, paras 17 and 53.

133. 10 of 1921; for the influence of Tātācārya during the period see *M.E.R.*, 1921, para 53.

134. 320 of 1952-53; *Rep.*, page 16.

135. *M.A.R.*, 1906-07, para 50.

136. *E.I.*, IX, p. 327; *E.I.*, XII, p. 356.

Until the days of Tirumala and Śrī Ranga “the Vijayanagar throne was still believed to be under the blessed guardianship of the wings of Virūpākṣa”.¹³⁷ With the accession of Venkaṭa II there appears a change in the imperial policy. Under him, Śrī Venkaṭeśa of Tirupati takes the place of Śrī Virūpākṣa of Vijayanagar. His grants bear the signature of Śrī Venkaṭeśa. The initial invocation is also addressed to him, or to Rāma, or Viṣvaksena or Viṣṇu.¹³⁸ The moon comes to be called the brother of Lakṣmī in preference to the earlier practice of being called “the great darkness dispelling light”.¹³⁹ Further, the grants of Venkaṭa are generally made in the presence of God Venkaṭeśa of Tirupati. Thus “the Vijayanagariyas drifted southwards from Vidyanagara to Penugonda first and thence later to Candragiri—from the feet of Virūpākṣa to the feet of Venkaṭeśa, and from Śaivism to Vaiṣṇavism”.¹⁴⁰ Tātācārya, the *guru* of Venkaṭa and great Śrī-Vaiṣṇava teacher, commanded great influence at his court. Tirumala Śrīnivāsācārya, Kandāla Appalācārya and Tālḷapāka Tirumalācārya were a few other Śrī-Vaiṣṇava teachers that flourished during the time of Venkaṭa. Places like Tirupati and Ahobalam were the more important Vaiṣṇava centres. The coins of Venkaṭa also show that he was a staunch Vaiṣṇava. His gold coin known as *Venkaṭa pagoda* has on the obverse Viṣṇu standing on an arch, while the reverse bears the *nāgari* legend, *Śrī Venkaṭeśvarāya namaḥ* (adoration to blessed Venkaṭeśa).¹⁴¹

The later rulers of the Araviḍu line like Rāmadēva II, Venkaṭa III and Śrī Ranga III were also staunch Vaiṣṇavas. But as in the earlier days toleration was shown to all religious sects. Rāma II himself, though an ardent Vaiṣṇava, made grants to Śiva temples. Thus in A.D. 1615 he repaired the Virūpākṣa temple at Mupinapura and granted eleven villages to it for the offerings, perpetual lamp, dancing girls, decorations and musicians of the God.

137. *I.A.*, XLIV, p. 221.

138. *Ibid.*

139. *Ibid.*, p. 225.

140. *Ibid.* The change of faith of the Vijayanagar house has been supposed to have caused the anger of Virūpākṣa who punished the kings with their defeat at Raksas Tangdi. In fact a work called *Jangama Kārajēna* gives an account of the defeat and death of Rama Rāja in a prophetic strain by one Sarvajña, a Jangama priest, and his son Virūpaṇṇa, both staunch devotees of Śiva. (Wilson, *The Mack. Coll.*, p. 272).

141. Hultsch, ‘The Coins of the Kings of Vijayanagara’ *Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 308.

But the temple once again fell under repair, and worship ceased. Therefore Rāmadēva repaired it and set up the God again in it.¹⁴²

Śrī Ranga encouraged the spread of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism with the help of *Samayācāryas*. He made a grant in 1641 in favour of one Nallān Cakravarti Venkaṭācārya one of the *Svayamācārya puruṣas*.¹⁴³

He made some improvements to the Gōvindarāja shrine at Cidambaram such as the repair of the *maṇṭapa* before the Gōvindarāja *sannidhi*, the *gopura* of the shrine, the *viāmnas* of the Goddess Pindari Kavalli and of Sudukodutta nācciyar, as also the mantapa in front of the shrine of Tiruvali Āḷvañ and granted five villages rent-free to the temple. He is also said to have fixed the routes which processions were to be taken at the place and thus he appears to have ended the disputes between the authorities of the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples at Cidambaram, though only temporarily.¹⁴⁴ A record of 1644 states how one Pemmasāni Timmaya Nāyudu appointed one Bukkapatṇam Tātācārya as the *Samayācāram* or *Ghaṇḍikōtasīma*; and it was also provided that he was to receive *Guruseva*, to be present at *Hariseva* and to punish people who swerved from the right path.¹⁴⁵

Thus the spread of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism in the Empire was in no small measure due to the encouragement which the state gave to it, the kings adopting it as their faith. But this rapid spread of the faith, and the construction of new Vaiṣṇava temples additions to them or the restoration or reconsecration of old ones, were not accomplished without opposition. At every stage the Śaivas opposed the spread of Vaiṣṇavism. This at times took such a serious turn that loss of life was sustained by the parties. Fr. N. Pimenta who passed through Cidambaram in 1597 was an eye-witness to certain incidents which took place there when Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka of Cēñji made certain improvements to the Govindarāja shrine there. He says that a great controversy arose as to "whether it was lawful to place the Signe of Perimal (which is nothing but a Mast or Pole gilded, with an Ape at the foot) in the temple at Chidambaram. Some refused, others by their Legats importunately urged, and the Naichus of Gingi Decreed to erect it in the temple".

142. *E.C.*, VI, An. 103.

143. *E.C.*, X, Kl. 86.

144. 271 of 1913.

145. *V.R.*, *I.M.P.*, II, p. 607, No. 394.

But when Kṛṣṇappa carried out the reconstruction and repair of the temple in spite of the opposition, the priests of the Śiva temple climbed the towers "and cast themselves down" while he was in the temple and thus twenty of them died. Kṛṣṇappa got angry and ordered the rest to be shot which order was obeyed and two were so done away with. "A woman also was so hote in this zealous quarrel that she cut her own throat". But finally Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka was able to accomplish his purpose.¹⁴⁶

Another feature of the religious movements of the period was the holding of disputations between eminent religious teaches. The Jaina scholar Nemicaṇḍra is said to have defeated all opponents at the court of Dēva Rāya II and obtained a certificate of victory. Vallabhācārya is said to have defeated Vyāsarāja Tīrtha in a philosophical disputation in the court of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya. In the latter half of the sixteenth century there were two notable scholars belonging to rival faiths. Appayya Dīkṣita was a staunch Advaitin with a partiality for Śiva, while Tātācārya was a devout Vaiṣṇava. In one such religious controversy, it is said, Appayya Dīkṣita, defeated his opponent for which the royal *guru* cultivated a deep hatred for him and according to tradition, even plotted to put an end to his life.¹⁴⁷ A similar religious disputation was held at Kumbakōṇam between Vijayīndra Tīrtha, a great Madhva celebrity, and the *guru* of the Vīra Śaiva *maṭha* at that place. According to the condition they had entered into before the controversy, Vijayīndra Tīrtha was to join the Śaiva *maṭha* if he was defeated in the controversy, but if he succeeded, the Śaiva *guru* was to make over his *maṭha* and its property to Vijayīndra. At the end of eleven days of controversy, the Vīra Śaiva *guru* admitted his defeat. As a result of this Vijayīndra Tīrtha took possession of the Vīra Śaiva *maṭha* at Kumbakōṇam.¹⁴⁸ Likewise disputations were held between Vijayīndra Tīrtha and Appayya Dīkṣita. Both of them wrote works each condemning the philosophy of the other.¹⁴⁹

In spite of these bitter controversies and the strong feelings of the members of one faith against those of another, there was no persecution in the Empire. The religious conferences and discussions

146. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, pp. 208-09

147. *Ind. Ant.*, XXVIII, p. 326 also Ramesam, Appayya Dikshita pp. 72-3.

148. *E.I.*, XII, p. 346.

149. *Ibid.*

held were in the nature of the deliberations of a Parliament of Religions, though it is not unlikely that strong words could have been made. The Emperors themselves took lively and intelligent interest in such deliberations. William Forster praises the religion toleration under the Mughals in the following terms: There not trace — a statement which could scarcely be made of any European country at the same period.¹⁵⁰ This unreserved praise of Forster can more properly be applied to the Hindu kings as Vijayanagar. They pursued the policy of universal religious toleration in a period of religious bigotry and fanaticism when the rulers of Europe resorted to organised and systematic persecution, all in the sacred name of religion. The Vijayanagar ruler were generally farsighted and imaginative enough to rise above the limits of their age. It must be noted, however, that though there was the least sign of intolerance or persecution in the Empire, the inter rulers were always in favour of Sri Vaiṣṇavism and hence it did and successful spread in the Empire.

150. *The English Factories in India*, 1613-21, Intro, p. xlv.

Section VII

THE TEMPLE AND THE MATHA

In medieval India the temple and the *maṭha* were two important institutions which played a prominent part in the religious and cultural life of the people. While the former stood as a symbolic expression of the religious impulse of the people, the latter was an institution that stood for the propagation of certain schools of thought and the imparting of religious education in the particular way that was agreeable to the founder.

The medieval temple was, from the religious point of view, a house of God.¹⁵¹ Services and festivals were instituted in them for the propitiation of the deity consecrated in the temples, and provision was made for their continued performance by grants of lands and taxes.¹⁵² The management of the temple was in the hands of trustees (*sthānikas*) who had the right to appoint and dismiss the temple servants and administer the temple endowments and property; in short, they controlled the interests of the temple. There were many servants in the temple of whom prominent mention must be made of the Temple Superintendent (*Kaṅkāṇi*)¹⁵³ the general manager (*kōyilkēlvi*) and the temple accountant *kōyilkaṅkku* or *ōlai eḷttu*).¹⁵⁴ there were also the general watchman (*mey kāval* or *tiru mēni kāval*)¹⁵⁵ superintendent of the stores (*raṇaikāval*), treasurer (*poṇ baṇḍāram*), servants in charge of lighting (*tiruvīḷakkukuḍi*)¹⁵⁶ the temple priest, the piper and the drummeg and a host of other servants who had different duties in it. The Gods in the temple were considered to have the tastes of the men who worshipped them, and hence a large number of dancing girls were attached to the temples, and their duty was to dance and sing before the Gods, not only at the time when offerings were made to them but also in the mornings and evenings. The Gods were said to have been very much delighted at their dances and hence the

151. For the secular functions of the temple see Chapter on Local Government, sec. on Temple.

152. See 573 of 1902; S.I.L. VIII, No. 400; also. Supra, pt. I, pp. 235--6.

153. 250 of 1906.

154. 415 of 1912; T.T.D.I., II, No 219.

155. 299 of 1912.

156. 374 of 1912.

dancing girl swerecalled the *dēvaadiyā* (servants of God). The servants of the temple were remunerated either by grants of land on terms of beneficial service to be rendered to the temples, or they were allowed a particular share of the income of the temples. Sometimes private individuals maintained the temple servante by making grants of land or endowing a specified money income for their maintenance.

The temples encouraged education to a large extent, for teachers were employed by them for the recitation of the Vedas¹⁵⁷ or performance of some *japa*, and the recitation and exposition of the Purāṇas or some sectarian literature in shrines. An inscription from Mangalore registers certain gifts of land made to a Mahālinga-dēva for performing *japa* in the temple of Timirēśvaradēva.¹⁵⁸ The *mahājunas* and *nāḍ* people of Maddūr (Upendrapura) in the Mysore State are said to have made a grant of land (A.D. 1380) for reciting purāṇic stories, feeding pilgrims and reciting the Vedas in the temple of God Deśinātha of the place.¹⁵⁹ According to a group of documents at Tirupati provision was made in 1433 for the chanting of Veda in the temple by twenty-four Brahmans for which a part of the revenue from the village of Sittakkuṭṭai was set apart.¹⁶⁰ A record of 1534-35 registers the gift of land and a house to each of the two Vaiṣṇava Brahmans who recited the Purāṇas known as *Bhakti Sañjivini* in the local temple at Narasingapuram.¹⁶¹ An inscription of 1523 registers that Viśvēśvara Śivācārya of the Bikṣāmaṭha at Devakkāpuram, the Kaikkōla Mudalis and other trustees of the temple at Devikkāpuram made a gift of land and a house in the *dēvadāna* village Sōrappūṇḍi to Vaḍamalaiyār, one of the paṇḍits (*vidvān*) of Aruvānpādi.¹⁶² In S. 1477 the authorities of the temple at Tiruppuṇḍamarudūr appointed a certain Rāmanātha as the poet of the temple conferring on him the title *Marudavanakkavirāyan* and granted him certain lands and a house, tax-free. He had evidently to attend on the two days of the (Kē)ṭṭai festival and to compose some poems for the occasion.¹⁶³

157. Provision was some times made for *adhyayana* service in the Temple 573 of 1902).

158. 156 of 1945-46.

159. M.A.R. 1938, No. 56.

160. T.T.D.I., I, Nos. 199-202.

161. 240 of 1910.

162. 365 of 1912.

163. 421 of 1916.

From the next year he was granted daily food from the temple¹⁶⁴ and three years later he was granted a *mā* of land.¹⁶⁵ The temples usually encouraged fine arts like music.¹⁶⁶ Some of them maintained hospitals also. One Śrīnivāsa surnamed Garuḍavāhana is said to have repaired a hospital which had suffered on account of Muslim invasions and installed an image of Dhanvantari Emburumān in the temple at Śrīrangam. This image is even now in the fourth *prākāra*

The temples were the places where grants were made by the kings. Mallikārjuna Mahārāya made his grants while he was at headquarters in the *dānamaṇṭapa* in the Virūpākṣa temple at the capital. The Vijayanagar sovereigns also made grants when they visited many of the holy places in the empire. Sometimes they had themselves crowned in the temples. Acyuta Rāya for instance was crowned at Tirupati,¹⁶⁸ most probably in the temple at the place. Sometimes feeding houses were run in the temples.¹⁶⁹

The inscriptions give a list of the centres of pilgrimage in the Vijayanagar days. To mention only a few of them, they were, Ahōbālam, Śrīkākuḷam, Śrīśailam Kālahasti, Tirupati, Kāñci, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, Cidambaram, Kumbakōṇam, Śrīrangam, Jambukēśvaram and Anataśayanam; and there were many others also like Gokaraṇa, Harihar, Sangameśvar Mahānandi, Rāmēśvaram etc.¹⁷⁰ Pilgrimages were made by the people generally on foot, though the use of palanquins carried by professional bearers (*Boyis*) and hired horses was not uncommon.¹⁷¹ The roads which were not always

164. 413 of 1916.

165. 412 of 1916.

166. See 17 of 1947-48.

167. 81 of 1936-37; *Rep.*, para 49.

169. 79 of 1946-47.

168. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 158; also w. T. T.D.R.P. 20

170. Many new temples were founded during the period not only by the kings themselves but also by the officers of Government and private individuals. A copper plate inscription of Ś 1415 records, for instance, that a certain Pedda Ahobala Reḍḍi who was a *diwan* under Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya built a temple for Ahōbala Madhugir Lakshmi Nṛsimhasvāmi at Somghaṭa according to the directions he received in a dream from the deity at Ahōbālam, (Cp. 19 of 1917-18). There is also on record that some portions of temples like *maṇāpas* and *gopuras* were constructed by persons as a result of the manifestation of God before them (708, 709, and 711 of 1917).

171. *Amukta*, canto II, v 95

safe for travel were provided with shady trees and rest houses at intervals for the convenience of travellers.¹⁷²

The *maṭhas* of South India, like the monasteries of mediæval Europe, were very important religious institutions that received the care of the state, and were maintained by the wealth they possessed. The *maṭha* was a place of meditation and study of subject relating to religion, higher truths and matters pertaining to the spirit. It has been explained also as a hut or small building inhabited by an ascetic or devotee, a monastery, a college. In its original and narrow sense the term signified the residence of an ascetic or *sanyasin*. Everyone of the *maṭhas* was presided over by a *sanyāsin* who was invariably a cultured ecclesiastic whose duty was not only the management and administration of the *maṭha* but also the encouragement of religious and philosophic learning. There were generally many disciples in these *maṭhas* who, if they were in Brahmanical institutions, studied the Vedas and the other allied Sanskrit literature, and if they were in non-Brahmanical institutions, they studied the vernacular religious literature. Thus these *maṭhas* were primarily educational institutions.

We meet with many such *maṭhas* in the Vijayanagar day. One among them was the Śṛṅgēri maṭha in the present Mysore State; believed to have been originally founded by Śrī Sankara the great *Advaita* teacher and philosopher, as one among the five it appears to have been presided over by a regular line of pontiffs from about the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Among them were :

Vidyā Tīrtha
Bhāratī Tīrtha
Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda
Candraśekhara Bhāratī
Narasimha Bhāratī
Rāmacandra Bhāratī
Sankara Bhāratī
Candraśekhara Bhāratī
Puruṣottama Bhāratī
Rāmacandrā Bhāratī
Narasimha Bhāratī
Immaḍi Narasimha Bhāratī
Abhinava Narasimha Bhāratī
Saccidānanda Bhāratī

} These may be different names
of the same person

172. See Purchase *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 98 for an account of Caesar Frederick's experiences, while travelling by palanquin.

Each of them took the titles *Paramahamsa Parivrājakācāryavarya* (chief *ācārya* of the *paramahamsa sanyāsis*), *Pada vākya Pramāṇapārāvārapārīṇa* (who has seen to the farthest point of grammar, philosophy and logic), devoted to *Yama*, *Niyama*, and others, the eight branches of *Yoga*, establisher of the pure *Vaidikādvaita Siddhānta* etc. They were, as they are even now, taken in palanquins carried crossways blocking the entire road and preventing anything else passing.¹⁷³ The Śṛṅgeri *maṭha* had very intimate connections with the royal house of Vijayanagar. Its heads Vidyā Tīrtha and Vidyāraṇya played a prominent part in the early history and expansion of the Vijayanagar Empire. Some of the Vijayanagar kings made pious gifts to the Śṛṅgeri *maṭha* for its maintenance and support.¹⁷⁴ More than they the local chieftain contributed much to their maintenance and growth.

Another *maṭha* said to have been founded by Śrī Śankarācārya and located at Kāñci is known as the Kāmakoṭi pīṭha, in honour of the Goddess Kāmākṣī at Kāñci. This also appears to have been ruled by a regular succession of pontifical heads. Inscriptional records show that this *maṭha* was at Kāñci at least in the twelfth century, for a record of Vijayagaṇḍagopāladēva the Telugu Cōḍh king, registers a grant to the *maṭha* at the place in A.D. 1293.¹⁷⁵ During the Vijayanagar period it appears to have been presided over by a regular succession of pontiffs. Among them mention may be made of Pūrṇānanda, Sadāśivēndra, Vyāsācala Mahādēvēndra, Aruṇagiri, Caṇḍracūṇḍēndra, Sarvajña Sadāśiva Bhodāndra, Paramaśivēndra, the guru of Sadāśiva Brahman of Nerūr, and Ātmabōdhēndra, at whose instance Sadāśiva Brahman

173. See *Mys Gaz.*, New Edn., Vol. V, pp. 1174-1181.

174. *E.C.*, VI, Sr. 1, Sr. 29, 11, 13 etc. The Kūḍali *maṭha* is mentioned in an inscription in the Shimoga district (*E.C.*, VII Sh. 84).

175. C.P. *Inscriptions belonging to the Śankarācārya Matha of the Kāmakoṭipīṭha*, pp. 7-14. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *E.I.*, Vol., XII, pp. 194-98. Originally only one plate of this record was available. Recently one other plate belonging to this record was recovered and published by N. Ramesan in the *Anandavikāṣan Dīpāvali Number*, 1961.

composed the *Gururatnamālā*, and Nāma Bōdhēndra.¹⁷⁶ According to a list of the *ācāryas* of this *maṭha* published by T. S. Narayana Sastri, the 55th *ācārya* in the apostolic line was one Candracūḍendra, who presided over it between 1506 and 1512 and the next was one Sadāśivēndra who presided over it between 1512 and 1538. According to two copper plates of 1510 (?) Vira Narasimha made two grants of villages to one Mahādēva Sarasvati, the then presiding pontiff of the Kāñci Kāmakōṭi pīṭha.¹⁷⁷ In A. D. 1522 Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya made a grant of two villages to Candracūḍa Sarasvati, the disciple of Mahādēva Sarasvati.¹⁷⁸ He is called *Śivacetas* (having his mind devoted to Śiva), Yatirāja (prince among ascetics) and *Dhīmat* (philosopher). He is also said to have been a great expounder of the doctrine of *māyā*.¹⁷⁹

Candracūḍa Sarasvati or Candrasēkhara Sarasvati was succeeded in the apostolic line by Sadāśiva Saraxvati. He is said

176. An inscription from Kāñchīpuram of the time of Mallikarjuna dated Ś 1385 A.D. 1463 records gift of land in a village by x Somanātha Yogiśvarar son of Narasimha Bhaṭṭar a *Gurṇijara* Brāhmaṇa of the place for *mahāpūja* and *tiruppaṇi* to Goddess Durgā Parameśvari in the temple of Periya nācciyār of Tirukkāmakkoṭṭam. The gift was entrusted to Durgādevi Śrīpādangal who was to manage the trust and appoint a person for the purpose after his period. It is most probable that the Durgādevi Śrīpādangal mentioned in the inscription was the then occupant of the Kāmakōṭi pīṭha as may be seen from the fact that the pontiffs of the pīṭha with their headquarters at Kāñcīpuram were connected with worship in the Kāmakṣi Amman temple (see 346 or 1954-55; *Rep.*, p 18). The association of the pontiffs of the pīṭha with the temple is also evidenced by an inscription in it which records its renovation by Śrī Candrasēkharāṇḍra Saravsvati (the pontiff occupying the pīṭha) in Ś 1761 (A.D. 1840) (339 of 1954-55).

177. C.P. Ins. belonging to the Sankaracarya Matha of the Kāmakōṭi Pīṭha pp. 15-47.

178. E.I., XIII, pp. 122-132.

179. According to the *Guruparampārastava*, Pūrṇānanda, the guru's guru of Candrasēkhara, went on a pilgrimage to Nepal. Bühler mentions an epigraph which refers to the fact that a Svāmi of South India named Somāśekharananda went to Nepal in A.D. 1503. As inscriptional evidence from Nepal corroborates, the tradition contained in the *Guruparampara* of the Śankarācāryamatha, there can be no denying the fact that a svāmi of the *matha* went to Nepal. S. V. Venkatesvara observes that "the svāmi referred, to must be either the donee of our grant (Chandrasēkhara) or his guru's guru, Pūrṇananda *alias* Chandracūḍa x" But since Bühler gives the date of the svāmi's visit, to Nepal and since the donee of the above grant (Chandrasēkhara) could have been living at that time as the prospective successor to the pontifical throne, we can say, that it was he that went to Nepal, for the names Somāśekhara and Chandrasekhara are synonymous. In the face of such clear evidence we need not suppose that Pūrṇananda might have gone to Nepal. (See E.I. XIII, pp. 125 ff.).

to have been the disciple of Candrasēkhara Sarasvati, apparently another name of Candracūḍa, who was a *Paramahansa* and *Parivrājakācārya*.¹⁸⁰ This succession is corroborated by the list of Narayana Sastri also. Sadāśiva Bhōdendra Sarasvati was the recipient of a grant of the village of Udayambākkam in the Chingleput district by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya in 1528. He is described as the disciple of Candrasēkhara (Candracūḍa) Sarasvati, a *paramahansa prarivrājakācārya*, having his body smeared with holy ashes, one who wore a garland of *rudrākṣa*, one indifferent to heat and cold, who was practising the eight fold path of *yoga*, was compassionate to all beings, was a *dhīmat*, a *sarvatantrasvatantara* and a *jñānavairāgyaśāli*, lustrous and Śiva incarnate.¹⁸¹ Thus he appears to have succeeded Candrasēkhara Sarasvati between 1522 and 1528; but the exact date is not known. He compiled the *Punyaślokamañjarī* containing the succession list of the pontiffs of the Kāmakōṭi pīṭha upto the end of its occupation by his predecessor.

But some time later this *maṭha* seems to have been shifted to Gajāraṇya-kṣetram or Jambukēśvarm near Tiruchirapalli. In A.D. 1608 Vijaya Ranga Cokkanātha Nāyaka of Madura made a grant of land for maintaining worship and for feeding Brahmans in the Śankarācārya maṭha at the place.¹⁸² The copper-plate inscription states that this *maṭha* was located in the street called *Ponvāśi koṇḍān* at the place and had been in the possession of the pontiff from early times. But the building which is pointed out as the original one where the *maṭha* was located does not appear to be correct according to the Government Epigraphist.¹⁸³ This apart, we do not know why and when the *maṭha* was established there. It may have been a branch of the Kāmakōṭi pīṭha. Kāncīpuram suffered much in the course of the Carnatic Wars and hence

180. Candrasēkhara Sarasvati is also mentioned in a lithic record on the northern wall of the Śiva temple at Ambi (Ambikāpuram). The inscription, which bears the signature of the *ācārya* is dated Ś 1436. A.D. 1514, mentions Kṛṣṇadēva Mahārāya and records a grant for the worship, repairs and *Mārgali* festival in the temple of Ambhikāvaṇamuḍaiya Tambirānār in the village of (Tūli) Ambi which was a *maṭhappiram* of the Śankarācārya maṭha at Kañci.

181. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-79 *E. I.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 168-75

182. *M.E.R.*, Cp. 4 of 1914-15; *Rep.*, 1915, para 54; also *Rep.*, for 1909, para 104; T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-112; *E.I.*, XVI, pp. 88-96.

183. *M.E.R.*; 1909, para 104; 1915, para 54.

Candraśekhara Sarasvati the then pontiff of the *maṭha* migrated to Uḍaiyar pālaiyam in the Tiruchirapalli district along with the image of Bangāru Kāmākṣi. The then Maratha ruler of Tañjāvūr, Pratāpa Simha (1739-63) desired the *Ācārya* to settle down at Tañjāvūr and so Candraśekhara Sarasvati moved over to Tañjāvūr when he consecrated at the place a temple for Bangāru Kāmākṣi.- Later it was shifted to Kumbakonam and located at its present place on southern bank of the R. Kāvēri.¹⁸⁴

The Goḷaki *maṭha* was an important Pāsupata Śaiva religious institution, particularly of the Śuddha Śaiva type, in the Vijayanagar days, and it had its branches in Bellary, Kolar, Warangal, Anantapur, Chittore, Cuddapah, Kurnool, Guntur, North Arcot, Ramanathapuram and Madurai Districts in Tamil Nadu. There were a number of branches of this *maṭha* in the Mysore and Andhra Pradesh States, besides, in the Tamil Nadu. Some of them were at Śrīsaila, Puṣpagiri, Tirupurāntakam, Tirupparankuṇṇam.¹⁸⁵ Its spiritual influence is said to have extended over three lakhs of villages. In the Vijayanagar period one hears of an Aghoraśivācārya in Puṣpagiri¹⁸⁶ and an Immaḍi Rudra Śivācārya of Terkumaṭha at Kālahasti.¹⁸⁷ The inscriptions at Dēvikkāpuram mention Iśāna Śivācārya of the *maṭha* and he appears to have been its head from Ś. 1442 to Ś. 1455. The exact date of his death is not, however, known. The heads of these *maṭhas* had much to do with the management of temples. Thus Iśāna Sivacārya was a prominent treasurer and trustee of the temple at the Devikka-puram.¹⁸⁸ A contemporary of his was one Viśveśvara Śiva who was also very intimately connected with the Dēvikkāpuram temple.¹⁸⁹ “Dēvikkāpuram is even at the present day the headquarters of a line of Śaiva *ācāryas* whose head is known as Santānaśivācārya. These are the preceptors of certain sects of the Bēricēṭṭi Śaiva merchants. They appear to be connected with the Jñāśivācāryas of Mullāmdṛam (North Arcot district) who are the preceptors of the Tamil speaking Vāṇiyars (oil-mongers). The predecessors of these Jānaśivācāryas are said to have been related

184. See *Tan. Dt. Gaz.*, Vol. II, pp. 231-32.

185. 323 of 1905; 272 of 1905; V.R. I. M.P., Mr. 403.

186. 307 of 1905.

187. 164 and 172 of 1924.

188. 352, 368, 373 and 400 of 1912; *Rep.*, 1913, para 55.

189. 354, 365, 389 and 390 of 1912, of date ranging between Ś. 1429 and 1446.

to the famous Diṇḍima family of Sanskrit poets of the Vijayanagar court.¹⁹⁰

It appears that a branch of the Goḷaki maṭha existed in Tirupattur in the Ramanathapuram District. One Iśāna Śiva was in charge of the *Kallumaḍam* (stone monastery) at the place. He belonged to the lineage of Bhikṣāmaṭha or Lakṣadhyāyi and the *Goḷakidharma*. He is mentioned in the inscription as belonging to the Gāyatri gotra, yajurveda, and Bodhāyana sūtra and was styled as *Pāṇḍimaṇḍalādhipati* and *Pāṇḍināṭṭu mudaliār*. He also presided over the *Arbattumūvaṇ tirumaḍam* at Tirukkoḍunguṇṇam (i.e. Piṇṇmalai).¹⁹¹

These *maṭhas* are not heard of after the sixteenth century. Probably they lost their influence or popularity or more probably they were overshadowed by the growing influence of *smārta maṭhas* like those of Sri Sankarācārya and the Śaiva *maṭhas*. There were a number of Kālāmukha *maṭhas* also presided over by pontiffs whose names ended with the suffix *śakti*, like Jñānaśakti-Śāmba Śakti, Kriyāśakti etc. Among their *maṭhas* were the

190. *M.E.R.*, 1924, para 50; see for some other references 33-38, of 1917; 209 and 211 of 1924, etc. See also Hultzsch's *Rep. on Sans. Mss.*, No. II, *Intro.*, p. xviii.

191. About the origin of the Goḷaki maṭha Hiralal says: 'In this country (Chedi) there was no Śaivite monastery which could claim to be such a grand institution as the Goḷaki maṭha, except the Chounsāṭha Jōgini temple at Bhēḍagnat which is of a type suited for the Pāśupata sect to which the teachers and priests of the Goḷaki-maṭha belonged. The worship of the female energy is the prominent feature of this sect (Pāśupata) and the Bhēḍaghāt maṭha enshrines the images of very many female deities even exceeding the traditional total number of sixty-four. The maṭha is built in the shape of a *gōla* or a circle in form and the name Goḷaki fits in very well, if it was given on account of the structure of the hypethral cloister occupied by the jōginis. But the mention in some inscriptions of the alternative name Gōiagiri seems to indicate that the monastery took its name from the hill on which it was situated, which again is a very natural derivation. The Chounsāṭha Jōgini maṭha is situated, on a roundish hillock which was probably, called Gōlagiri or the round hillock was lost and it came to be called after the goddesses installed there. It must be remembered that the word Bhedaghat cannot be the name of a hill. It plainly refers to a ghat or ford of the Nardmadā river at that place. Therefore it has no connection whatever with the name of the Gōiaki maṭha. My view is that the original name was Gōlagir-maṭha, which in course of time got corrupted into Gōlaki-maṭha. I should also state here that Mr. R. D. Banerji, a Superintendent of Archaeology and a competent palaeographer, has recorded his opinion that "the script in which the names of the Joginis have been carved on the pedestals, belongs to the 10th century, the period to which Yuvarājadeva belonged." (*JBORS.*, xiii, (1927), p. 138). See a paper 'The Goḷaki Matha' by the author in *Essays in Philosophy*, presented to Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan.

Huli maṭha and the Puṣpagiri maṭha. In the history of the Kālamukhas one gets reference to the *Mūvara Kōne Santati Parvatāvali* at Mangavaḷli and Ālanpur.

A few Madhva maṭhas were in a flourishing condition in the Vijayanagar period. One of them was the Kṛṣṇa maṭha founded by Madhvācārya himself. Later eight maṭhas came into existence namely the palimār, Adhmār, Kṛṣṇāpūr, puttiga, Sirūr, Sode, Kanur and Pajāvar maṭhas. The heads of some of the maṭhas were great scholars and authors. Vadirāja of the Sode maṭha (16th century) was the author of the *Yuktimallikā*, a work on Dvaita philosophy. Vijayadhvaja Tīrtha (15th century) was the author of a commentary on the *Bhāgavata*. The Vyāsarāja maṭha, founded by Vyāsarāja a contemporary of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya received great patronage from the Vijayanagar kings. The Uttarādi maṭha was founded by Vidyānidhi Tīrtha and which as a number of branches was another important institution. Another important Madhva maṭha was the Rāghavēndra svāmi maṭha founded by Śrī Vibhūd-hēndra Tīrtha in the fifteenth century. The maṭha received patronage from the Vijayanagar court. Among the pontiffs of the maṭha who deserve mention are Śrī Surēndra Tīrtha Śrīpāda, Śrī Vijayīndra Tīrtha Śrīpāda, a contemporary of Appayya Dikṣita and the author of a number of works, Sudhīndra Tīrtha, and Rāghavēndra Tīrtha the author of more than forty six works and commentaries elucidating the philosophy of Madhvācārya.¹⁹³

There were also a few Śaiva maṭhas during the Vijayanagar period. One of them was the Dharmapuram maṭha. It appears to have been founded between A.D. 1561 and '66. Purnalingam Pillai thinks that the founder of the maṭha was one Kumāra Guruparar, a contemporary of Tirumalai Nāyaka of Madura¹⁹⁴, but it was one Jñānaprakāśa Paṇḍāram of Tiruvārūr, probably also known as Gurujñānasambanda Svāmigaḷ who was appointed manager of a few temples.¹⁹⁵ The heads of this maṭha were great expounders of the Siddhānta Śāstras and under the first few of them were written great works of Śaivasiddhānta philosophy like *Jñānavarṇāviḷakka uṟai*, *Muktiniścaya Pēruṟai* and *Paṇḍāraśāstras*, besides a number

192. See 'Vyasaraja' by the author in *A Seminar on Saints* (ed. by T. M. P. Mahadevan, pp. 91-104).

193. See *Bulletin of the Institute of Traditional Cultures*, Madras (1958) pp. 127-131.

194. *Hist. of Tamil Literature*, p. 297.

195. *Tanjore Dt. Gaz.*, Vol. II, p. 257; (also *Mutt and Temples* (Dharmapuram Adhinam, 1955) p. 5.)

of *stotras*. Among the pontiffs of this *maṭha* mention may be made of Velli Ambalavāṇasvāmi Tambirān, Sambanda Saraṇālaya Svāmi and Vaidyanātha Nāvalar.¹⁹⁶

One of the Śaiva *maṭhas* that gave great encouragement to Tamil learning was the Tiruvāvaḍaturai *maṭha*. It devoted itself to Tamil philosophy and religion and trained many disciples. The first head of this *maṭha* seems to have been one Namaśśivāya Dēśikar who lived about the close of the sixteenth century. He was succeeded by a regular succession of Tambirāns among whom mention may be made of Dakṣiṇāmūrti. Ambalavāna Dēśikar and Isāna Dēśikar *alias* Svāminātha Dēśikar.¹⁹⁷ Another *maṭha* that deserves mention is the Tiruppanandāl *maṭha*. Some inscriptions refer to a few other *maṭhas*. According to an inscription at Maṭhavaḷam dated Ś 1493-A.D. 1571 there was at Cidambaram a *maṭha* called the Periyadēvanāyinār *maṭha*.¹⁹⁸ An inscription at Puliyanakuḷam mentions a Tiruvenkaṭanāthan *matha*.¹⁹⁹

There are inscriptional references to a number of other *maṭhas* in the Tamil country. One of them was the one at Tirunāvalūr (South Arcot District) with which a Meññāna-māmuni, a disciple of Śikāḷivaḷḷal-Paṇḍāram was associated during the period of Acyutadēva Mahārāya.²⁰⁰ Another was the Jñānaprakāśa svāmigaḷ *matham* at Kāñcipuram. An inscription at Tiruvorriyur mentions a certain Angarāyam *maṭha* during the period of Harihara II.²⁰¹

196. See *Āḍinak koyilgaḷ* (Tamil), pp. published by the Dharmapuram Āḍinam.

197. Purnalingam Pillai, *op. cit.*

198. 107 of 1946-7.

199. Madurai District. 298 of 1955-56; *Rep.*, page 9.

200. 266 of 1939-40.

201. 205 of 1912.

Section VIII

FESTIVALS

An important feature of the religious life of a people is the celebration of festivals in different parts of the year. It is particularly so among the Hindus. Often these festivals which were essentially religious in significance gained pageantry and show and created much spectacular effect.

One such festival celebrated in the Vijayanagar period was the *Mahānavami*. Originally a festival for the propitiation of the Goddess Durgā, it gained great political and social significance in the Vijayanagar Empire.²⁰² The occasion was utilized by the Emperor to hold his court in public in the open space within the palace enclosures and it was witnessed by the people. On each day of the festival which was held for nine days, the idol, which was placed in a prominent place in the plain was worshipped by the king; and during the nights many buffaloes and sheep were killed

202. The origin of the festival is shrouded in mystery. It has two aspects, one being the worship of Durgā and the other the worship of the arms. The first aspect shows that its celebration is in honour of Parvatī who fought for nine days against the buffalo demon Bhaṇḍāsura, and came out victorious by killing him on the tenth day, the day of victory, (the Vijaydaśamī day). In the course of the fight she killed two other demons, Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa who were the lieutenants of Bhaṇḍāsura, on account of which she came to be called Cāmuṇḍeśvari. The second aspect of the festival indicates that it is in some way connected with the worship of Indra, the most important of the Gods of the Vedic pantheon, for plenty and prosperity. Such features of the festival as the worship offered to the State Horse, State Elephant, and others appear to represent the worship offered to the respective appurtenances of Indra himself. Or it may be connected with Durgā herself, as Lalitā engaged in fighting the demons. While these are the possible origins of this great national festival of the Hindus, one or two other explanations are also offered in connection with the same. One is that it commemorates the victory of Śrī Rama over Rāvāṇa. Nuniz who witnessed the *Mahānavami* festival at Vijayanagar says that he had heard people say about the festival that it was celebrated "in honour of the nine months in which Our Lady bore her son in the womb". (Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 376).

The Hindu kings consider it their duty to have the festival duly performed, for according to the Hindu concept the king represents the people before God and hence as the protector of the religion of the State he has to guide the religious life of the people. He offers worship to the Goddess both on behalf of himself and of his subjects and invokes her blessings. The victory of the Goddess is deemed to be the victory of good over evil, of man over his lower self, of knowledge over ignorance, and spirit over matter.

and sacrificed to the deity. But about the exact number sacrificed our authorities differ. Paes says that on the first day twenty-four buffaloes and one hundred and fifty sheep were sacrificed. But according to Nuniz on the first day nine male buffaloes, nine sheep and nine goats were killed and on each of the following days the number of the previous day was doubled. Paes, however, says that two hundred and fifty buffaloes and four thousand five hundred sheep were slaughtered on the last day. But the more attractive side of the festival lay in the display of many arts and feats on all the days of the festival. On each of the days the 'lords' of the Empire made their *salaam* to the king. Women danced before the sovereign; and wrestling matches were held. During nights torches were lit and arranged in the arena in such a way that it was as bright as day. Then there were introduced very graceful plays and contrivances. There were others "with battles of people on horseback". Others came with casting nets, fishing and capturing men that were in the arena. They threw many rockets and "many different sorts of fires, also castles that burn and fling from themselves many bombs (*tiros*) and rockets." There was later witnessed a procession of the triumphal cars which belonged to the "captains" in the order of their status, followed by many horses richly caparisoned with trappings and cloths of very fine stuff and led by the state horse, all of which were arranged in five or six lines before the king in the arena, and passed round by Brahmans, the chief of whom carried in his hand a bowl with a cocoanut, some rice and flowers and the rest carried each a pot of water. These over, a number of the younger maids of the palace covered with gold and pearls appeared in the arena each with a small gold vessel and a lamp of oil burning in it and followed by many women with canes in their hands "tipped with gold" and with torches burning. The grand festival ended with a review of the military by the king which gave occasion for the ordinary people to witness a very grand spectacle. The military appeared in the best of its robes outside the city and the king conducted the review amidst scenes of great joy and exuberance among the assembled people. Paes who was an eye-witness to one such review ends his description with the words: "Truly I was so carried out with myself that it seemed as if what I saw was a vision and that I was in a dream".²⁰³

Niccolo dei Conti describes a festival lasting for nine days and gives some curious details. He says: "On the third, which lasts nine days, they set up in all the highways large beams, like the

masts of small ships, to the upper part of which are attached pieces of very beautiful cloth of various kinds, interwoven with gold. On the summit of each of these beams is each day placed a man of pious aspect, dedicated to religion, capable of enduring all things with equanimity, who is to pray for the favour of God. These men are assailed by the people, who pelt them with oranges, lemons

203. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 279. See for a description of the festival by the following:

Paes, Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 262-279; Nuniz, *ibid.*, pp. 376-78.

Elliot thinks that the details contained in the account of 'Abdur Razzāk about a three days' festival at Vijayanagar (Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 117-19) also answers to the celebration of the *Mahānavami*. But about the duration of the festival 'Abdur Razzāk makes an intriguing statement. He says: "For three continuous days, from the time the world-enlightened Sun began to glow like a peacock in the heavens, until that when the crow of evening's obscurity displayed its wings and feather this royal fete continued with the most gorgeous display... During the three days the King sat on the throne upon his cushion". (*op. cit.*, pp. 119 and 120). Suryanarayana Rao suggested that this description may refer to the last three days of the *Mahānavami* festival, being successively the *Durgāṣṭami*, *Mahānavami* and *Vijayadaṣami* days of the festival, though in the same breath he felt such an explanation might not be possible (*The Never to be Forgotten Empire*, pp. 325-26 *fn.*). It must be noted that for two reasons 'Abdur Razzāk's description of the three days' festival cannot have any reference to the *Mahānavami*. For one thing a traveller who is generally sober in his account cannot be expected to go wrong in his mention of the number of days for which the festival was celebrated. For another thing date on which the three days' festival commenced at Vijayanagar according to the Persian ambassador has nothing to do with the date of the commencement of the *Mahānavami* Festival. According to Abdur Razzāk the festival commenced on the full moon day of the month of Rajab (November-December). (See Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 117). But the *Mahānavami* festival commences on the day next to the new moon day in the month of Kanni, when Āṣvija Śuddha commences (September-October). From this conflicting nature of the evidence it is certain that the three days' festival mentioned by 'Abdur Razzāk was different from the *Mahānavami*.

The occasion appears to have been taken advantage of for a social gathering to which the chiefs and nobles of the realm were invited. It must have offered an opportunity to the Emperors of Vijayanagar to come into close contact with the feudatories. (See Suryanarayana Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 326). This Assembly was perhaps the same as the Larger Assembly of the Vijayanagar kings of which mention has been made earlier (See *ante*, Part I, pp. 26-27).

and other odoriferous fruits all of which they bear most patiently".²⁰⁴

Another festival which Nicolodei Conti noted was what he thought to be the New Year Day, which, according to Domingo Paes, fell on October 12 in the year of his visit to Vijayanagar. This was the *Dīpāvali*, commemorating the death of Narakāsura at the hands of Viṣṇu. Conti says that on that occasion men and women of all ages, having bathed in the rivers or the sea, clothed themselves in new garments, and spent three entire days in singing, dancing and feasting.²⁰⁵ Paes too describes it as an occasion when every one put on new handsome clothes and made great feasting, and all captains gave their men handsome clothes, "each one having his own colour and device". It was a new moon day, and Paes speaking about how the year was computed says: "They begin the year in this month with the new moon and they count the months always from moon to moon".²⁰⁶

204. *Major India*, p. 28 If it were a nine days' festival it refers probably to the *Mahanavami* festival, but the facts referred to by him are curious. Evidently the description answers to the festival associated with the Kṛṣṇaṣṭami even now celebrated in certain parts of South India and is known in Tamil as *valukkamaram tuvattal*. A bamboo pole is planted in a place where four streets meet, oil is smeared over it and on the top of it is tied a small cloth containing some coins, which a man is entitled to take if he scales up the pole while men pour water on him. It also answers to the *Uriyadi* festival celebrated on the night of Kṛiḥiṣṇa Jayanti day But this Festival is celebrated on only one day.

205. *Ibid.*

206. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 281-82; also pp. 93 and 140-47. also *Travels on the night of the Sri Kṛṣṇa Jayanti day*. But this festival is of *Pietro della Valle*, Vol. II, pp. 20-7. Different explanations are offered about the significance of the festival. (1) It is said that Viṣṇu apportioned four chief holidays between four *varṇas*. The Brahmans were to observe the *rakhipurnima* on the full moon day of Sravana (July-August) the Kṣatriyas were to observe the *Dasarah*, the Vaisyas the *Divali* and the Sudras the *holi*. (2) The *Divali* is explained as the day on which Raja Bali was deprived of his Empire on earth. It may be noted that in Maharashtra women make effigies of Bali and worship them. (3) It represents the worship of Kali in the place of Viṣṇu (4) A fourth explanation is that Rama after his return from Lanka was crowned on that day (See B. A. Gupte, *Hindū Holidays and ceremonies* pp. 36 ff). There is some confusion about the exact date when the New Year Day was celebrated at Vijayanagar. There can be no doubt about the fact that the New Year commenced as usual only in March-April on the new moon day. Sewell is evidently wrong when he argues that it was celebrated at Vijayanagar on the first of Karitika. But the specific mention of Paes that the Vijayanagar kings computed the New Year from October evidently refers to the fact that the official New Year of the government commenced only then, from the day of the *Dīpāvali*. The descriptions of Nicolò dei Conti and Paes largely answer to this festival of the Hindus when they wear new clothes. It may also be noted that to the Marvādī businessmen the financial New Year commences only on this day, when they start their fresh accounts.

The *Kārttigai* festival was celebrated in honour of the death of Bali at the hands of Viṣṇu in the person of Vāmana. Nicolodei Conti who saw the festival describes it as follows: "They fix up within their temple, and on the outside of their roofs, an innumerable number of lamps of oil of susimanni which are kept day and night"²⁰⁷

The festivals in the temple were generally concluded by a car festival. Many of the foreign travellers have given descriptions of it. But two of them, Nicolo dei Conti and Linschoten, give certain interesting details about it, which, however, look incredible. The former describes the car festival he saw as follows: "In Bizengalia also, at a certain time of the year, their idol is carried through the city, placed between two chariots, in which are young women richly adorned, who sing hymns to the god, and accompanied by a great concourse of people. Many, carried away by the fervour of their faith, cast themselves on the ground before the wheels, in order that they may be crushed to death, a mode of death which they say is very acceptable to their God. Others, making an incision in their side, and inserting a rope thus through their body, hang themselves to the chariot by way of ornament and thus suspended and half dead accompany their idol. This kind of sacrifice they consider the best and most acceptable of all".²⁰⁸ The latter says that while the car was being dragged there were a few who made certain sacrifices to the God. He observes: "There are some of them, that out of the great Zeāle and pure devotion doe cut peeces of flesh out of their bodies and throw them down before the pagode: others lay themselves under the wheeles of the Cart, and let the Cart runne over them, whereby they are all crushed to peeces and pressep to death, and they that thus die, are accounted for holy and devout martyrs and from that time forwards are kept and preserved for great and holy reliques, besides a thousand other such like beastly superstitions",²⁰⁹ But though the accounts of both are

207. Major, *India*, p. 28; Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 86; both Sewell and Saletore identify this description with the *Dipavali* festival. It may be noted in this connection that in the Tamil country lamps are not lit on a large scale on the *Dipavali* day. But it is done so only on the day of the *Kartigai* festival. (See Saletore, *Pol. and Soc. Life II*, p. 387).

208. Major, *India*, p. 28, Sewell, *op.cit.*, pp. 84-85.

209. Purchas, *His Pilgsims X*, p. 274

too vivid to be dismissed as untrustworthy, yet it is difficult to believe them".²¹⁰

Sometimes car festivals were conducted for a number of days together. According to a record of A.D. 1562 a grant was made for conducting a car festival for fifteen days.²¹¹ In 1495 another grant was made for the celebration of the car festival for nine days.²¹² The floating festival was another which concluded a long one. A record of A.D. 1606 mentions it.²¹³

The spring festival celebrated in honour of Kāma was also conducted annually. A number of inscriptions refer to such a festival. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya is described in one such as one "who every year performed a sacrifice to (Kāma) the lord of the golden festival of spring,"¹⁹⁹

The *Holi* concluded this festival in the temples of Kāma or Cupid. Nicolo dei Conti who witnessed one such describes it as follows: during the festival "they sprinkle all passers by, even the king and queen themselves, with saffron water, placed for that purpose on the wayside. This is received by all with much laughter."²¹⁴ Pietro della Valle who saw it at Surat observes:

210. For the descriptions of the festivals by other foreign travellers, see the following:—Paes; Sewell, *op.cit.*, p. 255; Pimenta: Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 207; Veiga *Ibid.*, pp. 220-22; Pietro della Valle: *Travels*, II, pp. 259-60.

Saletore thinks that the car festival held in the temple at the close of a festival was the same as the Rathasaptami. But the one is different from the other. The Rathasaptami is simply the day on which the sun is believed to turn north after the *Dakṣiṇayanam*. And the car festival in the temples has nothing to do with it.

211. *E.C.*, XI, Dg. 30.

212. *Ibid* X, K1-34. 198. *M.A.R.*, 1912-13, para 44. Fr. Coutinho and Fr. Pimenta give a good description of the car festival that they saw at Tirupath after the Durga Puja (Purchas *His Pilgrims* X p. 222 H. Heras Aravidu Dynasty, I, p 316.

213. *E.I.*, I, p. 370 and fn. 64; see also 371 of 1921 and *Nel Ins* III p. 1366 *Ibid.*

214. Major, *India*, pp. 28-29.

“March the fifteenth was the first day of the feast of the Indian Gentiles which they celebrate very solemnly at the entrance of the Spring with dancing through the street, and casting orange water and red colours in jest one upon the other, with other festivities of songs and mumeries.²¹⁵

The occasion was also used for holding courts. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya used to hear the poets assembled at the court for the spring festival.²¹⁶ The *Jāmbavatīkalyānam*, a drama written by the emperor-poet, was enacted before the people assembled to witness the *Caitra* (spring) festival of Śrī Virūpākṣa.²¹⁷

From the inscriptions of the period we learn that there were a number of other minor festivals conducted during the different seasons of the year both in the temples and elsewhere. They were for example the festivals on the first day of the month, the eleventh of the moon, the full moon the new moon Pañcaparvams,²¹⁸ Śivarātri,²¹⁹ Makarasankrānti,²²⁰ daśami,²²¹ ěkādaśi, davādaśi,²²² Śrī Jayanti,²²³ and so on.

215. *Travels* I, pp. 122-23. Nicolo dei Conti's statement that it was saffron water may not be quite correct. Water is boiled with Suaform and then some slaked lime is added to it which gives it red colour. Sometimes rosewater and sweet scented oils are added to it, and sprinkled on passers by without distinction. It is interesting to note that the practice obtains even today, though only to a limited extent among the Mārwādis.

216. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 138.

217. *Ibid.*, p. 142; see also *ibid.*, p. 57, for a reference to it in the *Harivilasam* of Srinatha.

218. *As Res.*, XX, p. 30.

219. *E.C.*, V., B1, 4; *E.C.* XII, Mi. 20.

220. 280 of 1915.

221. 181 of 1913.

222. 373 and 374 of 1919.

223. 312 of 1932-33

Section IX

Village Gods and Deities

An account of the religious conditions of the period will not be complete without a mention of the village Gods and their festivals. The village gods were considered to be the guardian deities which protected the people of the respective villages from evils and evil spirits, and were propitiated by the residents. As whitehead remarks, "the sole object of the worship of these village deities is to propitiate them and avert their wrath. There is no idea of praise and thanks giving, no expression of gratitude or love, no desire for any spiritual or moral blessings. The one object is to get rid of cholera, small-pox,..... The worship, therefore, in most of the villages takes place occasionally".²²⁴

An important feature of the festivals conducted in the temples of these village deities is the bloody sacrifices offered to them. Fowl, sheep and buffaloes were the animals that were usually sacrificed before them during nights, and offered to them along with liquor. It was not unusual for the worshippers to drink the blood of the sacrificial victim, apply it to their forehead or breast, purify the temple by sprinkling it on the lintel and doorsteps and after mixing it with rice scatter it in the fields and streets for gaining plenty and prosperity. Most of the deities that were propitiated in that manner were female ones. Paes says that in the city of Vijayanagar no sheep was to be killed anywhere except before the temple of one of these guardian deities. Sometimes human sacrifice too was made to appease them. Paes and Nuniz say that for the successful termination of the construction of the reservoir at Nāgalāpura "the heads of sixty men and of certain horses and buffaloes" were cut off. According to Nuniz they were Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's prisoners and "deserved death".²²⁵

224. *Village Gods of South India*, p. 46; see also *South Indian Gods and Goddesses* by H. Krishna Sastri, pp. 223-24 and 226-27; Some communities had certain favourite deities for worship. For instance a section of the community of weavers (togatakulam) who counted themselves as three hundred and were called *Ekaṅgaviras* were the devotees of the Goddess *condesvaramma* as seen from two inscriptions from *Nandavaram* in the former Banganapalle State (Kārnool district). (See 5 and 7 of 1943-44 and *Rep.*, for 1943-44 and 1944-45 para 41).

225. Sewell, *op.cit.*, pp. 245 and 365.

The Jogis or Hindu mendicants took some part in such temple offerings. They possessed nothing of their own and their dress as said earlier consisted of "bands of moorish brass on which hang girdles of many coins which dangle on both sides". Referring to them Barbosa says: "They carry a small horn or trumpet, on which they blow."²²⁶ While describing a temple at "Darcha" (Dharwar) Paes says that the Jogi was present when beasts were slaughtered for the propitiation of the Gods and that as soon as the head of the sheep or goat was cut off he blew a horn as a signal that the idol received that sacrifice.²²⁷ Thus festivals of a grisly nature were celebrated for the village gods and goddesses. They appear to have differed from period to period. During such festivals the women anointed their heads with oil and bathed in lukewarm water with turmeric powder, and wearing new clothes visited the temple of the village god or goddess built in the fields outside the village. A feature of the worship of the God was what is known as hook swinging the nature of which also differed from place to place and period and period. As noted earlier, Nicolo dei conti says that the people made an incision in their side and hung themselves to the chariot by way of ornament.²²⁸ But Barbosa who saw the same ceremony a century later notes certain interesting details with regard to it. He says that hook swinging was performed by certain maids who had vowed to perform it if they were able to marry the person of their heart. When their desire was about to be accomplished they performed the ceremony. They hung themselves by two sharp iron hooks thrust into their loins. The hooks were attached to a water lift, and when it was raised they remained hanging from the lift with the blood running down their legs showing no sign of pain, but waving their dagger most joyfully all the while, and throwing limes at their respective husbands. In this way they were carried to the temple wherein was the idol to whom they had vowed such a sacrifice. They were later handed over to their respective husbands. The occasion was taken advantage of for making gifts to Brahmans and idols.²²⁹ But Pietro della Valle who was an eye-witness to the festival which was celebra-

226. Barbosa, I, pp. 230-32.

227. Sewell, *op.cit.*, p. 255.

228. Major, *India*, p. 28.

229. Barbosa, I, pp. 220-22.

ted at Ikkēri in 1623 gives a different account of it. He says that on certain holy days the devout people were wont to hang themselves by the flesh upon hooks fastened to the top beam raised for the purpose and remain hanging for some time, while all the while blood was running down from their body. They also waved their sword and buckler in the air and sang verses in praise of their God.²³⁰ But this festival has disappeared now. Buchanan who visited Mysore in 1773 A.D. says "that the ceremony was not performed before the great Gods, and that the southern Brahmans looked upon it as an abomination fit only for the grovelling understanding of the vulgar"²³¹ Fire-walking which is another feature of the worship of the village deities must have been prevalent, but is now gradually disappearing.

Another interesting custom among certain classes of people in the Kārṇāṭaka districts was the amputation of the last phalanges of two fingers (little finger and the ring finger) of the wives of the farmers in honour of Kālabhairava. The classes of cultivators who observed this custom were known as 'finger giving classes.' "There was till recently, it appears, a regular establishment in the temple for carrying on the amputation a goldsmith for cutting off the finger and others for dressing the wound, and for kneading the finger and holding it so that no blood might be shed at the time. The devotees had also to pay certain fixed proportions among the *aracak* and other servants of the temple as well as among the *āyagārs* of the village such as the Shanbog, patel, goldsmith, barber, etc. They had moreover to bring a fixed quantity of rice per head. An inscription of about the fourteenth century fixes the proportions in which the rice (*vīral arsi*) was to be provided among the goldsmiths and others".²³²

A popular phase of the religion prevalent in the Vijayanagar days as it still is, was the worship of the Nāgas (snakes). Viṣṇupākṣa himself was considered to be the Lord of the Nāgas. The Vijayanagar sovereigns worshipped the Nāgas and considered Śiva as Nāganātha, the lord of the Nāgas. Their queens set up *nāgakkals* in the temples, which they attended, and also special female Nāga deities.²³³

230. Travels, II P. 259.

231. *Journey through Malabar* II, p. 440.

232. *M.A.A.*, 1909-10, para 16; "when the amputation was prohibited by the government the 'finger-giving' classes raised a strong but unavailing protest against the prohibition. They have now adopted the harmless substitute of having the fingers wound round with flowers in the temple and of unwinding the same with due ceremony on return to their village."

233. See *Mad. Ar. Sur. Rep.*, 1914-15, p. 38.

CHAPTER XIII
EDUCATION AND LEARNING
SECTION I
EDUCATION

In ancient and medieval India liberal or general education in the modern sense of the term was not considered necessary for all people. But each caste or community had its own educational system, which was determined by the nature of its occupation. The Government, without interfering very much with the educational system that obtained in the country, encouraged education by patronising scholars in different branches of knowledge.

Each village or small group of villages had a pial school in which the teacher, who was generally called *vātti*, taught the three R's to children of school-going age. (The school-going age.) The school was either held in the pial of the teacher's house or in a public building or under the shade of some big tree. The remuneration of the teacher consisted of payments both in kind and cash. We have [an interesting description of the working of the schools and the method of teaching followed in them, in the writings of the traveller Pietro della Valle. He says : " They (the boys) were four, and having taken the lesson from the master, in order to get the same by heart and repeat likewise their former lessons and not forget them, one of them singing musically with a certain continued tone (which hath the force of making a deep impression in the memory) recited part of the lesson; as for example, 'one by itself makes one', and whilst he was thus speaking, he writ down the same number, not with any kind of pen, nor on paper, but (not to spend paper in vain) with his finger on the ground, the pavement being for that purpose strewed all over with very fine sandt after the first had writ what he sang, all the rest sang and wriy down the same thing together. Then the first boy sang and wrif down another part of the lesson; as for example, " two by itself makes two ' which all the rest repeated in the same manner, and so forward in order. When the pavement was full of figures, they put them out with the hand, and if need be, strewed it over with new sand from a little heap which they had before them where-with to write further, And thus they did as long as the exercies

continued, in which manner likewise they told me, they learnt to read and write without spoiling paper, pens or ink which certainly is a pretty way"¹. According to Ibn Battuta the town of Onore (Honarvar) contained twenty-three schools for boys and thirteen for girls². Added to this general (primary) education, the members of the different professions underwent courses of training suited to their respective professions. Such courses were in the nature of apprenticeship.

The presence of the Jesuit Fathers in the Vijayanagar Empire led to the foundation of certain types of schools where the vernaculars were taught by Christian missionaries and the new converts to their faith. Thus at Madurai Fr. Fernandes established a primary school for the Hindus where a Brahman convert to Christianity taught the boys to read and write. Fr. Pimenta while he chanced to pass through Madurai, visited the school and distributed some prizes to the best pupils of the schools³. Fr. Pimenta founded a school at St. Thome where Telugu and Tamil were taught. In 1567 Fr. H. Henriquez established a Tamil school at Punnei Kayal for the young Goans who were sent there as catechists and himself taught the pupils in the school. His assistant was one Luiz, a Brahman convert. Another school was founded at Candragiri for the benefit of the sons of the nobles of the court. The missionaries employed a Hindu teacher in that school.⁴

But the system of Brahmanical education was different. Eminent pandits and scholars conducted small schools of their own and trained students in the study of the Vedas and allied literature. This education was also mainly the result of private initiative and effort. At Adaiyapalam (North Arcot District), for instance, Appayya Dīkṣita established a school in the Kālakaṇṭheśvara temple and made provision for the teaching of about five hundred students in the *Srikanṭha Bhāṣya* for which purpose he wrote the commentary, the *Sivākamaṇidīpikā*⁵. In some places, certain

1. *Travels of Pietro della Valle*, II, p. 227; see also *Ancient Indian Education* by Keay, pp. 149-152; *J.R.A.S.*, 1834, pp. 15 ff for an article on the School System of the Hindus.

2. These were probably exclusively intended for Muslims. (Ibn Battuta, *Broadway Travellers*, p. 230. Also K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India*, pp. 220, 234.)

3. *Du Jarric*, I, p. 650, quoted in Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, p. 528.

4. See *ibid.*, pp. 528-29 and the authorities quoted therein.

5. 395 of 1911, *Rep.*, 1912, para 72.

portions of the temple buildings were set apart for conducting such classes. At Kāñcīpuram there was a *Vedamaṭha* in the temple of Aruṭaḷa Perummāl where probably such classes were held⁶. The teachers appear to have been remunerated by assignments of lands. Thus according to an inscription at Vēpūr of the time of Kampana Uḍaiyār, a piece of land was granted to a particular individual as an *yadhayanavṛtti*.⁷ Acyuta Rāya made a grant of the village of Kambampalli to Peda Kṛṣṇamācārlu, son of Gōvinda Dīkṣita, for the promotion of studies in the *Ubhayavedānta*.⁸ A record at Viriñcīpuram dated A. D. 1535, mentions the grant of a number of *kuḷis* of land for the benefit of two Brahmans, Timmappan and Śaivādirāyar Vasantarāyaguru, who taught the *Ṛg sākha* and *Yajus sākha* respectively.⁹ Similarly in A. D. 1579 a few villages were granted as *bhaṭṭa vṛttimānyams* in Podiliśime (Nellore district) for carrying on work connected with learning.¹⁰

Madurai which was the seat of the ancient *Sangam* continued to be a centre of learning under the Madurai Nāyaks also. Fr. de Nobili in one of his letters written in A. D. 1610, says that there were more than ten thousand students at the place who went to different professors for study. The same missionary, while referring to Venkata the Emperor and the Nāyak of Madurai, probably Muttu Kṛṣṇappa, says that they “royally endowed several colleges for the maintenance of professors and students while they are studying; they are there supplied victuals, clothes, and everything they are in need of”.¹¹

These Madurai teachers were engaged in giving a course of instruction in Vedānta. The lectures fell into four groups Argumentation, Knowledge, Evidence and Faith. Referring to the method of study Fr. de Nobili says that the whole course was divided into three parts, the first dealing with evidence, the second with knowledge and the third with authority. Each of these parts was divided into smaller divisions which the Jesuit Father noted down with great care.¹²

6. 32 of 1890; *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 355. The inscription mentions one Śrīman Paramahansa Parivrajakācārya Śrī Vedendrasagara Śrīpāda as in charge of the *matha* in A.D. 1378.

7. North Arcot district; 21 of 1890; *S.I.I.* IV, No. 344.

8. *M.A.R.*, 1924, No. 100.

9. North Arcot district; 50 of 1887; *S.I.I.*, I, No. 120.

10. *Nel. Ins.*, III, Podili, 34.

11. Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, pp. 525-26.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 525-28.

Encouragement was also given for the recitation of religious literature in the temples. In A. D. 1523, for example, a gift of land was made, to a particular individual, its object being the recitation of the Sanskrit Vedas, Drāvida Vedas (*Prabandhas*) and the exposition of Vedānta.¹³ Eleven years later Acyutayyadēva Mahārāya made a gift of land and a house for the merit of Periyasvāmi Narasānāyaka to each of the two Vaiṣṇava Brahmans who recited the *Purāṇam* known as the *Bhakti Sañjīvinī* in the temple at Narasingapuram.¹⁴

Apart from such private initiative, public institutions like the *maṭha* and the temple devoted themselves to the popularisation of education.¹⁵ It has been seen in an earlier section how there are numerous instances to show that the *maṭhas* were so many educational institutions in India.¹⁶ But the temple appears to have encouraged the study of ancient literature only indirectly by making provision for the recitation of the Vedas and *prabandhas* in it. Thus in A.D. 1449-50 the village of Manattan *alias* Śiṅgutampuram was given away to a servant of the temple of Poṅ Amarāvati¹⁷ for the service of singing the hymns of Śaḍagōpan.¹⁸

The State made endowments for the study of certain subjects and honoured great scholars and literary celebrities. Technical sciences like astrology, astronomy and medicine also received much patronage from the Vijayanagar court. In A.D. 1556-57 the great scholar and astrologer Sarvabhaṭṭa was honoured by the grant of a village with all its income.¹⁹ In 1515 the village of Nāgulavaram and a field measuring 2,250 *kuṇṭas* were granted to a Brahman astronomer who was versed in (the science of) the movements of stars, an expert in the science of the *yant ras* (mystical tantric diagrams for worship) and an astronomer versed in the science of *Yāmala* (*Rudrāyamala*, a certain treatise on *mantra*).²⁰ According to a copper-plate, a village was granted to one Sampat Kumāra, who had with him excellent and learned Brahmans of various *gotras* and relatives, who was the foremost among the physicians

13. 627 of 1904.

14. Chingleput district; 240 of 1910.

15. See *infra*, pp.

16. *Ibid.*

17. Former Pudukkottai State.

18. 20 of 1909.

19. Cp. 5 of 1917-18.

20. *Nel. Ins.*, I, Cp. 16.

and who was the renowned son of the great Gōvinda Paṇḍita, who was a great scholar in *Āyurveda* and the *Vedāngas*.²¹ A Brahman doctor was the recipient of a gift of land perhaps in recognition of his abilities in his profession.²² Similarly scholars who had acquired a considerable amount of general learning were greatly honoured. Thus a scholar (unnamed) who wrote a work called *Bhāṣya Bhūṣa* was honoured by a grant of land.²³ Mallikārjuna Rāya honoured one Āditya Rāya, a Brahman learned in the Vedas, Sāstras, Purāṇas and the six systems of philosophy with the grant of a village named Devarāyapura, in recognition of his scholarship. It is said the scholar was examined by the king in all branches of learning in a learned assembly, and was honoured in open court.²⁴ Tirumaladēva Mahārāya made a grant of one *ṛtti* of land in a village for the study of the Ṛg Veda and another for the study of Yajur Veda²⁵. According to a copper-plate grant, Venkaṭapati Rāya made a gift of land in 1612-13 to a scholar Rāmakṛṣṇa Josya who belonged to the Hārita gotra and Āpastamba sūtra, and was well versed in the Vedas, *Vedāngas*, *Tarka* (logic), *Smṛti*, and *Sūryasiddhānta*²⁶. Similarly, at the request of Naga Nāyaka, son of Malla Nāyaka, Immadi Narasimha made a grant of Cākenahalli to forty persons well versed in *Mīmāṃsa*, *Nyāya*, the three Vedas, Purāṇas, the *Smṛtis*, *tantras* and *mantras* and who were strict observers of the religious customs and ceremonies.²⁷ In the Vijayanagar days there were many such scholars who received great patronage at the hands of the ruling kings. To mention only a few of them : they were Mādhava, Vidyāranya, Vedānta Dēśika, Diṇḍima Kavi, Tātācārya, Vyāsarāyā Tīrtha, and Appayya Dīkṣita.

The condition of literacy among the people in the Vijayanagar days may be gleaned through the style, orthography and script of the inscriptions of the period. Royal grants were composed in the language of the territory in which the inscriptions were to be engraved. Though some inscriptions were in Sanskrit or in Telugu even in the Tamil districts, the portions of the inscriptions, wherein were describe the boundaries of lands and similar other details of

21. *E.I.*, VIII, pp. 307-17; *V.R.*, *I.M.P.*, N.A., 625; *Cat of Cop. Plates in the Mad. Mus.*, No. 9, pp. 45-46.

22. *Cp.* 2 of 1913-14.

23. *Ibid.*

24. *E.C.*, VI, pg. 69.

25. *E.I.*, XVI, p. 245 and p. 257, p. 73; *Cp.* 1 of 1912-13.

26. *Cp.* 7 of 1922-23.

27. *M.A.R.*, 1924, No. 111.

local interest and importance, were generally in Tamil. So far as Tamil inscriptions are concerned a perceptible deterioration is seen both in the matter of style and in orthography. This was evidently because their composition and engraving were in the hands of men of mediocre ability. Apart from that, one notices also that on account of its contact with other languages it took and adopted to itself, some foreign words, particularly from Arabic, ^{27a}. Likewise a few portuguese words appear to have been Tamilised and read.

The composers of the inscriptions were the later representatives of the *Sūtas* and *Māghadas* of ancient Sanskrit literature. Their office seems to have been hereditary in certain families. They were not only composers of grants but also the reciters of laudatory verses on important ceremonial occasions, on the achievements of the kings and the proclamation of their titles. They were also to relate the valorous deeds of the kings and their ancestors, which picture was generally exaggerated and coloured. Bhaṭṭa Baciappa, for instance, was so good at his office that he has been called in an inscription ".....a head jewel of the Baḍavārūkula, a master of the Gautama gotra.....a garland of love to royal bhats... fearless champion of eulogisers, illustrious Baciappa of the Bhats."²⁸

Next mention may be made of the śāsanācāryas who were the engravers of royal edicts. Imperial grants or orders were generally engraved on stone or copper plates by the engravers. They usually belonged to the carpenter class, but a few stray inscriptions indicate that Brahmans were also employed in the work.²⁹ Sometimes men of position and eminence and their relations were also employed as engravers. This is indicated, for instance, by the fact that in A. D. 1475 one Timmarasa, the son of Aṭhavaṇi (revenue) Devarasa, was an engraver.³⁰ In another case in A. D. 1431 one Pratāpa Rāya, the son of Mangappa Daṇṇāyaka, was an engraver.³¹ These instances indicate that the engravers must have been well paid.

Writing was generally done on palm leaves. Describing this practice Ābdur Razāk remarks: "These people have two kinds of

27a. One such example is *Māhutta* meaning a cavalry man and derived from the words *Ravā* (King) *duṭā* (messenger). It is now used as a suffix to some Muslim names.

28. *E.C.*, III, Ml. 42, text see also *ibid.*, 47, for a few other titles of his.

29. *Ibid.*, VII, Sk. 281.

30. *Ibid.*, X, Bp. 20.

31. *Ibid.*, IX, Bn. 127.

writing, one upon the leaf of the Hindi nut (cocoanut) (a mistake for *tādi* palm) which is two yards long, and two digits broad on which they scratch with an iron style. These characters possess no colour and endure but for a little while. In the second kind they blacken a white surface, on which they write with a soft stone cut into the shape of a pen, so that the characters are white on a black surface and are durable. This kind of writing is highly esteemed.”³² Barbosa described the same practice which he saw at the time of his visit to Calicut.³³

Quite in keeping with the prescriptions of the Āgamas some of the bigger temples in the South appear to have maintained libraries (*Sarasvatī Bhandāras*) One such was the Arulāḷa Perumāḷ temple at Kāñcīpuram in which was a *maṭha* where manuscripts were collected and maintained according to an inscription in the temple dated 1359-³⁴. King Bukka II is said to have made a grant of land in 1407 to a Paurāṇika Kavi Kṛṣṇa Bhatta for renovation and proper upkeep of a Library (*puṣṭaka bhaṇḍāra*) belonging to the *maṭha* Śṛṅgeri.³⁵

Mention may be made here of the casting of the Tamil characters and the introduction of printing in the Tamil Country. The first book containing a summary of the Christian doctrines was printed in 1577, the letters having been cast by the Jesuit lay Brother Giovanni (Joao) Gonsalves. Fr. De Souza while describing how these early printings were received by the people says: “Those countries were marvelling at the new invention, and pagans as well as Christians tried to obtain these printed books and prized them highly.”³⁶

SECTION II

Literature : Sanskrit

There are certain marked periods in the history of India which are characterised by an outburst of intense literary activity and the production of literary works of great value. Among them prominent mention may be made of the Pallava, Cola and

32. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 107-08.

33. Barbosa, II, p. 18.

34. 574 of 1919; *E.I.*, XXV, p. 319.

35. 283 of 1936-37. For a few other reference see 4 of 1937-38; 139 of 1938-39; also ‘*Sarasvatī Bhandāras in South India*’ by K. D. Swaminathan, *J.I.H.*, pp. 195-199; also *M.E.R.*, 1936-37, para 57.

36. See Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, pp. 530-31.

Vijayanagar periods in South Indian history. The causes that contributed to such great literary activity were many; and perhaps the most important among them was a renaissance in the field of religion. As in the Christian world, so in India, literary activity has gone hand in hand with religious revival in the country; and the result is the production of voluminous literature of a religious, philosophical and sectarian nature. The Vijayanagar period saw the production of such works; besides these there were also produced works of a historical or semi historical character not to speak of *Prabandhas*, *Kāvya*s and other types of literary compositions.

A marked characteristic of the literary activity in the Vijayanagar period was the fact that the literary celebrities who flourished then were greatly patronised by the ruling kings, though there were differences in the religious faith between the kings and the scholars. For example Harihara II who was an orthodox Hindu by faith, had as his minister Irugappa Daṇḍanātha, a Jain, who was the author of the Sanskrit work *Nañārtharatnamālā*. Venkaṭa II, who was a staunch Vaiṣṇava, was a patron of Appayya Dīkṣita, his contemporary and a renowned *Advaita* philosopher, who flourished in the court of Cinna Bommu Nāyaka of Vēlūr. The Dīkṣita himself says in his *Kuvalāyānanda* that he was patronised by Venkaṭa and that he wrote the work at his request. Another interesting fact that deserves notice in this connection is the fact that many of the kings were not only patrons of learning but were also learned authors themselves. This is borne out by the fact that many of them besides writings important literary works assumed titles which throw light on the point. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya and the Nāyak ruler Raghunātha of Thaṇjāvūr, besides being patrons of learning, were also authors of several important Telugu and Sanskrit works, though it must be said that the former had a partiality for Telugu. Harihara II assumed the enviable titles *Rāja Vyāsa*, *Rāja-Vālmīki* and *Karṇāṭaka Vidyā Vilāsa* which show in unmistakable terms that he was the author of great works of literature, as also a patron of literary men.³⁷ Further, there flourished in the period many poetesses who wrote valuable literary works. Prominent among them are Gangādēvi, the wife of Vīra Kampana, who wrote the *Madhurāvijayam*, Tirumalāmbā, a queen of Acyuta Rāya, the authoress of the *Varadāmbikā Parīṇayam*, and Rāmabhadrambā,

37. E.C., VI, Kp. 34; M.E.R., 11 of 1915; Rep., 1915, para 41.

a poetess of merit who lived in the court of Raghunāthā of Tañjāvūr and was the authoress of the *Raghunāthābhyudayam*. Sanskrit received great encouragement during the period since it was the source of much knowledge, there were a number of Sanskrit scholar during the period who produced works in different branches of knowledge. A few of them may be mentioned here.

Vēdānta Dēśika (1268—1368)

Vēdānta Dēśika, known as Venkaṭanātha in his early life and an orthodox Vaiṣṇava Brahman of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, was the nephew of one Ātrēya Rāmānuja, the great-grandson of one Praṇatārthihara, a nephew and disciple of Rāmānuja. He was born in Tupil, a part of modern Kañcipuram and a devotee of Śrī Ranganātha of Śrīrangam. When the temple of Ranganātha was about to fall into the hands of the Muslims he took the idol of the Lord and fled with it to the Malayalam country where he wandered for some time, and finally came to Ceñji built a temple there and consecrated Him in it. Later he reconsecrated Ranganātha at Śrīrangam with the help of Kampāṇa when he defeated the Sultan of Madurai and brought the Cōlamanḍalam under the Vijayanagar yoke.

Vēdānta Dēśika was a versatile genius of rare ability and was a prolific writer both in Sanskrit and Tamil, in prose and in verse. He wrote about one hundred and twenty works of which about thirty were in Tamil and the rest in Sanskrit which included also works in Prākṛt. Unfortunately only some of them are available. His *Yādavabhyudayam* is a long *mahākāvya* in twenty-one cantos on the life of Kṛṣṇa. This work was so well appreciated by the later Advaita teacher and Philosopher Appayya Dīkṣita that he wrote a very valuable commentary on it. The *Hamsa Samdeśa* of Vēdānta Dēśika is modelled on Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*.³⁸ The *Pādukāsahasrā* is a poem in one thousand verses on the pair of *pādukas* of Śrī Rāma. The *Sankalpa Sūryodaya*, another work of his, is a long allegorical drama in ten acts presenting the system of *Viśiṣṭādvaita*. In that work the author personifies the evil and good dispositions of man like love, hate, discrimination and ignorance and introduces them on the stage. There is an innate grandeur throughout the whole work which was written on the model of Kṛṣṇamiśra's *Prabodha-candrodaya*. This work is to the system of Rāmānujācārya what

38. T. Rajagopalachar, *Vaishnavite Reformers of India*, p. 86.

Kṛṣṇamīśra's work is to that of Śaṅkarācārya. The *Subhāṣita nīvi* is a didactic work of 144 stanzas in very difficult style.³⁹ Most of the verses yield two meanings. The *Śatadūṣaṇi* of the great Vaiṣṇava teacher is an antiadvaitic work, contains hundred arguments against *advaita* and is one of the most polemical treatises in Vaiṣṇava literature. It is said that this work earned for him the name Vedānta Dēśika. With a view to expound the Śrī Bhāṣya of Rāmānuja he wrote the *Tattvaṭīkā*, an extensive gloss on it. Vedānta Dēśika was also the author of *Tātparyacandrikā*, an elaborate commentary on the Gīta Bhāṣya, *Nyāya Siddhāñjana* an incomplete text—book on *Viśiṣṭadvaita* system, *Adhikaraṇa Sārāvali*, a string of Sanskrit verses which summarises the discussions of the various sections of the Vedānta Sūtra, the *Śeṣvara-mīmāṃsa* a virtual commentary on Jaimini's *Dharma Sūtras*, the *Nyāya parīśuddhi* or logic purified, and the *Tattvamuktakalpa* which discusses in an elaborate and critical manner the nature of the universe in the light of the *Viśiṣṭadvaita* philosophy. His *Rahasya traya sāra* (Tamil) is a masterly work on metaphysics, theology and ethics in which he elaborates the doctrine of self-surrender (*Pra patti*). It was intended for all people without any distinction of caste or sex. Among his other works in Sanskrit may be mentioned a good number of Stotras like the *Hayagrīvastotra* *Voradaraja Pañcaśat Astabhujaṣṭaka Sudaraśana-astaka Sodaśayada stotra* etc. He also wrote a large number of Prabandhaic works. From his facile pen emanated the 74,000, a commentary on the works of the Ālvārs, special commentaries on Tiruppañālvar's *Amalanāḍippirān* and a number of others. Among them were the *Rahasyas* intended to be taught to those that sought spiritual guidance, and the *pañcarātra rakṣa* and *Saccaritra rakṣa*, dealing respectively with the principles and methods of worship according to the *Pñcarātra āgama*. In the work, the *Paramatha bhañjanam* Vedānta Dēśika refutes every other system of religion and philosophy known to the age. Thus the life of Vedānta Dēśika was one of unceasing literary and religious activity.⁴⁰

39. *Ibid.*, p. 86; *M.E.R.*, 1913, para 71.

40. See *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XXIV, for an account of the life and times of Śrī Vedānta Dēśika by V. Rangachari. See also 'Life of Sri Vedanta Desika' by Mr. A. V. Gopalachar in the *Yadavābhyudayam*, Vol. I, *Intro.*, and *Vaishnavite Reformers of India* by T. Rajagopalachar; also *Life of Vedanta Desikar* (The Great Teachers of the World Series) by N. Srinivasachariar.

Vidyāraṇya :

Vidyāraṇya's place in the political and religious movements of the fourteenth century has been discussed earlier. Besides being the architect of a great Hindu Empire which distinguished itself in the protection and promotion of Hindu culture and institutions, he was the author of some important religious and philosophical treatises. Among them particular mention may be made of the following : (1) the *Anubhūti prakāṣikā*, which contains an interpretation of the *Upanisads*. At the end of each discourse is found a stanza meaning that Vidyā Tirtha may be pleased with the work; (2) the *Aparokoṣānubhūtidīpikā*, a commentary on Śrī Śankara's *Aparokṣānubhūti* (3) The *Aitareyadīpikā*, and the *Taittirīyadīpikā*; (4) the *Vivaraṇaprameyā sangraha* and the *Pañcadaśī*. In his own words the aim of the *Pañcadaśī* was "to teach the supreme truth in an easily understandable manner to those whose hearts have been purified through the worship of the lotus-like feet of *Guru*." It is considered by some that the latter work which consists of fifteen chapters grouped into three quintads of five each, namely *viveka pañcakadaipa pancaka* and *ānanda pañcaka*, was a joint work of Bhārati Tirtha and Vidyāraṇya. Rāmakṛṣṇa the commentator of the work uses the duel at the end of each chapter (*parivrājakācārya Śrī Bhārati Tīrtha Vidyaranya munivarau*). (5) the *Jivanmuktiviveka* another work of a similar nature and (6) the *Dṛgḍṛśyaviveka*, the last one again probably a joint work of Bhārati Tirtha and Vidyāraṇya. Vidyāraṇya was interested in music also and he was the author of a treatise on it, namely the *Saṅgītasārā*⁴¹ which, though not available, is mentioned in the *Saṅgīta Sudhā* of Raghunātha Nāyaka, the Nāyak ruler of Thanjavur.

Mādhavācārya :

Among the literary celebrities that flourished in the fourteenth century which may be called the Vidyāraṇya age, and had very intimate relations with the royal house of Vijayanagar, Mādhavācārya was the most notable. He was the son of Māyana, a Brahman of the Bhāradvāja gōtra, Bōdhayana sūtra and Yajus-śākha. Mādhavācārya is reputed to have been the author of a

41. See 'Sri Vidyaranya and Music' by P. R. Sundaram Ayyar in *Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Commemoration Volume*, pp. 333-

42. Vidyaranya's powers of rhetoric and exposition are described in an inscription which says that they were more wonderful than those of Brahāim; he can make by his dialectics the eloquent dumb and by his instructions the dumb the most eloquent. (*vacalam kurute mukam mukam vacala pungavam; Vid,avanya guroscitram caritam caturananat*).

number of works bearing on a variety of subjects like philosophy, grammar, sacrificial ritual, etc.

The first among the works on Mādhava was the *Parāśaras-mṛtivyākhyā*, a commentary on the *Parāśarasmṛti*; and it prescribes rules for the daily conduct and rituals of the Hindus. He has added a section on *Vyavahāra* as a supplement to that work, as Parāśara did not deal with it in his *smṛti*; the section is known as *Vyavahāramādhava*. Another work of his is the *Kāla-mādhaviya* or *Kālanirṇaya*, which, according to the author himself, was written by him after the completion of his commentary on *Parāśarasmṛti*, to explain the details about *Dharma* and when and how acts of *Dharma* were to be performed. The *Jivanmuktiviveka* is another important work of Mādhava on Advaita Vedānta. In it he gives the rules which the *Paramahamsas* (a class of ascetics) were to follow. Mādhava wrote another work called the *Jaiminiyanyāyamālāvistara*. It is an exposition of the *Karmamīmāṃsā* system in verse, and contains the explanation of the *sūtras* of Jaimini and the significance of the sacrifices and rituals connected with them. According to the author he first composed the basic text in verses, the *Jaiminiyanyāyamālā*, which was very much appreciated by king Bukka in open court; he was requested to elaborate the work and therefore he wrote the *vistara* which is a comment on the same. The colophon at its end says that Mādhavācārya was an ornament to the science of *Mīmāṃsā* of three *Kāndas* and the performer of soma sacrifice every spring.⁴² A few scholars believe that Mādhava wrote the *Sarvadarśana Sangraha*. But it appears that it was Mādhava (also called Māyana) the son of Sāyana, who was the author of the work, as may be inferred from the words 'Sāyana Madhava' used in the third and fourth verses of the prologue to the work.⁴³

42. *Jaiminiyanyayamalavistara* (Anandasrama Series).
(*iti matrikanda mimāṃsamandana prativasanta somayaji bhatta Sri Madhavaviracite Jaiminiya nyayamala vistare*).

43. Cowell and Gough, however, think that it refers to Mādhavācārya and explain the term Sāyana Mādhavā thus: "Māyana elsewhere calls Sayana his younger brother, as an allegorical description of his body, himself the eternal soul. His use of the term 'Sāyana Mādhava' here (not the dual) seems to prove that the two names represent the same person. The body seems meant by the Sāyana of the third śloka. Māyana was the father of Mādhava and the true reading may be Śrīman Mayana." (*Sarvadarśanasangraha*—Translated by Cowell, p. 272, fn. 1). The natural interpretation of the terms like āyana Mādhava according to the usage of the time is to take the first name to be that of the father and the second that of the son. There is no reason why this method should not be adopted here also. See also Sāyana's *Subhasitasudha-udhi* edited by K. Krishna-moorthy, *Intro.*, p. 10.

Mādhavācārya was greatly honoured in the Vijayanagar court. According to the *Parāśaramādhaviyām* he was the minister and *Kulaguru* of king Bukka, and was called Mādhavāmātya and *Sāmrājyadurandhara* (bearer of the burden of the government) of Mahārājādhirāja Vīra Bukka as Angīrasa was to Indra. In the *Kālamādhaviya* and the *Jaiminiyanyāyamālāvistara* also Mādhava states that he was patronised by Bukka I.

Mādhavācārya was an orthodox householder. As said above he describes himself in his *Jaiminiyanyāyamālāvistara* as a performer of the *soma* Sacrifice every spring (*Prativasanta somayājīn*). References to Mādhava in his brother 'Sāyanācārya's works also show that he was an orthodox householder. In his *Yajñatantra-sudhānidhī*. Sāyaṇa describes Mādhava as a performer of great sacrifices (*mahākratūnām āhartā Mādhavāryaṁ sahodarah*)⁴⁴ In the *Alankāra sudhānidhī* of Sāyana, Mādhava is described as enjoying various pleasures.⁴⁵

Mādhavācārya seems to have had three *gurus*, Vidyā Tīrtha, Bhāratī Tīrtha and Śrīkaṇṭha. Vidyā Tīrtha was considered by Mādhava as an incarnation of Maheśvara. Bhāratī Tīrtha is referred to in Mādhava's *Jaiminiyanyāyamālā* as his *guru* and it is believed that he wrote a portion of the *Pañcadaśī prakaraṇa* Śrīkaṇṭhanātha also is mentioned as a *guru* of Mādhava in the *Parāsāra Mādhaviyam*.

This Mādhavācārya has generally been considered to have assumed the yellow robes and is identified with Vidyāraṇya of the Śringeri maṭha. But it is highly doubtful if such an identification can be supported by strong and reliable evidence. Mādhavācārya continued to be a *grahasta* throughout his life and was closely connected with the early phases of the history of the Vijayanagar as minister and *Kulaguru* of its kings Bukka I and Harihara II.

Sāyanācārya.

Sāyanācārya the younger brother of Mādhavācārya,^{45a} was an equally eminent scholar-statesman. As he himself says in his *Alankāra sudhānidhī*, he was the minister of Kampa I and his son Sangama II, and later served in the court of Bukka I and saw the enthronement of Harihara II. On account of the young age of

44. *Ind. Ant.*, 1916, p. 2.

45. *ananta bhoga samsaktodvija pungava savitah!*
sacivassarvatokanam trata jayati Madhavaḥ!

45a. An inscription in Sanskrit in the Arulāla Perumāl Temple at Kānāipuram mentions that he was the son of Māyana and Śrīmāyī, his elder brother was Mādhava, his younger brother Bhoganāha and his preceptor Srikanthanatha. (50 of 1873).

Sangama II, Sāyaṇa acted as his regent for some time,⁴⁶ and during that period he gave his royal pupil the liberal education necessary for princes. He is described as a veritable incarnation of Vyasa and engaged in giving instruction to Sangama. He also took part in that period in a campaign against Campa. He was a house-holder and had three sons named Kampāṇa, Māyaṇa and Śiṅgaṇa.⁴⁷ Sāyaṇācārya was a great scholar and a prolific writer. A few of his works may be noted here. He compiled the *Subhaṣita sudhānidhi*, a literary anthology during the time of Kampa I as is stated in the colophon of the work itself.⁴⁸ In it are arranged choice quotations from Kāvya and Sāstras under the four *puruṣārtha* headings. He wrote the *Dhātuvṛtti*, a work on Sanskrit verbs and their conjugational forms, the *Prāyaścittasudhānidhi* also known as *Karmavipāka*, a work describing penances for different types of sins one may commit knowingly or unknowingly the *Yajñatantrasudhānidhi*, a treatise on sacrifices and the *Alankārasudhānidhi*, explaining figures of speech and concepts of rhetoric like *rasa*, *guṇa*, *Dhvanī*, *alankāra* all written during the time of Sangama II.⁴⁹ During the time of Bukka he wrote his commentaries on the Vedas and the *Puruṣārthasudhānidhi* consisting of Puranic teachings on the *Puruṣārthas*.⁵⁰ It appears that he completed his *Yajñatantrasudhānidhi* only during the time of Harihara II, for, though he refers to Sangama at the beginning of his work, in the colophon, at its end he says that he wrote it in the reign of Harihara II.⁵¹ He was also author of the *Ayurveda Sudhānidhi* a text book on *Ayurveda*. Sayana wrote the following commentaries on the Vedas: *Taittirīyāranyaka bhāṣya*,⁵² *Sukla Yajurveda samhitā bhāṣya*,⁵³ *Vamśabrahmana bhāṣya*,⁵⁴ *Taittirīyasaṃhitā bhāṣya*,⁵⁵ *Sāma veda samhitā bhāṣya*,⁵⁶ *Atharvaveda samhitā bhāṣya*⁵⁷ and the *R̥g Veda bhāṣya*.⁵⁸

46. *Ind. Ant.*, 1916, p. 23.

47. See *ibid.*, p. 23; A Cp. grant of Harihara II of A.D. 1377 mentions a grant made to Sāyaṇa and Śiṅgaṇa. (*M.A.R.*, 1915, para 89).

48. *Ind. Ant.*, 1916, p. 2.
1894, No. 2.

49 & 50. *Ibid.*

51. *Des. Cat. of Sans. Mss. in the Lib. of the Cal. Sans. Col.*
1894

52. Anandasrama Series (1891).

53. Benares Edn.

54. Calcutta, 1892.

55. Anandasrama Series

56. Calcutta, 1903.

57. Bombay, 1895.

58. Max Muller's Edn.

The composition of the Vedic commentaries is generally attributed to Mādhavācārya, for in the colophons of many of them the term *Mādhaviyam* occurs, or at least it is considered they were the joint productions of Mādhava and Sāyana. But the colophons of all these works state that they were the productions of Sāyana and were called *Mādhaviyam*. In the *Vamśābrāhmaṇa bhāṣya*, Sāyana says that he took up the *Brāhmaṇas* for interpretation after finishing the commentaries on the *Ṛg, Yajus and Sāma Veda Samhitāss*. Likewise in the introductory verses in the *Atharvaveda Samhitā bhāṣya* he says that he took up that work after writing a commentary on the other three Vedas. The *Ṛg Veda bhāṣya* contains some interesting details about its authorship. In the introductory verses of that book it is said that Bukka I asked Mādhavācārya to write a commentary on the *Ṛg Veda*; but the colophon at the end of each *anuvāka* specifically states that the work was written by Sāyaṇācārya. It is difficult to explain this apparent contradiction, but it becomes clear when the introductory verses and colophons of this work are compared with those of the *Puruṣārtha sudhānidhi* and *Yajurveda bhāṣya*. In the introductory verses of these two works it is said that king Bukka asked Mādhavācārya to compose the treatises, but he told the king that his brother Sāyaṇa was proficient in those subjects, and consequently Bukka asked Sāyaṇa to compose the works.⁵⁹ Thus Sāyaṇa was the author of the works and he wrote them at the command of Bukka who was induced by Mādhava to ask Sāyaṇa to write them. In the case of the *Ṛg Veda bhāṣya* also Sāyaṇa must have been asked by Bukka to write the commentary at the suggestion of Mādhava. It is apparent that the suggestion of Mādhava that the work may be entrusted to Sāyaṇa has been omitted by mistake by either the copyists or editors of the work.⁶⁰ That the term *Mādhaviyam*

59. See the *Dhatuvṛtti* edited by the Mysore Govt. Or. Lib., where the quotation is given; see also *Taittiriyasamhita bhāṣya*, introductory verses.

60. Shankar Pandurang Pandit who with the help of Narasimhaiyengar to Mysore came into the possession of a commentary of the Atharva Veda by Sāyana thinks that Sāyana and Mādhava were one and the same person. He says: "From the introductory verses, when taken with the opening of the commentary on the *Ṛg Veda* it would appear that Sāyana and Mādhava are one and the same person. For according to the present commentary, Harihara commanded Sāyaṇācārya to compose and this Sāyaṇācārya that composes the commentary and the author farther on says that he proceeds therefore to write his commentary, having already written his commentaries on the other three Vedas. In Sāyana's commentary on the *Rig Veda* it is Bukka who commands Mādhavācārya to explain the *Rg Veda*, and it is that Mādhavācārya who composes the commentary. The question therefore

at the end of a work does not necessarily mean that it was a work by Mādhava becomes evident from the following. In the colophons at the end of a few works of Mādhava himself it is stated that the *Madhaviyam* was written by Mādhava. In the colophons at the end of *Parāśaramādhaviyam* for instance it is said: *Iti Śrī.....Mādhavāmatyasya kṛtāyām Parāśara Smṛti vyākhyāyām Mādhaviyāyām prathamā adhyāyah*. In the first part of the *Dhātuvṛtti* Sāyaṇa says that he wrote it under the name of *Mādhaviya* and refers to it again in the second part of his work.⁶¹ This statement gives the lie direct to the view that Mādhava is meant as the author by the term *Mādhaviyam*. Further the *Dhātuvṛtti* was written by Sāyaṇa when he was in the court of Sangama II while Mādhavācārya was in the court of Bukka I. It is difficult to imagine how the two could have collaborated in the production of that work.

A few scholars have suggested that these works were written not by Sāyaṇa alone but by a school of authors founded by Mādhava and Sāyaṇa and in which the authors subordinated their own identity for the sake of knowledge. Macdonell says: "Sāyaṇa's comments on the two *samhitās* would appear to have been only partially composed by himself and to have been completed by his pupils,"⁶² Aufrecht also remarks: "There can be very little doubt, and a thorough examination of all parts enables us to prove, that Sāyaṇa's comments on the *Rg Veda* and *Taittiriya samhitā* were only partially done by himself and carried on by his school. The interpretation of the *Taittiriyaabrahmaa*, *Taittirnyāranyaka*, *Aitareyāranyaka* shows a want of discretion which can only be explained on the supposition that their authorship belongs to a different author⁶³." It is possible that there is some truth in

whether Mādhava and Sāyaṇa were one and the same person, or as has been supposed by some, different individuals, may be said to be set at rest by the commentary now found." (*Ind. Ant.*, IX, p. 200). But as said above it was not Mādhava that wrote the commentary on the *Rg Veda* but only Sāyaṇa. S. P. Pandit's identification of Mādhava with Sāyaṇa is due to wrong interpretation of the term *Madhavayam* used in the colophons of the commentaries. Further that Mādhava was different from Sāyaṇa and that he was his elder brother is shown by Sāyaṇa's own references to him. That the commentary on the *Rg Veda* was written by Sāyaṇa and not by Mādhava is clearly shown in the words of Sāyaṇa himself, who says in his *Vasabrahmana bhasya* that he had commented upon the *Rg Veda*.

61. Mys. Or. Lib. Edn. of *Dhātuvṛtti*, p. 32, referred to in *I.H.Q.*, VI, pp. 707-708.

62. *Hist. of Sans. Lit.*, p. 275.

63. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, p. 711.

this suggestion. Some inconsistencies and inaccuracies in Sayana's *Vedabhaṣya* are pointed out by some; and they could not have occurred if the work had been written by him alone⁶⁴.

The surmise of Macdonell and Aufrecht is strengthened by a few inscriptions which mention a few persons honoured by the king for their services to the cause of learning through promotion of the commentaries on the Vedas. The *inām* office copper plate grant of Harihara II (A. D. 1386) records the grant of lands made to three persons who were promoters of the commentaries on the Vedas in lieu of money grants already made to them. Even to this day there are said to be three families that receive special honours from the Śringeri matha. The donees in the *inam* office grant were perhaps the progenitors of these three families.⁶⁵ The date of the record is, however, not above suspicion, since it refers to Vidyāranya as living after the date on which he appears to have died. The Bacahalli plates of Harihara II (A. D. 1377) also mention two scholars who were promoters of the commentaries on the Vedas.⁶⁶ Since scholars are said to have been promoters of the commentaries when Sāyana wrote them at the bidding of Bukka, and since the scholars were honoured by Harihara, it is possible that Sāyana was assisted by a band of scholars in his work, though there is no direct evidence to show that the different portions of the *Vedabhāṣya* were written by different scholars under his general editorship.

According to Aufrecht Sāyana died in A. D. 1377.

Bhoganāthan :

Mādhavācārya had another brother Bhoganātha by name. however not much is known about him. In the Bitragunta grant of Sangama II, of which he was the author, he styles himself the *narmasaciva* or boon companion of Sangama. His *guru* was Śrikantha. From the *Alankāra sudhānidhi* of Sāyana we learn that Bhoganātha was the author of the following works: *Rāmollāsa*

64. Rama Rao explains away this point by saying that Sayana depended on the traditional interpretation of the Vedas and the *Brahmanas* such as that of Yaska to whom reference is frequently made in the course of the works, and also the explanations offered to him by scholars who were his contemporaries. (*I.H.Q.*, VI, p. 708). But it may be asked why, if the work had been by Sayana alone, he did not correct the traditional interpretations which were incorrect and inconsistent.

65. See *M.A.R.*, 1907-08, para 54.

66. *Ibid.*, 1915, paras 88-89.

Tripuravijaya, *Udāharaṇamālā*, *Mahāgaṇapatistava*, *Srigāramañjarī* and *Gaurināthaśataka*. The first two works appear to be *kavyās* based on the *Rāmāyana* and the *Purāṇas*. *Sāyaṇa* had very great regard for his brother Bhoganātha and his works and in one place he says, 'examples of the rules have to be sought for in Bhoganatha's works.'⁶⁷

Caṇḍa Mādhava :

Contemporaneous with the Mādhava brothers was another Mādhava, who belonged to the Āṅgīrasa gotra and was the son of Caṇḍapa. He was a follower of the Pāśupata or Kālāmukha school of Śaivism and had for his *guru* Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita. This Mādhava was the minister of Mārappa, the brother of Harihara, and was in charge of the Banavase country. He 'cleared and made plain the ruined path of the *Upaniṣads*,' which was overgrown and dangerous from the serpents the proud advocates of evil doctrines' and was hence called the *guru* 'who established the path of the *Upaniṣads*.' He was the author of the work *Tātparya Dīpikā*, a commentary on the *Sūtasamhitā*⁶⁸ and the *Śaivāmnayasāra*.

Gangādēvi :

Among the eminent women writers of the time the first place has to be given to Gangadevi, the wife of Kampana (the son of Bukka), who conquered a large part of the Tamil country for the Vijayanagar Empire. In her work the *Madurāvijayam* she describes the conquest of Madurai by her husband. She has adopted the *mahākāvya* style for her work. It contains lengthy descriptions of the seasons, of the twilight and other aspects of nature. "the authoress writes in *Vaidarbhi* style and her thoughts flow with ease and simplicity. Her diction is beautiful and charming and her similes are grand and drawn from nature. She has none of the 'pedantry of grammar and rhetoric which so largely spoils the productions of latter day poets'. She has largely followed *Kālidāsa*, but has transformed his scenes and descriptions "at the mint of her imagination and invested them with new significance."⁶⁹

67. *Ind. Ant.*, 1916, p. 24.

68. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 51-2

68a. See *Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Commemoration Volume* pp. 295 St for an article on 'Sanskrit Literature under Vijayanagara by Srikanta Sastri.

69. *Madhuravijayam. Intro.*, pp. iv-v.

Other Scholars of the Fourteenth Century :

Among the other scholars of the early period of the history of Vijayanagar the following may be mentioned. Reference has been made to Aksobhya Tirtha, who is said to have written a work called *Mādhava Tattvasāra Sangraha*. His disciple was Jayatirtha Tikācārya who is credited with the authorship of twenty three works, among which were the *Tatva-prakasikā sudha*, *Nyāyavivarana*, *Prameya Dipikā*, *Nyāya Dipikā*, *Pramāna Paddhati*, *Vādāvali Adhyātmāmṛta-tarangini*, *Satāparādha stotra Padyamāta* etc. Narahari-tirtha a Dvaita philosopher of great repute is said to have written commentaries on the *Yāmalaka-Bhārata* as also on the *Upaniṣad* and *Sūtra bhāṣyas* of Ānanda-tirtha. Another Dvaita scholar was Madhava-tirtha who is said to have written commentaries on the Ṛg^{69a} Yajur and Sāma Vedas.

The minister of Harihara II, Irugappa Daṇḍanātha, born in the family of Baicaya Daṇḍesa, was a Sanskrit scholar, and he wrote the *Nānārtharatnamālā*, a Lexicon (Kośa)^{69a}. Virūpākṣa also known as Udayagiri Virūpaṇṇa, a son of Harihara II, was a good scholar and a master of various arts. He was the author of the *Narayani-vilāsam*, a Sanskrit drama⁷⁰. Narana a disciple of Vidyāraṇya, has written the *Naisadha dīpikā* a commentary on the *Naisadha*⁷¹. Vallabharaya or Vallabhāmātya the governor of the fort of Vinikonda, and the son of Tippa, the keeper of the Ratnabhandara of Harihara III, was the author of the *Kriḍābirāmam* a Telugu translation of the *Premābhirāmam*, a vidhinataka of Rāvipāti Tripurāntaka. In the court of Bukka II flourished Lakṣmaṇa Paṇḍita, the author of the medical work *Vaidyarāja vallabha*.

Fifteenth century poets :

Cennubhaṭṭa, who was patronised by Ramacandra, son of Dēva Rāya I was the author of a *Tika* on Keśavamiśra's work. Vidyā Mādhava wrote a commentary on the *Kumārasambhava* and the *Kirātārjunīya*. Probably he was the same as the astronomer Vidyāmādhavśūni, the author of the *Muhūrta Darśana* or *Vidyā*

69a. See S. H., I, p. 156.

70. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 53.

71. *India Office Catalogue*, pt. VII, 3832.

Mādhaviya. His son Viṣṇu Śūri, a contemporary of Mallappa Oḍeya the son of Bukka I wrote the *Muhūrta Dīpikā*, a commentary on his father's work.⁷² A celebrated Vaiṣṇava scholar of the period was Maṇavāḷa Mahāmuni. He was a good scholar both in Sanskrit and Tamil. Among his philosophical work in Sanskrit prominent mention may be made of his commentaries on the *Tattvatraya*, *Rahasyatraya*, *Srīvacanabhūṣaṇa*, *Jñānasāra* and the *Prameyasāna*.

Dēva Rāya II, besides being himself a good scholar, was a patron of scholars in different languages. He appears to have been the author of the *Ratiratnadīpikā* and the *Brahmasūtravṛtti* a gloss on the *Brahmasūtras* of Bādarāyana, following the Advaita of Śankara.⁷³ Gōpa Tippa, the grandson of Harimā, a sister of Dēva Rāya II, also flourished in the same period. He was a great Sanskrit scholar, and the commentator of the *Kāvyaḷankāra kāmadhenu*.⁷⁴ He was also the author of *Tāla dīpikā* a work on music devoted to the determination of the different ways of keeping time besides a work on dancing.⁷⁵ During the period lived a number of other scholars. Among them was Uddaṇḍa who wrote the drama *Mallikāmaruta*, modelled on Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava*. Another was Ānanda pūrana, who besides being the author of the *Nyāya candrika* wrote commentaries on the *Khaṇḍana - khaṇḍa-khadya*, *Brahmasiddhi* and *Vivaraṇa*. Hārīta Venkaṭācārya (Tōḷappara) was a celebrated Vaiṣṇava scholar of the period who wrote the *Smṛtaratnākara*, a work on Dharmaśāstra.

Sāḷuva Narasimha was a good Sanskrit scholar. Generally he has been credited with the authorship of the *Rāmābhyudayam*. Śrīpāda was a poet of eminence who was the author of a Sanskrit work, the *Vāḡvaja*. The Diṇḍima family which has produced many literary celebrities came into prominence under Sāḷuva Narasimha. Rājanātha Diṇḍima, the author of the *Sāḷuvābhyudayam*, was his court poet. This historical poem is written in the *kāvya* style. Diṇḍima Sārvabhauma, his son, appears to have been the real author of the *Rāmābhyudayam*. The colophon at the end of the fifth canto of the work shows that the poem was

72. See 'Sanskrit Literature under Vijayanagara' by S. Srikanta Sastri in *Vijayanagar Sexcentenary Volume*, pp. 303-4.

73. *Vijayanagar Sexcentenary Vol.*, p. 377.

74. *M.E.R.*, 1923, para 77.

75. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 63; *T.C. of Mss. of the M.O M.L. I, 1, No. 770*, pp. 1015-16.

written by one Soṇārdrinātha, also called Diṇḍima Sārvabhauma, son of Abhirāmā and Rājanātha.⁷⁶ One Aruṇagirinātha was the author of the farce called *Somavallīyogānanda prahasana* and a commentary on Śankara's *Saundaryalahari*.⁷⁷ Dēvarāja produced a *nighaṇṭu vyākhyā* dealing with lexicography.

A Śrīnivāsa, also called Garuḍavāhana, was probably the author of the *Divyasūricaritam*, a hagiological *kāvya* in Sanskrit dealing with the lives of the Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas and Ālvārs.⁷⁸ Mention has been made earlier of a family of musician poets from Tāḷlapākkam⁷⁹. The earliest among them Annamācārya, lived during the fifteenth century and was the author of three works on music. A scholar called Kallarasa wrote the work *Janavaśya* or *Mallikārjuna Vijaya* or *Mādanatilka*. Gangādhara, the author of the *Gangādāsapratā pavilāsa* was patronised by Mallikārjuna.

There were a number of scholars in the court of the Reddis of Koṇḍaviḍu, Ana Vēma Redḍi of Koṇḍaviḍu who was called *Karpūra vasantarāja* was a patron of scholars. Likewise Kumāragiri and Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma were also patrons of scholars. In the latter's court were scholars like Śrīnātha and Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāna. Vāmana Bhaṭṭa was the author of the *Vipranārāyaṇa caritra* which he dedicated to Vēma Bhūpāla. He composed his *Bhava Sṅgāra Bhusana bhisana* in the Vijayanagar court it is said to have been enacted during the festival of God Virūpākṣa of the place. He was also the author of the *Naḷābhyudaya*, *Raghunātha Caritrakāvya*, *Vēmabhūpāla carita*, *pārvatī parinaya* (a drama in five acts) *Kanakalekhā kalyāṇa* (a drama in four acts) and *usāparinayam* (in four acts)^{79a}. Peda Kōmaṭi himself was the author of two works on music, the *Sangitacintamani* and the *Sahityacintāmaṇi*, as mentioned earlier and a work on Rhetoric on the lines of Mammata's *Kāvya prakasha*. Sarvajña Singama of the Recarla

76. S.K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 85.

77. *M.E.R.*, 1923, para 79; 1912, para 72. In an extract of this work published by T.A. Gopinatha Rao, Arunagirinatha calls himself the nephew through the sister (*bhāginēyah*) of Sabhāpati (*I.A.*, XLVIII, p. 134.)

78. 81 of 1936-7. Obviously it was he that is said to have repaired an *ārōgyaśālā* (hospital) in the temple of Ranganātha of Śrīrangam and installed the image of Dhanvantari Emperumānār in it (see *M.E.R.*, 1936-7, *Rep.*, para 49).

79. See *ante*, p.

79 a. See N. Somasekhara Sarma, *History of the Reddi Kingdom*, p. p. 470-71.

family, who has been mentioned earlier, was another distinguished scholar of the period. Among his works were *Nāṭaka paribhāṣā*, *Sangita sudhākara*, and *Rasārṇava idhākara*. Śivalinga a Redḍi prince wrote a commentary called the *Tattvaprakāśika* on Haradatta's *Giriśaśrutisūktimālā*.

Sixteenth century poets:

The reign of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya marks a glorious epoch in the literary history of South India, when there flourished in his court and kingdom scholars in Sanskrit, Telugu, Kannaḍa and Tamil. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, besides being a patron of scholars, was himself a gifted scholar not only in Telugu but also in Sanskrit. Before he began to write his masterpiece in Telugu, the *Āmuktamālyada*, he wrote Sanskrit works like *Madālasacaritra*, *Satyavadhu pariṇana*, *Sakalakathāsārasangraha*, *Śuktinaipuni jñānacintāmaṇi* and *Rasamañjarī*.⁸⁰ He was also the author of the Sanskrit drama, *Jāmbavatī-kalyāṇam*, which was enacted before the people assembled to witness the *Caitra* (spring) festival of Śrī Virūpākṣa, the tutelary deity of the Karnaṭaka Empire.

It was during this period that the great Dvaita philosopher Vyāsarāya lived. He was a renowned scholar, and as said in an earlier section was patronised by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya.

Sāluva Timma, the Prime Minister of the king was the author of a work known as the *Bāla Bhārata Vyākhyā* or *Manoramā* a commentary on Agastya's *Bāla Bhārata*.^{80a} In the colophon to the work he calls himself *Pradhāna sakalāgama pārvāra daṇḍanāyaka*. Gōpa, the nephew of Sāluva Timma, was the author of a work

80. Some verses from the *Rasamañjarī* and *Satyavadhūprīnana* are cited in the Sanskrit anthological work *Prapañcadarpaṇa*, in which, however the works mentioned above are attributed not to Kṛṣṇadevarāya, but to his poet laureate Alasani Peddana. The *Sakalakathāsārasangraha* a fragmentary manuscript copy of which is available in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library is said to have been written by the Emperor at the command of his guru Vyāsa Tirtha, the great Dvaita philosopher of the period. Kṛṣṇadevarāya says in his *Āmuktamālyada* that he culled out stories from the Śruti, Purāṇas, Upapurāṇas and Samhitās and composed the *Sakalakathāsārasangraha*. This work appears to have been adapted into Telugu by Ayyalarāzu Rāmabhadra. The Telugu *Pārijātāpaharanamu* is believed to have some connection with the *Satyavadhūprīnana* of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya (Jr. of Ori. Res. Vol. XIII, Pt. 194-96).

80a. This Agastya is identified with Vidyānātha, said to have been the author of seventy four *kāvya*s including the *Kṛṣṇa carita* and *Nalakīrti Kaumudi*. He seems to have been the teacher of Gangādevi.

called *Candrika*, a commentary on Kṛṣṇamiśra's famous drama *Prabodhacandrodaya*. He was also the author of the *Kṛṣṇārjuna-samvādamu*, a popular Telugu poem in the *dvipada* metre. Nādiṇḍla Appa, another nephew of Sāluva Timma, was a great patron of literature and to him was dedicated the Telugu work, *Rājaśekhara-caritramu*, by Mādayagāri Mallanna.⁸¹ He himself was the author of a commentary on the *Prabodha candrodaya nāṭaka*.

Lolla Lakṣmīdhara was another eminent scholar and a versatile genius of the times. He was the author of several works bearing on astronomy, astrology, *mantraśāstra*, the *śaḍdarśanas* and law. He was also the author of a part of the encyclopaedic work, the *Daivajñāvilāsa*.⁸² He wrote a commentary on Śankara's *Saundaryalaharī* in which he claims the authorship of the *Sarasvatī vilāsam*, an important work on law generally attributed to Pratāpa Rudra, the ruler of Orissa and a contemporary of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya. Lolla Lakṣmīdhara appears to have been originally in Pratāpa Rudra's court, and later moved to the court of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya after his conquest of Orissa, and marriage with Pratāpa Rudra's daughter. Dēśayāmātya his son, wrote a *pañcikā* on *Mahimnāstava*.

Among the other poets of the period mention may be made of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, Śūranna and Haribhaṭṭa. The first among them was the author of the *Saṅgīta sūryodaya*, a work on music dedicated to Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya. Śūranna (not to be confounded with Pingali Śūranna) wrote his two books, the *Udayanodaya* and the *Vanamālīvilāsa* (Telugu). But when the former of the two works was still in an unfinished stage he died. Hence his son finished the work and dedicated it to a subordinate of Rāmāyāmātya. Haribhaṭṭa was the author of *Ratirahasya* in Sanskrit and translated into Telugu cantos VI, XI and XII of the *Bhāgavata*. He also wrote the *Uttaranarasimhapurāṇa*, *Varāhapurāṇa* and *Matsyapurāṇa* (Telugu). One Īśvara Dīkṣita wrote two commentaries on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, a *laghu* and a *brhad vivarṇa* in 1517.

Acyuta Rāya appears to have been a good scholar like his brother Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya. He has been credited with the work called *Tāḷamahodadhi* which was commented on by Somanātha Kavi, a contemporary of his.

81. S. K. Aiyangar. *Sources*, p. 149.

82. *Ibid.*, pp. 151-2.

During his time Rājanātha Diṇḍima, the author of the *Acyutārāyābhyudayam*, was the court poet. He was in close association with the third Vijayanagar dynasty and hence was able to include in his work some details about the achievements of Narasa, the father of Acyuta. Rājanātha was also the author of the *Bhāgavata Campū*, a work that was dedicated to Acyuta. In the royal court also flourished the poetess Tirumalāmbā, who wrote the *Varadāmbikāpariṇayam*, which gives an account of Acyuta's life and closes with a description of the installation of Venkaṭādrī as *Yuvarāja*. She was an accomplished lady with good literary tastes, and her poem has a simple and chaste style.⁸³ One Vōdūru Tirumalammā composed a Sanskrit verse (A.D. 1533) to commemorate the gift of a *svaṇameru* by Acyuta Rāya, and the verse is inscribed in the Viṭṭhala temple at Hampi. A suggestion has been made that this woman may be identified with Tirumalāmbā the authoress of the *Varadāmbikāpariṇayam*.⁸⁴ A poetess by name Mōhanāngī is said to be authoress of the *Mārīcipariṇayam*, a love poem. It has been suggested that this poetess may be the same as Tirumalāmbā the wife of Rāma Rāja and the daughter of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya.⁸⁵ But one cannot be sure if Vōdūru Tirumalammā was the same as this Tirumalāmbā.⁸⁶ According to an inscription a Śrinivāsa-yajvan. (a poet of the times of *Acyutadēva Mahārāja*) was the author of the four works, namely the *Śivabhaktavilāsa*, dealing with the lives of the sixty-three Nāyaṇārs, a devotional poem called *Ekāmreśa-stava* and two others, referred to as *Bhogāvalī* and *Nāmāvalī* respectively. The inscription records that he was rewarded with land, house sites etc., by a *sabhā* which was summoned at the instance of Bhōgayadēva Mahārāja, an agent of the Emperor, for determining the literary excellence of the works.⁸⁷ An eminent poet Ekāmrānātha by name lived at the court of Ankuśa Rāya, a feudatory of Rāma III in the Śrīrangapaṭṭiṇam territory. He was the author of the *Jāmbavatī kalyāṇam* and the *Satya pariṇayam*, both in Sanskrit.⁸⁸ Cerukūri Lakṣmīdhara was another literary celebrity of the period; and he was the author of a number of works like the *Abhilaṣitārthadāyanī*, a commentary on Jayadeva's *Prasannarāghava*,

83. 9 of 1904; 708 of 1922, *M.E.R.*, 1923, para. 81; *M.A.R.*, 1920, para. 38.

84. *M.E.R.*, 1923, para. 81; S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 170 fn.

85. Viresalingam Pantulu, *Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 187.

86. See *M.E.R.*, 1923, para. 81.

87. 274 of 1955-56; *Rep.*, page 9.

88. See S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 227-30 and *Des. Cat. of the Books in the Or. Mss. Lib.*, Madras XX, Nos. 11535 and 11816.

and dedicated to Siddharāju Timmarāju, a commentary on *Anargha rāghava*, *Saḍbhāṣācandrikā*, a grammar on six Prākṛts, besides a few others. He has also written the *Śrutarañjanī*, a commentary on the *Gītagovinda*, a lyrical drama of Jayadeva. This work however is generally attributed to Tirumala.⁸⁹ During this period, in the Nāyak court of Ceñji there lived a Sanskrit scholar Rānakhēṭa Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita. He was patronised by Śūrappa Nāyaka. The Dīkṣita wrote a drama *Bhāvanāpuruṣottama* and dedicated it to his patron.⁹⁰

Tātācārya:

Among the literary celebrities that received patronage in the court of Venkaṭa II the most important was Tātācārya, variously known as Ēṭṭūr Kumāra Tirumala Tātācārya, Lakṣmīkumāra, and Kōṭi-kanyādānam Tātācārya. He seems to have been the *guru* of king Śrī Ranga.⁹¹ He was the manager of the Vaiṣṇava temples at Kāñcī, where he is said to have lived in kingly splendour. He made many grants to the Vaiṣṇava temples at Kāñcī and even dug a tank near the place which came to be known as *Tātasamudram* after him.⁹² He appears to have gilded the *Ānandanilaya vimāna* of Śrī Venkatēśvara at Tirumalai as also the *Kalyāṇakōṭi* and *Puṇyakōṭi vimānas* at Kāñcī.^{92a} Tātācārya was the author of a philosophical work known as *Sātvika Brahma Vidyā Vilāsa*. He also wrote a work called the *Pāṇḍurangamāhātmya* devoted to the Viṣṇu temple at Pandharpur in the present Maharashtra State. He had great influence over Venkaṭa II. According to the *Prapannāmṛtam*, Venkaṭa entrusted the whole kingdom to Tātācārya and himself led a life of retirement.⁹³ Whether this statement is true or not, his influence at the court of the Emperor was very great. This adversely affected the fortunes of the Jesuit Fathers at Venkaṭa's court for which they bore a grudge against him. Their malice against Tātācārya was exhibited in one

89. See S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 212-13; Hultzsch, *Rep. on Sans. Mss.*, IV, p. 130, No. 2112; *A.S.R.*, 1908-09, p. 196; 1909-10, p. 182.

90. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 272 fn.

91. 320 of 1952-53; *Rep.* para. 16.

92. 354 of 1919; 475 of 1919; 649 of 1919; Cp. 8, Ap. A. of *M.E.R.*, 1916-17 and *Cat. of C.P. Grants in the Mad. Govt. Mus.*, No. 54.

92a. See S. Subrahmanya Sastri *Tirumalai Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphical Report*, pp. 312-13.

93. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 251.

of the letters which Father Coutinho wrote. He says that Tātācārya was “unworthy of the post because of his vices”. He observes that the teacher was lacking in continence as he had many wives at home, and he was one of those “who swallow camels and shy at mosquitoes.”⁹⁴ But in fairness to Tātācārya it must be said that he was not a *sanyāsin*, as the Jesuit Father appears to have considered him, but only a householder who was allowed to marry and yet was not prevented from being a *guru*. Heras too accuses Tātācārya of incontinence and belittles his purity of character evidently on slender grounds. As said earlier, he was a staunch Vaiṣṇava and was largely responsible for the spread of Vaiṣṇavism during his time; but it seems his views on religion were narrow and evidently he could not tolerate opposition to them, and if tradition can be believed, he plotted the assassination of his contemporary, the great Advaita teacher Appayya Dīkṣita, who narrowly escaped falling a victim to the plot.

Appayya Dīkṣita (1520-93):

Appayya Dīkṣita was a grandson of Narasimha Dīkṣita or Ācārya Dīkṣita and a son of Rangarāja Dīkṣita of Aḍaiyapalam, a village in the present North Arcot district. Even at the age of twelve he had gained complete knowledge of the Vedas and many abstruse philosophical sciences. He was a great genius and his scholarship was not only very wide but also very deep. As a philosopher he was a follower of Śrīkaṇṭha. So he is even called *Śrīkaṇṭhamata pratiṣṭhāpanācārya* (establisher of Śrīkaṇṭha's school of philosophy).

He was a polyhistor and is credited with the authorship of 104 works. His *Śivārkamaṇidīpikā* his *magnum opus*, is a commentary on Śrīkaṇṭha's *Śaiva Bhāṣya*. In that work he says that “though the right interpretation of the *Brahmasūtra* is the monistic interpretation as attempted by Śankara and others, yet the desire for attaining this right wisdom of oneness, *advaita vāsana*, arises only by the grace of Śiva.”^{94a} The work shows that he had a thorough knowledge of *Mīmāṃsā*, *Vyākaraṇa*, *Nyāya* and *Alankāra*, practically the whole field of Sanskrit literature. In it he fights to the best of his ability against his own Advaitic leanings and conviction and tries to demo-

94. See Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, pp. 305-06.

94a. *Kim triśadveṣa gaḍhānalakalita hydām durmatinām duruktīh
Bhanktum yatno mamayām nahi bhavatu tāto Viṣṇuviveṣa
śankā.*

lish the Advaitic doctrine and establish *Śivādvaita*. But his *Parimala*, which is an illuminating work, is important for its powerful advocacy of *Advaita*. In his *Śivatattvaviveka* he attempts to make Śiva the lord of the Universe. Among his other works in which he exalts the supremacy of Śiva in the Trinity are the *Śivākarnāmṛta*, *Śikharinī mālā*, *Śiva Mahimā* and the *Śivāadvaitanirṇaya*. He handled with great ease the purāṇic teachings and the upaniṣadic thought and showed that they were not different. He is said to have written a number of works relating to the worship of Śiva, three of which, are the *Śivārcana Candrika*, *Śivapūjāvidhi*, and the *Śivādhyana Paddhati*. In his *Rāmāyaṇa tātparya sangraha* and the *Mahābhārata tātparya sangraha* he has attempted to establish that the Itihāsas have propounded Śiva as the Lord of the Universe.

Though he wrote such works to resuscitate the Śaiva Śāstra from attacks by the followers of other Hindu religious systems like the Vaiṣṇavas, he was really an Advaitin and saw no real difference between Śiva and Viṣṇu.⁹⁵ In his *Śivatattvaviveka* he tries to prove the unity of *Śiva* and *Viṣṇu*. Though the Dīkṣita tries to maintain the supremacy of Śiva in his *Śivārka maṇidīpikā*, his equal reference for Viṣṇu is seen in his work *Varadarājastava* in praise of Varadarāja of Kāñcī and the *Kṛṣṇadhyānapaddhati* in praise of Kṛṣṇa. His devotion to Kṛṣṇa is well borne out by his commentary on the *Vāḍavābhyudaya* of Vedānta Dēśika. To this class belongs a *Viṣṇu Tatva Rahasya* attributed to him. At the commencement of his work, the *Kuvalayānanda*, he invokes the blessings of Mukunda. He is said to have written also a commentary on the *Pādukāśahasra* of Vedānta Dēśika. He was also the author of the *Caturmata sāra* containing four sections each devoted to a system of philosophy, namely *Advaita*, *Viśiṣṭādvaita*, *Śivādvaita* and *Dvaita* respectively of the schools of Śankara, Rāmānuja, Śrīkaṇṭha and Madhva.⁹⁶ The *Nayamañjarī* deals with Advaita. The *Nayamayūkha Mālikā* deals with the philosophy of Rāmānuja, the *Nayamañi mālā* with that of Śrīkaṇṭha and the *Nyāya muktāvalī* with that of Madhva. In his *Ānandalahari* he attempted to make a synthesis of all the four bringing them on to a progressive line of thought culminating in *Advaita*^{96a}. His tolerance of different religious beliefs is shown by his own words *na sūtrānāmarthā ntaramaṣi bhavad Varyamucitam* (who can prevent different interpretations when the *Sutras* are

95. *Viṣṇurvā Śankaro vā śrutiśikhara virāmastu tātparya bhāmih Nāsmākam tatra vādaḥ prasaratī kimapi spaṣṭam advita bhijām.*

96. Hultsch, *Rep. on Sans. Mss.*, II, No. 1038 and 1510. See also *M.E.R.*, 1912, para 71.

96a. *Māramanarmuniā ranamam Phanadharatalpam Phanādhara-kalpam Muramathanam Puramathanam vande banari masamabanarem.*

capable of yielding different meanings?) Thus he was really a *sarvatantra svatantra*, which epithet he himself interprets in his commentary on the *Yādavābhyudayam* as meaning one who can according to his pleasure, prove or disprove any system of religion or philosophy.⁹⁷ His *Hariharā stuti* consisting of ten verses is in praise of Naṭarāja and Govindarāja, both in the Cidambaram temple. The verses suggest what may be called *Hari-hara ābedha*.^{97a}

Appayya Dīkṣita, though a *sarvatantra svatantra* and an Advaitin, was largely a follower of Śrīkaṇṭha's philosophy. According to an inscription of 1582-83 engraved in the Kālakaṇṭhēśvara temple at Aḍaiyapalaṁ constructed by him he raised the *Śrīkaṇṭhabhāṣya* from obscurity to establish the superiority of Śiva. The object of his writing the *Sivārkamaṇidīpikā* was to teach the *Śrīkaṇṭhabhāṣya* to five hundred pupils.⁹⁸

Bhaṭṭogi Dīkṣita the well-known *Vyākaraṇa* scholar of the seventeenth century is believed to have been a disciple of Appayya Dīkṣita and studied *Vedānta* and *Mīmāṃsā* under him. Though he wrote the *Siddhānta Kaumudī* before he came to the Dīkṣita he wrote the *Tatra Kansthāba* (a work denouncing the Madhva Goad) after he became his disciple.

As said earlier Appayya Dīkṣita was patronised by Venkaṭa II though the latter was a staunch Vaiṣṇava. The Dīkṣita wrote his *Kuvalayānanda* at the request of the Emperor.⁹⁹

This great scholar was a protege of Chinna Bommu Nāyaka of Vēlūr, who according to a verse in the *Yātraprabandha* of Samara-pungara Dīkṣita bathed him in gold (*kanakābhiṣeka*).¹⁰⁰ According to the inscription at the place of his birth he raised Cinna Bommu Nāyaka from his petty position to the status of a famous ruler and induced him to make grants of gold and *agrahāra* village to the 500 learned men who were to study under him at Aḍaiyapalaṁ.¹⁰¹ Appayya Dīkṣita frequented the court of the Nāyak of Tañjāvūr and was greatly honoured by him.¹⁰²

97. *Yādavābhyudayam*, II, p. XXVI.

97a. The *Harihara a bhedastuti* begins with the verse

98. 395 of 1911.

99. See S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 251.

100. *Ibid.*

101. 395 of 1911.

102. *M.A.R.*, 1917, paras 135-36; see for a descriptive account of the life of Appayya Dīkṣita *J.O.R.*, 1929-30, two articles by Y. Mahalinga Sastri; also *Perceptions of Advaita*, pp. 245-54; *Yādavābhyudayam*, Vol. II, pp. 1-32; *Appayya Dīkṣitendra vijayah* by K. V. Subrahmanya Sastri with a foreword by K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, also see *Appayya Dīkṣita* by N. Ramesan.

To the family of Appayya Dīkṣita belonged Nilakaṇṭha Dīkṣita who is reputed to have been a minister of Tirumalai Nāyaka of Madurai. He was a renowned scholar and wrote several works, among which mention may be made of the *Nilakaṇṭha Vijayacampū*, *Gangāvatarana*, *Naḷacaritranāṭaka* and the *Śivalilārṇava*. To the latter half of the sixteenth and the earlier part of the seventeenth centuries belonged two scholars. Ramakṛṣṇādhvarin and Dharmarājādhvarin. Four works, namely the *Nyāyāsikhāmani*, *Nyāyadarpana Vedāntasāra tika* and *Vedāntāsikhā mani* are attributed to Ramakṛṣṇādhvarin. Dharmarājā dhvarin's most important work was the *Vedāntāpari bhāsa* an epistemo logical manual of Advaita.

Vādirāja Tīrtha

Vādirāja Tīrtha of the Sodemaṭha who lived in the sixteenth century was an illustrious successor of Vyāsarāya. He was an eminent scholar and controversialist belonging to the *Dvaita* school of philosophy. He is credited with more than sixty works of which about twenty are important. Among them mention may be made of *Vivarṇavraṇam* *Pāṣaṇḍakhaṇḍanam*, *Śrutitāla prakāśaka*, *Cakra mīmāṃsā* and the *Nyāyaratnāvali*. The *Yuktimallikā*, a work elaborating the teachings of the *Brahmasūtras* as deduced by Madhva, is the most important of his works.¹⁰³ Vādirāja and his disciple Vedavedya Tīrtha were patronised by the Nāyaks of Ikkēri, Rāmarāja Nāyaka and Venkaṭappa Nāyaka. Veda Vedyā Tīrtha was the recipient of a grant from Venkaṭappa Nāyaka.^{103a}

In the Tamil country there flourished at the time many scholars and philosopher poets who wrote many highly interesting and valuable works. One of them was Vijayindra Tīrtha who lived in the Nāyak kingdom of Tanjāvūr. He commented on the works of Vyāsarāya besides being the author of the *upasamhāra-vijaya*, *Madhvatanttramukha bhūsana*, and *Paratattvaprakāśa*. Another was Sudhīndra Tīrtha of the Sumatīndra maṭha. He was a great scholar and travelled all over the country controverting the teachings of other religions. He is said to have conquered all his opponents at the court of Venkaṭa, and was honoured by the Emperor by the presentation of the conch and other emblems of victory. He lived at Kumbakonam on the banks of the Kāvēri and was honoured by Raghunātha of Tanjāvūr with *kanakābhiṣekam*. He is said to have written a number of

103. See *The Ponna Orientalist*, Vol. II No. 4, pp. 197-211 for an account of Vādirāja Tīrtha's life by B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma. For his date see *A.B.O.R.I.*, XVIII, ii, p. 194; *Contra* see *Intro.*, to third Volume of the Southern Recension of the *Mahābhāratha* by P. P. S. Sastri.

103a. See K. D. Swaminathan, *The Nayakas of Ikkeri*, pp. 214, 222.

works, among which the more important are *R̥g Prasthana*, *Bhedavidyāvilāsa*, *Mīmāṃsānyāyamālā vistara*, *Nyāyamauktikamālā*, *Nayamañjari*, *Āmōdā*, *Brahmasūtrārtha Samgraha* etc. Rāghavēndra Tīrtha who succeeded Sudhīndra Tīrtha in the apostolic line was also a great scholar. Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita, the son of Gōvinda Dīkṣita the minister of Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjāvūr had very great regard for the Madhva teacher. Rāghavēndra came out successful in a philosophical disputation about *Kākatāliya* with some great scholars and Yajñanārāyaṇa admired him greatly for this¹⁰⁴. Rāghavēndra is said to have written a commentary on the four Vedas and some forty-two works, among which may be mentioned the *Parimaḷa*, *Nyāyamuktāvaḷi*, *Bedabodhini*, *Bhaṭṭasangrahamīmāmsā Bhāva Sangraha*, *Tattra mañjari* etc.

Raghunātha Nāyaka of Thanjāvūr was a notable scholar both in *sāhitya* (literature) and *sangīta* (music) and was a good poet in Sanskrit and in vernacular (*bhāṣa* and Telugu). He wrote about 100 works¹⁰⁵. Among his works in Sanskrit were the *Sangita Sudhā*, probably written in collaboration with his minister Govinda Dīkṣita and *Bhārata Sudhā*.¹⁰⁶ Raghunātha was proficient in music¹⁰⁷. In his *Sangītasudhā* he says that he had invented new *ragas* like *Jayantasēna* and new *tāḷas* like *Rāmānanda*.¹⁰⁸

Raghunātha's minister Gōvinda Dīkṣita was also a great scholar. He was a good authority on the *Advaita Vedānta* and on the six *darśanas*¹⁰⁹ and therefore he was called *Advaita Vidyācārya*. He wrote a poem entitled *Sāhityasudhā*¹¹⁰. He is also said to have been the author of commentaries on the *Jaimini Sūtras* and *Kaumārila Darśana*^{110a}.

Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita has been credited with having commented upon many *Sulba Sūtras*. He was the author of the well-known *Sāhityaratnākara* dealing with the life, achievements and times of Raghunātha Nāyaka of Thanjāvūr¹¹¹. He also wrote the *Raghunāthavilāsa nāṭaka* and the *Alankāraratnākara*, both exhibiting his skill in dramatury and poetics. Veṅkaṭamakhi who was the well-known author of the *Caturdaṇḍiprakāśika* was a son of Gōvinda Dīkṣita and was patronised by Vijayarāghava Nāyaka. In that work he analyses

104. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 252-53.

105. *Ibid.*, p. 270.

106. See V. Vriddhagirison, *The Nayaks of Tanjore*, p. 108.

107. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

108. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 269.

109. *Ibid.*, p. 270.

110. *Ibid.*

110a. V. Vriddhagirisan, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

111. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 253 and 259.

the basis of the present day southern system of music and gives a classification of *rāgas* under primary and derivative heads. His erudition in the *Śāstras* is well borne out by his commentary on the *Tripiṭaka* of Kumārilasvāmi, called the *Vārttikābharaṇam* the *Karmāntara vārttika*, again another commentary on a portion of the *Bodhāyana Śrauta Sūtras* and the *Sulbamināmsā* a work on Vedic Trigonometry. Lingādhvari, another son of Gōvinda Dikṣita wrote two important works, the *Śivasahasranāmābhāṣya* and the *Vedārthatattvanirṇaya*.

Rāmabhadraṁbā, a talented authoress, who lived in the court of Raghunātha, wrote the *Raghunāthābhhyudaya*, another work dealing with the life and achievements of Raghunātha. She was able to write four kinds of poetry (*citra*, *bandha*, *garbha* and *asu*) in all the eight languages (Sanskrit, Telugu and six *prākṛts*). She is said to have been the empress among poets.¹¹² Madhuravāni was another poetess in the court of Raghunātha, who translated in to Sanskrit the *Rāmāyaṇa Sangraha* of her patron.

Hultsch mentions a Dikṣita who wrote the *Vedānta paribhāṣā* and a Dharmasūri who was the author of a dramatic work called *Narakadhvamsa-Vyāyoga*.¹¹³

Sundarēśvara Śāstri, usually known as Cokkanātha Makhi was a scholar of the seventeenth century. He was proficient in *Vyākaraṇa* and hence called *Śāhdika sārvaabhauma*. His works are *Śabda Kumudī*, *Bhāṣyaratnāvalī* and *Dhāturatnāvalī*.¹¹⁴ In the court of Nāyaks of Cenji, lived Ratnakheṭa Śrīnivāsa Dikṣita of Satyamangalam who composed, at the instance of Śūrappa Nāyaka a drama called the *Bhāvanā Puruṣōttama* besides a number of other works like the *Bhaiṣmī pariṇaya campū* dealing with the marriage of Varma with Rukmini. One of his sons was Rāja cūdāmaṇi Dikṣita, who became a pupil of Venkata makhi and was the author of the *Kamalinī Kalāhamsa*, *Ānanda Rāghava*, *Rukmiṇīkalyāṇā* and the *Śankarābhudaya*, the last one being a biography of Sri Śankarācārya, and the *Tantraśikhāmani*.

112. *Ibid.*, p. 291.

113. V. R., *I.M.P.*, I, No. 347.

114. *J.O.R.*, 1930, pp. 260-66.

SECTION III

TELUGU

As said earlier the Vijayanagar period was one of Telugu renaissance. Telugu learning received an impetus; and great encouragement was given to Telugu literary celebrities; and with the fall of the Hindu kingdoms of the Deccan as a result of attacks and invasions, men of Telugu learning in the east coast of Telingana flooded the Vijayanagar court and were received with great cordiality.

Fourteenth and Fifteenth century poets :

Among the Telugu scholars of the period mention may first be made of Nācana Sōmanātha Kavi, a court poet of Bukka I. Probably dissatisfied with the translation of the *Harivamśam* by Errapraggaḍa, he wrote a poem called *Uttaraharivamśa* using the Sanskrit *Harivamśa* as the basis of his work. In his work he employs a flowery style. The work is full of the five graces and pregnant with sense. In every way his translation is better than that of Errapraggaḍa. Bukka granted him the village of Pencukaladinne which was renamed Bukkarāyapaṭṇam. The inscription which records the grant says that the poet was proficient in eight languages, and versed in the *āgamas* and the eighteen purānas ¹¹⁵. During the time of Deva Rāya I lived Jakkana, the author of the *Vikramārka Caritiam* dedicated to Siddara, a minister of the King.

From the middle of the fifteenth century Telugu influence in the Vijayanagar court was on the increase and Telugu poets received great encouragement. Srīnātha, who lived in the latter half of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth, was a poet of exceptional parts and had easy command over both Telugu and Sanskrit. He was the court poet and Vidyādhikāri of the Reddis of Koṇḍaviḍu and paid frequent visits to the Vijayanagar court. Even when he was only in his teens he composed the *Marutrāṭcaritam*, and the *Sālivāhanasaptasati* and when he grew of age he translated the *Naiṣadham* of Śrī Harṣa and gave it to the world as his *ma gnum opus*. This Telugu *Naiṣadham* of Srīnātha is considered to be a standard work for the Telugu scholar and finds an honourable place among the *pañcamahākāvyas* in Telugu literature. It is a work of eight cantos containing in all 1337 stanzas. According to the author himself, he paid due regard to delicate and choice expression and meaning, the far reaching idea, interest and emotion, figure of speech and aptness to the context, and carefully avoided all errors of inapt or wrong

115. E.C., X, Mb. 158, Gd., 46; M.E.R., 1907; para 53.

expressions.' " Full of sonorous and sweet *samāsas*, the poem has the complicated symphony of an orchestra. Verses full of sibilant sweetness and labial liquidity abound. Descriptions of women are vivid, delicate and artistic. Lines linger in the memory like forgotten sic. The book deserves all the praise that has been bestowed on it".¹¹⁶ Śrīnātha wrote a large number of other works also among which may be mentioned the *Paṇḍitārādhyā carita*, *Bhīmakhaṇḍa*, *Kāśikhāṇḍam* and the *Vīdhināṭakam*. The former is a Śaiva work, the theme for which is taken from the *Skānda Purāṇa*. Though it is not a regular translation of the Sanskrit work it is a detailed Telugu account of the original. In the *Vīdhināṭakam* Śrīnātha describes women of various communities and incidentally throws a flood of light on the social customs of the age. He attempts in this work an account of the familiar scenes of every day life. The *Haravilāsam* of Śrīnātha is a Śaiva work in seven cantos dealing with Śiva and his doings. He was indebted to Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava*, Bhāravī's *Kirātārjunīya* and Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* for materials for his work. The book was dedicated to Tippaya Setṭi, a millionaire who had large trade relations with foreign countries. The *Sīvarātrimāhātmyam* for which materials were taken from the *Isānasamhitā* of the *Skānda Purāṇa* is yet another of his works. He has been credited with the authorship of the *Śṛṅgārādīpikā*, a work on poetics, though some scholars are inclined to think that it was not the work of Srinatha. The *Palnāṭvīracaritam* is also considered to be his work. In all his works Śrīnātha created a style for himself which was imitated by later writers. It is said that at the court of Dēva Rāya II he defeated the Gauḍa poet Diṇḍima Bhaṭṭa in a controversy, and hence the bell metal gong (*Kaṇcuḍhakka*) of the latter was broken and Śrīnātha was dubbed *Kavisārvabhauma* or *Kaviratna* (best among poets). Bommera Potana was a younger contemporary of Śrīnātha who translated the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Probably he was also the auother of the *Vīra bhadravijaya*.

Sāradā was a gifted poetess of the court of Dēva Rāya II. She wrote eighteen dramas and two prākṛt works.¹¹⁷ Another contemporary of Dēva Rāya II wns one Jakkanna, a Telugu poet who wrote the *Vikramārkaacaritam* and dedicated it to Siddhanamantri said to be a minister of the King.¹¹⁸ Pīna Vīrabhadra, a poet who flourished in the days of the Śāluvas was the author of the *Jaimini Bhārtamu* which he dedicated to Śāluva Narasimha. He

116. Chenchiah and Bhujanga Rao, *A History of Telugu Literature*, p. 61.

117. Śāluva Narasimha, *Rāmābhyudayam*; for this and a few other references I am indebted to the late M. Ramakrishna Kavi.

118. See S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*, pp. 63-4.

also composed *Srngara Śrkuntalam*, in which are blended the stories in the *Bhāratam* and the drama *Abhijnāna Sākuntalam* of Kālidāsa. Among other scholars of the period were Duggupalli Duggaya, author of *Naciketopākhyanam* Dubaguṇṭa Nārāyana, author of the *Pañcatantra*, Vennalakaṇṭi Sūranna, author of *Viṣṇu-purāna* and Gaurana author of the *Hariscandropākhyana*. Another outstanding poet of the period was Bammara Potana who was well versed in Sanskrit and Telugu. Potana was the author of at least four works, the *Virabhadra vijayam*, *Nārāyana Satakannu*, *Bhogini DaṇḍaKannu*, and *Mahabhāgavatanu*.

During the time of Narasā Nāyaka lived the two poets Nandi Mallayya and Ghaṇṭa and Singayya, who wrote in a narrative form the story of the Sanskrit drama *Prabodhacandrōdaya* of Kṛṣṇamiśra. Their joint work, the *Varaha Purāṇam* was dedicated to Narasā Nāyaka. They were also the joint authors of two other poems, the *Varalakṣmī Purāṇam* and the *Narasimha Purāṇam*, which also they dedicated to Narasā Nāyaka.

Sixteenth century Poets :

The reign of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya was the Augustan age of Telugu literature. The Emperor who was an accomplished man of letters was also known as *uru kavi vaibhavanivaha nidhāna*, "the cause for the highly prosperous condition of great poets."¹¹⁹ The period was marked by the production of a number of *Prabandhas* characterised by an ornate style.

Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya was himself the author of important Telugu works. Among them mention must first be made of the *Āmuktamālyadā* or the *Viṣṇucittiya*, a work written about 1518 and dedicated to God Venkatēśa of Tirupati. The Emperor while explaining why he chose the Telugu language for writing the poem says : "Telugu is the language of the poem for that is the country ; to them I am the king, and praised by all is that language. Among the languages of the land Telugu is the best". The work describes the story of Periyālvār or Visnucitta, the sixth Ālvār, who is said to have converted the Madurai king to the Śrī Vaiṣṇava faith. It also describes the marriage of his adopted daughter *Sūdikoḍutta nācciyār* to God Śrī Ranganātha of Śrīrangam.

The *Amuktamālyada* is one of the five maha *kāvyas* in the Telugu language, and is considered to be the most difficult of them. Though the language used in the work is conventional, yet the form of

119. M.E.R., Cp. 7 and 8 of 1914-15; Rep., 1915, para 48. A.S.R., 1908-09, p. 185.

expression is entirely original. The construction of the sentences appears to be involved. "His (Kṛṣṇadēva Rāyās) style wants perspicuity (to import a western ideal) but is highly admired in India as an example of *nārikela pākam* (cocoanut-like form of expression), and its outer form (shell) of words has to be broken to get the sweet pulp within." Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya shows himself essentially a poet of nature. "His description of the seasons, of the moon and the dawn, of the details of life such as of the leafy stuffs prepared and eaten with gingelly oil and coarse grains of boiled ariga (a cereal grain), of earthen showels in which the manure of goats was lit up to give heat to Redḍis in the rainy weather, the echoes, coming even at midnight from the roof of Viṣṇucitta respectfully beckoning his never-ending tide of guests to a poorly hospitality-(really rich)-which he prefaced with apologies like curry was not plentiful, the victuals were cold, no sweets could be procured and the dinner not rich as befitted such guests-his knowledge and experiences of polity, which only a great ruler and conqueror like him could depict give an originality to his thoughts and make him a nature poet *par excellence*".

The authorship of the *Āmuktamālyada* is attributed by a few scholars to Peddana.¹²⁰ But the differences in style between the *Mañucarita* of Peddana and the *Āmuktamālyada* show that the authors of the two works must have been different persons. The style of the former is simple, easy flowing and musical while that of the *Āmuktamālyada* is very involved, though it is not wanting in elegance. Peddana freely uses in his work Sanskrit and foreign words, while the *Āmuktamālyada* does not contain so many foreign words. Strict rules of grammar are not adhered to in the latter work, a feature unknown to Peddana's work. Further the verses in the *Āmuktamālyada* that describe the deeds and conquests of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya are borrowed from the work of his contemporary Peddana, and this literary plagiarism could not have been committed by any ordinary author. Since the author of the work under consideration was a prince and since Peddana was his favourite court poet, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya could have taken some privilege in that matter. The colophons in the *Āmuktamālyada* are in verse and not in prose as are those in the *Manucarita*. These considerations weigh much against the view that the work was written by Peddana.¹²¹

Aṣṭadiggajas :

Tradition affirms that in his court flourished the *aṣṭadiggajas*-the eight great poets. The poet laureates who are included in this

120. Wilson, *Mac., Mss.*, p. 281.

121. See for a discussion on the *Amuktamalyada*, *A Historical Sketch of Telugu Literature*, by T. Rajagopala Rao, pp. 82-84; also Hayavadana Rao, *Mys. Gaz.*, II, Pt. iii, pp. 1920-1922.

list are Allasāni Peddana, Nandi Timmanna, Ayyala Rāju, Rāma-bhadriah, Dhūrjaṭi, Mādayagāri, Mallanna, Tenāli Rāmakṛṣṇa, Pingali Sūranna, and Rāma Rāja Bhūṣaṇa, Though it is doubtful if the last two poets lived in Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's time, yet it appears certain that the rest flourished in his court and dedicated their works either to the Emperor himself or to one or other of his subordinates.

Allasāni Peddana :

Among the group of poets commonly known as the *aṣṭadiggajas*, the most important was Allasāni Peddana. Born in the village of Doranala in the Dupad taluk in the Bellary district, he slowly rose to the position of the Poet-laureate in the court of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya. His eminence as a poet and his influence in the royal court of Vijayanagar "made him an autocrat in the world of letters". His most important work is the *Svārṇaciṣa Manucarita*, being an episode from the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna* and written in six *āśvāsas*. The work is an ideal *prabandham* containing the required eighteen kinds of descriptions such as of a city, the sea, the mountains, the seasons, the sunrise, the rise of the moon, a pleasure garden, a pleasant tank, recreations, a marriage, the birth of a child, a journey, war, gambling, the separation of lovers and the like. Peddana got the material for his work from the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna*, but he has taken liberties with it, and diverged from the original and used his own imagination and creative genius in presenting a story which satisfies the reader. The author's indebtedness to earlier poets, like Śrīnātha, and contemporaries like Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya are discernible. The *Marucarita* illustrates what one may call 'eclecticism in composition', a very noticeable feature of latter day poetry.¹²² The work is full of imagery and wonderful descriptions of nature, and contains a number of Muslim and other foreign words. Peddana's work also abounds with long Sanskrit compounds. He was followed in this method of writing poetry by many poets and hence he came to be called *Andhrakavitāpitāmaha*, the creator of Telugu poetry. He was a great favourite of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, and tradition has it that wherever the Emperor saw him he took him on his elephant and showed great regard and respect for him. He was the recipient of grants of land from his royal patron.¹²³

Nandi Timmanna :

The next important poet was Timmanna. He wrote the *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* in Telugu and dedicated it to Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya. The work deals with the procuring of the divine *pārijātā* plant by Śrī Kṛṣṇā from the garden of Indra to please his consort,

122. See Chenchiah and Bhujanga Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

123. 623 of 1915 *Rep.*, 1916, para 66; 105 of 1921; *Rep.*, 1921 para. 50.

Satyabhāmā. According to tradition the work was written by the author to restore queen Cinnādēvi to king Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's favour, for according to the account, she had fallen from his favour as she had accidentally kicked him while he was asleep. The *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* is a model of good poetry. The style of the work is easy and smooth flowing, the diction is elegant and "the images and similes are bold and striking." Unlike others, the author avoids the profuse use of Sanskrit words in his work. Timmanna is generally known as Mukku Timmanna, perhaps on account of his long and bold nose, or on account of the excellent description, which according to tradition, he gives of a nose in a verse which Rāma Rāja Bhūṣaṇa is said to have incorporated in his *Vasucaritramu*.

Dhūrjaṭi :

Dhūrjaṭi was another eminent Telugu poet who flourished in Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's court. He was a staunch Śaiva. This is proved by his *Kālahastī Māhātmyam* and *Kālahastīśvara Śatakam*. These two works were written by the author in praise of the God at Kālahasti and dedicated to Śiva. The former is a Telugu poetical work of a very high order. Dhūrjaṭi took his material from the *Ṣaḍadhyāya* in Sanskrit but he greatly improved upon his material. The style of his work is elegant and chaste. His thoughts are levelled at a high pitch. But he does not adhere strictly to the rules of grammar and freely uses Tamil and Kannaḍa words in his work. His grandson was Kumara Dhūrjaṭi, the author of the *Kṛṣṇadēvarāya Vijaya*.¹²⁴

Pingali Sūranna :

Pingali Sūranna was another great poet of the age. He appears to have lived till the close of the sixteenth century and he was patronised by the Nandyāla chief Kṛṣṇa Rāja, who, we learn from an inscription of A. D. 1571 had a son Venkaṭādri Rāja.¹²⁵ He was one of the very few who used homely language, tuned to a melodious sweet musical diction. He was the author of *Kalāpūrṇodayamu* which deals with a story narrated by Brahmā to his wife Sarasvatī's parrot, every word of which was applicable to her. The work very much resembles the *Comedy of Errors*. The *Rāghava Pāṇḍaviyam* of the poet is a *dvayārtha kāvya*, and is the first of its kind in the extant Telugu literature. Some of his words have two meanings and the

124. During the first half of the sixteenth century flourished one Vallabha Amatyudu who was the author of the *Lilavati ganitamu*, a translation of the well-known Mathematical work, Bhaskaracarya's *Lilavati*. No complete manuscript of the book is available now. It appears that Vallabha Amatyudu translated the work at the behest of Bommalaṭa Kala who lived in the court of Kṛṣṇadevaraya and Acyuta Rāja. He was also known as Kavi Devendra.

125. 699 of 1917.

compounds, which he has used, when split, give two different senses one applicable to the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the other to that of the *Mahābhārata*. It is one of the five Telugu *mahākāvyas* and was dedicated to Ākuvīṭi Venkaṭādri. Pingali Sūrāṇa was also the author of *Prabhāvatī Pradhyumnam*, which he dedicated to his father Amarayya. It is a work in five cantos and deals with the marriage of Prabhāvatī with Pradyumna. It has a balanced style. The works of Sūranna abound in figures of speech, and the author attains perfection in his creative imagination. His characters are not types, but individuals. In their characterisation "Sūranna exhibits a living world with all its subtle shades of difference"¹²⁶ He appears to have lived to a ripe old age and to have been a contemporary of Tirumala I also.

Tenāli Rāmakṛṣṇa :

Tenāli Rāmakṛṣṇa was the son of Rāmayya. It appears he was first known as Rāmalinga, and afterwards, when he changed his faith to Vaiṣṇavism, came to be known as Rāmakṛṣṇa. He seems to have been a contemporary of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya and is said he was one of the *aṣṭadiggajas*. It is highly doubtful if he could have been a contemporary of Tātācārya and Appayya Dīksita who lived during the time of Śrī Ranga and Venkata II.^{126a} His earliest poem *Udbhaṭārādhyā Caritramu* was dedicated to Nādiṇḍla Gōpa, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's governor of Koṇḍaviḍu. This evidence is alone enough to fix the date and period of Tenāli Rāmakṛṣṇa. He is credited with the authorship of *Lingapurāṇamu*. The *Pāṇḍuranga Māhātmyamu*, another of his works, has great literary merit. It is said that it was dedicated to one Vinuri Vēdādri. Tenāli Rāmakṛṣṇa was also the author of a work called the *Ghaṭikācala Māhātmyamu*, a work of great interest. He is noted for the free flow of diction and the terse style of his works. There are many stories and traditions current about his vagaries. He appears to have been a successful jesting poet and cracked jokes with great impunity not only with a Tātācārya, who appears to have been a contemporary of his, but also with the emperor.¹²⁷ The stories that are widely current about him show that he was a very popular poet of the period.

Rāmabhadraiah :

In the latter half of the sixteenth century flourished such poets as Ayyalarāju Rāmabhadraiah and Rāma Rāja Bhūṣaṇa, Rāma-

126. T. Rajagopala Rao, *Hist. Sketch of Telugu Lit.*, p. 115.

126a. According to a horoscope of his he was born in AD. 1462 and Kavali Venkataramasvami accepts the date. But it is difficult to say how far this horoscope is genuine.

127. See 'Some discursive remarks on the Augustan Age of Telugu Literature', *Ind. Ant.*, XXVII, pp. 324-26.

bhadraiah flourished about 1570 and wrote the *Rāmābhyudayam* in Telugu. It is the story of the *Rāmāyaṇā* in the *prabandha* style which was adopted to produce effect. It is said that according to a competition he had with Rāma Rāja Bhūṣaṇa, the author of the *Vasucaritramu* he undertook to write within a period of six months a work which would be better than that of the latter. He did not even begin his work till the last day, but on the night of that day god Śrī Rāma wrote the work for Rāmabhadraiah. The work, though very popular, is not free from certain grammatical flaws. He also wrote the *Sakalakathāsāra sangraha*, which contains in an abridged form many purānic stories.

Rāma Rāja Bhūṣaṇa :

Bhaṭṭu Mūrti or Rāma Rāja Bhūṣaṇa (ornament of Rāma Rāja's court), as he was more familiarly known, was the court poet of Rāma Rāja. He was the author of *Vasucaritramu* dedicated to Tirumala. This work is considered to be a model *prabandham* for the Telugu language. It is full of rhyme and alliteration "and the stanzas are of enrapturing beauty, many of which bear more than one meaning". It is one of the five *mahākāvyas* in Telugu literature. The work is full of sublime thought and is very widely read; its erotic character betrays the taste of the times.¹²⁸ Rāma Rāja Bhūṣaṇa was also the author of the *Harīścandra Naṭōpākhyāna*, which narrates the story of Harīścandra and Naṭa in one compass. This is also a *dvayārthakāvya* like the *Rāghavapāṇḍaviya* of Pingali Sūranna, but the style and language of the work are a little difficult. Rāma Rāja Bhūṣaṇa appears to have written also a third work called *Narasa Bhūpāliyam*. This work deals with poetics and is an adaptation of the famous *Pratāparudriyam*, a Sanskrit work of a Vidyānātha Kavi. According to Rajagopala Rao, though "there is a dispute as to the authorship of the *Narasabhūpāliyam* internal evidence is conclusive in assigning it to Rāma Rāja Bhūṣaṇa."¹²⁹ The work is dedicated to Raganti Narasarāju, a nephew and son-in-law of Tirumaḷa.

Other poets of the period.

There were also many other poets who lived in the period. Among them was one Kōṇērunātha, the author of the *Bāla Bhāgavatamu*, a Telugu work dedicated to Cinna Timma Rāja, the younger brother of Viṭṭhala who led a campaign against the ruler of Travancore. Cinna Timma is described as the *Krtināyakunḍu*. The work deals with the story of the *Bhāgavata* in a simple and popular

128. See Wilson, *Mack. Coll.*, p. 295.

129. *A Hist. of Tel. Lit.*, p. 119.

style.¹³⁰ Siddharāju Timnarāju Bhūpāla, a nephew of Tirumala I, was the author of the *Paramayogivilāsamu*, a Telugu work dealing with the lives of the Āḷvārs.¹³¹

Vēmana was a popular poet-saint who lived probably in the sixteenth century. According to some scholars he belonged to the family of Anavēma Redḍi, a chief in the Candanūl country. The name he bore appears to have been his personal name, but he never disclosed his family name. Brown thinks that he was a *zangam*, the sect of śūdras who were seceders from the common religion, worshipped śiva alone and gave up their family appellation, but were called only by the name of the sect. Vēmana was a moralist who satirised the vices and follies of men, their blind traditional beliefs, and caste and women. To him "Character and virtue were more important than caste just as purity of heart is more important than worship." His poetry is said to convey profound thoughts in simple language and in the smallest compass." "His language is direct, fresh and exhilarating". He was socialistic in his views on private property and accumulation of wealth and argued that there should be no private property. From his verses it appears he was a cynic and had a dislike for the Brahmans. His verses, have been translated into many languages. He was essentially a poet of rural life.¹³²

Cintalapūḍi Ellaya was the author of *Rādhāmādhavavilāsa* and the *Viṣṇumāyāvilāsa*. Molla, a poetess of the sixteenth century wrote a Telugu *Rāmāyaṇa*. Rudraya was the author of the *Nirankuṣopākhyāna* while Manumanu Bhaṭṭa wrote the *Hayalakṣana Śāstra*, a work on horses. Matli Ananta of Siddhavaṭṭam and his grandson composed two works, namely the *Kākusthaviṇṇayam* and the *Kumudvatikalyāṇam*.

In the days of Kōdaṇḍarāma there lived the poet Venkayya who wrote the *Rāmarājīyam*, also known as *Narapativijayamu*. He traces the history of the Vijayanagar Empire under the Āraṇḍu line of kings. Though a late work, its historical accuracy has been confirmed not only by contemporary literature but also by the inscriptions of the different periods, about which it deals.

A Southern school of Telugu poetry developed in the Tamil country in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries under the patronage of the Nāyaks of Thaṇjāvūr and Madurai. During the period the *Prabandha* received much refinement and the *dēśi* type of composition received due recognition. A few types of works

130. S. K. Aiyangar. *Sources*, pp. 204-09.

131. *Ibid.*, pp. 211-12.

132. Brown, *Verses of Vemana*, intro., pp. i to iv; also *Half-way* (The Golden Book presented to Sri V. R. Narla on his Fifty-first Birthday, 1958.) pp. 10-16.

developed in the Thaṇjāvūr court namely *Yakṣagānas*, *Koravangis* and *Jakkinis*, written by the Nāyak rulers themselves or their poets. The subject matter of these works usually centred round three figures, wife, husband and lover. They resemble dramas, and contain certain main characteristics like dialogues, scenes etc. Largely intended for the masses, the *Yakṣagāna* in particular was composed in simple style and interspersed with song and comic scenes¹³³.

Raghunātha Nāyaka was the author of a number of Telugu works. The *Pārijātāpaharaṇam* dealing with the life of Kṛṣṇa was written by him at the direction of his father, who asked him to compose a poem dealing with his life since it is only by such compositions that one could become immortal. It is said that Raghunātha wrote the work within a short period of two *yāmas* (six hours) and that the scribes wrote it down with great difficulty as he dictated his poem very rapidly. The father was immensely pleased with the performance of his son and bathed him in gold and precious stones¹³⁴. The *Vālmīkicaritam* in prose and the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Rukmaṇīpariṇaya yakṣagānam* were his other works in Telugu. Cemakuri Venkaṭakavi who was patronised by Vijayarāghava Nāyaka wrote two poems the *Sārṅgadhara caritram* and the *Vijayavitasa*. Kṛṣṇādhvari wrote a *śleṣa kāvya* called the *Naiṣadha Pārijātiya*. Vijayarāghava Nāyaka himself was the author of a number of dramas like the *Kālīyamardhana*, *Pūtanāharana*, *Prahlādanāṭaka* and the *Rājagōpālavilāsa*. Rangarājammā, a queen of Vijayarāghava was a good poetess from whose pen emanated the *Mannārudāsavilāsa*, a *yakṣagāna* work. Mention must also be made of Kadiripati of the time of Śrī Ranga III who was the author of the *Sukasapatati*.

133. See N. Venkata Rao, *The Southern School in Telugu Literature* (Second Edn.) (1960) pp. i to xxxiv.

134. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources*. p. 270.

SECTION IV

KANNADA

In the Vijayanagar period, as in Sanskrit and Telugu so in Kannaḍa, a number of works were written dealing with different subjects. The authors were either Jain, Vīra Śaiva or Brahmanical in their religion and for their works they invariably drew materials from their respective religious literature. Some works dealing with secular subjects were also written during the period.

In the early Vijayanagar period one Gurudeva wrote a well known Sanskrit work called *Vīra Śaivācāra Pradīpikā*, as he himself says for one Siddhādēva. He was also the author of some *stotras*. Bhīma Kavi an Ārādhyā Brahman who was a poet both in Telugu and Kannaḍa translated into Kannaḍa the *Basava Purāṇa* a popular work on hagiology and based largely on Palkuriki Somanātha's Telugu work. It considers Basava as an incarnation of Nandi for the re-establishment of Vīra Śaiva faith on earth. A poet of the period was Bāhubali who composed a work on the life of the fifteenth Tīrthankara Dharmanātha. Vṛitta Vilāsa wrote the *Dhamaparikṣe*, a Kannaḍa version of the Sanskrit work of the same name as also another work called the *Sāstrasāra*, both the works dealing with religion. Harihara II who was a good scholar was called a *Karnāṭaka Vidyāvilāsa* (a cultivator of Karnāṭaka learning).^{134a} The poet Madhura, who was also called Madura Mādhava, lived during his period. He was a Jain and the author of the *Dharmanātha Purāṇa* which also deals with the life of the fifteenth Tīrthankara,¹³⁵ as also a short poem, the *Gommata-stuti*, on Gommatēśvara of Śravaṇa Belgola.

Fifteenth Century Poets :

The reign of Dēva Rāya II was a period of great literary activity, and during that time there flourished many Vīra Śaiva and Jaina scholars who produced a large volume of *vacana* literature. Mahalingadēva wrote the *Ekōttara Sātsṭhala* and *Prabhudevāsa satṭhala jūāna earitra Vacanadatike*. Lakṣmaṇa Daṇḍanātha wrote the *Śiva Tattvacintāmaṇi*, a highly philosophical work, which the author calls the *sūtra* of the *Vīra Śaiva Siddhānta Tantra*, the fundamental *sūtra* of all the Vedas and *Āgamas*. Jakkanārya was a Vīra Śaiva scholar who wrote a work called the *Nūṛondusthala* (Hundred and one topics). He was himself the patron of many

134a, E.C. VI, KP. 34.

135. *Karnataka Kavi Carite*, I. pp. 426-33.

scholars among whom were Kumārabankanātha and Mahalinga dēva mentioned above. One Āyata-varma, who appears to have belonged to this period, was the author of the *Ratnakaraṇḍaka*, a *campū* translated from Sanskrit which contains a good exposition of the Triratna of Jains. It deals with the beliefs and duties of the Jains under the heads of the three Jaina "Jewels" - right belief, right knowledge and right action. Kumāra Vyāsa also known as Nāraṇapa and Cāmarasa wrote the first ten *parvas* of the *Bhārata* in Kannaḍa, but according to a tradition preserved in some later works the former on account of his jealousy of the latter prevailed upon his wife and managed to destroy the work of Cāmarasa with her aid. But Cāmarasa wrote the *Prabhulingalīla*, having been inspired by Śiva himself. It deals with the life of Allama also known as Prabhudēva, who was an intellectual giant and a tower of strength to the Vira Śaiva movement. This work was admired by all scholars to such an extent that it is even said that king Dēva Rāya II honoured the poet and himself adopted the Vira Śaiva faith. The latter portion of the statement is not, however, borne out by other pieces of evidence. The *Prabhulingalīla* is a very popular Vira Śaiva work and has been translated both into Tamil and Telugu. The Kannaḍa version of the *Bhārata* of Kumāra Vyāsa is one of the very best works in the language (and they are not many) from the point of view of its diction. Perhaps with the exception of Pampa he is the greatest Kannaḍa poet. During the same period also flourished a number of other poets and scholars like Maggiya Maggideva the author of some *śatakas* which are capable of moving the heart of the tender. One of them was the *Śataka traya* which explains the *jñāna mārga*, *bhakti mārga* and *vairagya mārga* according to the Vira Śaiva faith. Candrakavi who has written a work describing the audience hall of the God Virūpākṣa of the temple at Hampi.¹³⁶

The period covered by the reigns of Mallikārjuna and Virūpākṣa was also marked by the literary productions by a few scholars. Most of them were Vira Śaiva writers. Among them were Bommarasa, Kallarasa and Toṇṭada Siddhēśvara or Siddalinga yati. Bommarasa was the author of the *Soundara Purāṇa*, dealing in Kannaḍa with the life of the Tamil Śaiva saint Sundara. Kallarasa was the author of *Janavaśya*, otherwise known as *Mallikārjunaviṇaya*. The poet says that the work amplified the teaching of Mallikārjuna to his queen as to the way by which women could subdue men (in love affairs). The work abounds in references to Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* and other works dealing with the same subject. Toṇṭada Siddhēśvara who appears to have lived about the time of Virūpākṣa III¹³⁷ was the author of the *Ṣaṣṭhalajñānasārānṛta*, a work in 700 *vacanas* dealing

136. *Karnataka Kavi Carite*, II, pp. 43-86.

137. *E.C.*, XII, Kn. 49.

with the *ṣaṭsthālā* according to trasaivai. He was a very popular Vira śaiva poet, the esteem in which he was held was so great that works like the *Virakta Toṇṭadāryaṇa Siddhēśvara Purāṇa* and Santīśa's *Toṇṭada Siddhēśvara Purāṇa* came to be written about him.¹³⁸ Nilakanta Sīvācārya wrote the *Ārādhyacaritra*, giving a biographical sketch of Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhyā.

Sixteenth century Poets :

Timmṇṇa Kavi, the son of Bhāskara Kavi was a scholar that flourished during that period. He wrote the latter half of the *Bhārata* in Kannaḍa at the instance of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya. He specifically mentions in the colophons of the work that he wrote it "to render permanent the great fame of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, the son of Narasa."¹³⁹

In the days of the Emperor there flourished Kannaḍa poets of renown. One Śāntikīrti was the author of the Jain work *Śāntināthacarita* written in the *sangatya* metre. About A.D. 1550 Doḍḍiah of Periyapaṭṇa near Mysore wrote a work on the life of Candraprabhā Jīna. Oḍuva Giriya and Bombeya Lakka, two Vira śaiva scholars of the period, have written the story of Hariścandra. The former was the author of a noted work dealing with the story of Sānanda Gaṇēśa. The greatness of the *Pañcākṣara mantra* is dealt with in that work. Virabhadrarāja, another scholar of the period, was the author of the *Virabhadra Vijaya*, dealing with the sacrifice of Dakṣa. Gurulinga Vibhu was the author of the *Bhikṣaṭana caritre*, dealing with the twenty-five sports of Śiva. One Mallanārya of Gubbi composed the *Bhāvacintāratna*, a work that expounds the greatness of *Pañcākṣari*, *Satyendra cōḷa kathe* dealing with the story of a cōḷa king to illustrate the efficacy of the same *pañcākṣara* and the *Viraśaivāmṛta Purāṇa*, a voluminous work containing more than 7,000 stanzas written in the *ṣaṭpadi* metre. Linga was the author of the *Cōḷarāja sāngatya*. Kumāra Vālmīki has given a Kannaḍa version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* on the lines of Kumāra Vyāsa's *Mahābhārata*. The *Malā-Basava-rāja carita* also known as the *Singirājapurāṇa* dealing with the eighty-four miracles of Basava was probably a work of this period. Books on medicine were also produced then. Of them mention may be made of the *Vaidyāmṛta* of Sṛidharadeva. The *Sūpaśāstra*, a work on cookery, is an interesting work of the times.

Among the poets who flourished in the latter half of the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries mention may be made of one Virūpākṣa Paṇḍita who wrote the *Cenna Basava Purāṇa* about 1584. The style of the work is simple. Cenna Basava is treated in the work as an incarnation of Śiva. This *Purāṇa* is as important on the Vira śaiva theology as *Sivajñānabōdham* is on *Saivasiddhānta* theology. Among the Jain poets of the period

138. *Karnataka Kavi Carite*, II, pp. 97-100.

139. *Ibid.*, II, p. 189.

mention must be made of one Ratnākara Varṇi, the author of the *Bharatēśa Vaibhava* of ten thousand stanzas dealing with the story of Bharata, son of Ādinātha, the first Jaina. It is considered to be one of the best works in Kannada literature useful for a study of contemporary political and social conditions. He was also the author of a number of other works, among which may be mentioned the *Trilōkasāra*, dealing with Jaina cosmogony, and the *Aparājitaśataka* devoted to an exposition of philosophy, morals and renunciation. Another Jaina scholar of the period was Nēmanna, whose *Jñāna-bhāskara-carite* extols the value of meditation and study in preference to performance of rites and austerities for emancipation. Bhaṭṭakalankadēva was a good grammarian and poet of the period. He was the author of the *Karṇāṭakaśabdānuśāsana*, a grammar on the Karṇāṭaka language. He was the court poet of both Śrī Ranga I and Venkaṭa II. He was sound both in Sanskrit and Kannada and his work is a standing monument of his depth of learning. Sadāśiva Yōgi and Murige Dēśikēndra were two others of the age, who were respectively the authors of the *Rāmanātha Vilāsa* and the *Rājēndra Vijaya*, both written in the *campū* style. A branch of Vaiṣṇava devotional literature in the *ragale* metre was developed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the Karṇāṭaka country. The *Dāsa Kūṭa* was responsible for this. The members of this group belonged to various castes. There were a number of scholars who contributed to the success of the Haridāsa movement through their *Sāhitya* works which follow the *Kīrtana* tradition by which the Kannada language is set to music. One such scholar was Śrīpādarāja (a contemporary of Sāluva Narasimha) who was the author of works like the *Bhramaragīta*, *gōpīgīta* and the *Vēṇugīta*. Vyāsa rāja's services to the Haridāsa movement was great. It was he who made Vādirāja, Purandaradāsa, a flourishing merchant and Kanakadāsa, a warrior to join the movement. Vādirāja's *Vaikuṇṭha varṇane* and *Lakṣmīśōbhane* are important works. The best known among the Dasas is Purandara dāsa, who is believed to have visited Vijayanagar during the days of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya. His songs were largely influenced by Purandara viṭṭhala. He emphasised through his *Kīrtanas* that to be born a human being is a great boon for it enables one to think of Hari. Next was Kanakā dāsa a Beda by caste. He was the author of four works, the *Mōhana Tarangini* (River of Delight) dealing with the story of Sambarāsuraavadha and Bāṇasuraavadha in which Pradyumna and Kṛṣṇa take part, the *Nalacarita*, *Haribhaktisara* and the *Rāmadhyānacaritra*. Since he was closely connected with the rural people he employed folk tunes to his compositions.^{139a}

139a. See for some details about the Dāsakūtas *E.I.*, XXXI, pp. 139 ff; also 'Historical Glimpses of Purandaradasa by P. B. Desai in the *Journal of the Karnataka University*, VIII, p. 225 ff.

SECTION V

TAMIL

After the conquest of the Tamil country by Kampana and its incorporation in the Vijayanagar Empire the atmosphere in the country literary activity became again conducive. During the period of the Vijayanagar rule in South India there flourished many scholars who enriched Tamil literature by their works. Many of the works are of a religious character which deal with the Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava or Jaina philosophy, and sing the praise of particular places of worship. But our present knowledge of the poets is too slender to help us to attempt a detailed account of their lives and works. However a few names deserve to be noted here.

A Vāmanacārya was the author of a Jaina work called the *Mērumandara purāṇam* dealing with the story relating to Mēru and Mandara who were the *gaṇadharas* of the thirteenth Tīrthankara, Vimala. He was probably the same as Mallisēna Vāmana who lived in Jīna Kāñcī in the fourteenth century. On account of his proficiency in Tamil and Sanskrit he was called *Ubhayabhāṣācakravartī*. He wrote commentaries on some Sanskrit works like the *pañcāstikaya*, *pravacanasara*, *Samayasāra* and *Syādvādamāñjarī*. He is also credited with the authorship of the *Samayadivākaram*, a commentary on the *Nīlakēśi*.¹⁴⁰ Another Jaina scholar of the fourteenth century was Avirodhanātha, author of the *Tirunūṛṇṭādi*.¹⁴¹

Towards the close of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century flourished Villiputtūrār the author of the Tamil *Bhāratam* in 4350 verses. It appears that he was patronised by a certain Varapati Ātkoṇḍān of the Kongar family. There were two brothers who were his contemporaries, and were known as Iraṭṭai pulavar (twin poets). One of them was lame and the other blind. They were the authors of the *Ēkāṃranāthan ulā* on the Śaiva shrine at Kāñcī besides two *Kalambakams*. Reference is made in the *ulā* to Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāyan the chieftain who ruled over the area about A.D. 1350. Two scholars, Svarūpānanda Dēśkiar and his pupil Tattuvarāyar, both authors of well-known anthologies bearing on the philosophy of Advaita deserve mention here. The former was the author of the *Śivaprakāśap-perundirai* consisting of 2,824

140. See A. Chakravartī, *Merumandara Puranam*, p. ii.

141. See *Kalaikkalanciyaṃ* (Tamil) Vol. I, p. 236.

verses while the latter was the author of the *Kuṇḍirattu*, a short anthology, besides a number of devotional songs and poems, such as the *Pāḍuturai*, *Īṇavinōḍakalambakam*, *Mohavadaipparaṇi* and *Aṇṇānavadipparari*. During the days of Prauḍadēva Rāya lived poet Aruṅgirinātha, who wrote the *Tiruppugal* comprising over 1360 songs on Muruga or Kārttikēya, besides a number of devotional poems. He is believed to have been living at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.¹⁴²

Among the scholars who contributed to the growth of Vaiṣṇava literature in Tamil in the early Vijayanagar period was Vēdānta Dēśika himself to whom reference has been made earlier. Among his Tamil works were the *Mumaṇik-kōvai*, *Navaratnāmalai*, *Artha-paṇcakam* and *Aḍaikkalappāṭṭu*. His son and pupil was Naiṇār Ācāriyar who wrote the *Piḷḷaiyandādi* in praise of his father, besides a number of works bearing on theology. Maṇavāla Mahāmuṇi, held in high esteem by the Tēngalai branch of the Vaiṣṇavas was the disciple of Tiruvāyamoli piḷḷai was the author of the *Rāmānuja-Nūṛrandādi* besides commentaries on a number of works.

In the early fifteenth century there lived in South India the well known Tamil poet Śiṛṛambatadi just four generations after the period of Umāpati Śivācārya, who lived about A.D. 1313. A younger contemporary of his was Paḷutaukaṭṭi Jñānaprakāśar. The Sāluva chief Tirumalayya dēva, the son of Sāluva Gōpa and brother of Sāluva Gōpa Tippa, was a great patron of Tamil literature. He has been praised by the poets like Kālamēghappulavar who wrote an *ulā* on Tiruvāṇaikkāval and the twin poets Mudusūryar and Iḷaṇjūryar generally known as the Irattaiyar.¹⁴³ Towards the close of the fifteenth century there flourished in Tiruppattūr a scholar called Tiruvambalamuḍaiyār also called Maṇaiṇānasambandar of the lineage of Meykaṇḍa. He was the author of the *Ōṅgukōyil-purāṇam* obviously in praise of Ōṅgukōyil uraivar or Tiruttali nāyaṇār in the temple at Tiruppathur.^{143a.}

Sixteenth century poets:

During the days of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya there flourished a good number of Tamil scholars in South India. Though it cannot be said that Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya was a scholar in Tamil it is certain that he

142. See T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, *A History of Tamil Literature*, c. 13th, 14th and 15th centuries, pp. 96-99.

143. *M.E.R.*, 1925, para 31; see also Purnalingam Pillai, *History of Tamil Lit.*, pp. 274-75.

143a. 180 of 1935-36; *Rep.*, para 86.

patronised the Tamil scholars many of whom have made reference to him in their works.

Tirumalainātha was a poet who spent a good part of his life at Cidambaram. He was the author of the *Cidambara purāṇam*, a translation of the Sanskrit work of the same name, and the *Madurai Cokkanātharulā*. His son was Parañjōtiyār who wrote the *Cidambarappāṭṭiyal*, a work on poetics. Among some other works of that kind the *Navanītapattiyal* of Navanītanāṭan. Śevvaic-cōḍuvar was another poet of the period who rendered into Tamil the *Bhāgavatapurāṇam*. Tattuvaprakāśa Svāmigaḷ who lived at Tiruvārūr was a good scholar of the period. He was in some way connected with the management of the temple at the place; when its affairs were not getting on well, he reported the matters to Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, who had the Śrī Bhaṭṭar of the temple removed from office and thereby restored order. He was the author of the *Tattuvaprakāśam* which expounds the Śaiva philosophy. Tāṇḍavarāya Svāmikal, a disciple of Nārāyaṇa or Nāraṇa Guru of Nannilam (Thanjavur District) was the author of *Kaivalya-navanitam* (*Butter of Kaivalya mōkṣa*). It consists of two parts, the *tattvaviḷakka paṭalam* and the *Sandeham teḷidal paṭalam*. He was an exponent of Advaita philosophy ^{143b}. Vaḍamalai Aṇṇagalayyan who was connected with the administration of the Tamil districts of the Empire and was well known for his devotion towards Viṣṇu and consequently bore the name of Haridāsar, was a good scholar of the time and was the author of the *Iruśamaya Vilakkam*, an exposition of both Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, but praising the superiority of Vaiṣṇavism. Jānanaprakāśa Dēśikar who lived at Kāñcī was another notable scholar of the period. He was the author of a *mañjariappā* in praise of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya as also of the *Kacci Kalambakam*, an important work describing the greatness of Kāñcī. Another contemporary of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya was one Maṇḍala Puruḍar who was a Jain and a pupil of Guṇabhadra the head of the Jaina maṭha at Tirunīrankoṇḍai, in the South Arcot district. He was the author of a Lexicon called *Nikaṇḍu Cūdamani*.¹⁴⁴ He also wrote the *Tiruppukaḷ* which is another name for the *Śrīpurāṇam* dealing with the lives of the sixty-three Saḷākapuruṣas ¹⁴³. He was probably the disciple of Jaina teacher Guṇabhadra-cārya who was a scholar

143b. See *Preceptors of Advaita* (1968), pp. 368-70, for more details about the scholar by T. P. Meenakshisundaram.

144. *Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 487-93; see also *M.E.R.*, 1939-40 to 42-43, pt. ii, para 97.

both in Tamil and in Sanskrit and called Virasanghapratisthācārya.¹⁴⁵ One cannot say if he was the same as one of the *tānattars* of the Rāmacandradēva temple at Paḍaivīdu in the North Arcot district.¹⁴⁶ Among the scholars patronised by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya was a Brahman Kumārasarasvati who had a good knowledge of Sanskrit, Telugu and Kannaḍa besides Tamil. In his Tamil work dealing with the activities of his patron he largely uses Kannaḍa and Telugu words. Vaḍamalayar, a Vidvān Paṇḍit of Ārṇuvanpādi was the recipient of a grant of lands from Viśvēśvara Śivācārya of the (Bikṣāmaṭha).¹⁴⁷ It has been suggested that he was the author of the *Maccapurāṇam* and the *Nīdūrttalapurāṇam*.¹⁴⁸ But it appears that the author of the two works was different from the Vijayanagar scholar since the *Maccapurāṇam* was written in K.A. 882 (A.D. 1707), more than one hundred and fifty years after the period of our poet. Vīrakavirāyar was another poet, who lived in the period and was the author of the *Ariccandirapurāṇam*, a work in twelve sections Varadan, generally known as Arulāladāsar, translated the *Bhagavatam* into Tamil which deals with the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu and the sports of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. Perumāḷ Kavirāyar was another notable poet of the period who lived at Tirukurugai. He wrote the *Kurukāmānmiyam* and the *Māraṅkiḷavimaṇimālai*, two works which extol the greatness of the God at Ālvār Tirunagari, *Māraṅagapporul*, *Tiruppatikōvai*, *Māraṅalankāram* and *Maṅaṅpāppāviṇam*, besides a few others. Contemporaneous with them was Kavirāśapaṇḍitar, a Brahman scholar who translated the *Saundaryalaharī* into Tamil. He was also the author of two Tamil works *Varākimālai* and *Ānandamālai*.

Another writer of the period was Śērai Kavirāja Piḷḷai, the author of works like the *Tirukkālattinādar Kattaḷaikkalittuṟai-malai*, *Tirukkālattinādar ulā*, *Tiruvaṇṇāmalaivarvaṇṇam*, *Śēyūr Murugaṇ ula* and *Rattinagiri ulā*. Varatungarāma pāṇḍya, a cousin of Ativīrarāma Paṇḍya wrote three *andādis* on the God at Karuvai (Karivaḷaṁ vandanallur), and the *Piramōttirakāṇḍam* and translated into Tamil the *kokkōham*, the wellknown work on erotics. Kurugai Perumāḷ Kavirāyar was the author of a work on rhetoric called the *Māraṅ-Alankāram* as also the *Tirukkurugāmāniam* and a *sthalapurāṇam* on Ālvār Tirunagari.

145. *Ibid.*, vol. XIII, pp. 487 ff; *M.E.R.*, 340 of 1939-40 and 75 of 1940-41; *Rep.*, 1939-40, 1942-43, para 97. See Venkatarajulu Reddiar's *Sripuraṇam* for a discussion of the authorship of the work (pp. ii-ivi).

146. See *M.E.R.*, 75 of 1940-41; *Rep.*, 1939-40-42-43, para 97.

147. *Abdhidhanacintamani*, p. 480; 365 of 1912.

148. *V.R.*, *I.M.P.*, I, No. 166.

Maṛaijnanasambandar of Cidambaram was a different person and a well known scholar who lived in the days of Acyuta Rāya and Sadāśiva. He was the author of a number of works on Śaiva philosophy among which mention may be made of the *Paṭiṣaṣupāśappanuval*, *Śankaṛpanirākaraṇam*, *Paramōpadēśam*, *Mundinilai*, *Śaivasamayāneri*, *Paramatatimirabānu*, and *Sakalāgamasāram*. All of them bear out his knowledge of the Āgamas, cosmology and theology. He also wrote the *Kamalālayapurāṇam*, *Aruṇagiripurāṇam* and the *Śivadarumōttaram*. Śivāgrayōgigaḷ who lived at Sūryanārkoyil in the Tañjāvūr district was a Brahman of the period and the author of *Śaiva Sannyāsa paddati*, *Śaiva paribhāṣai*, *Śiva Jñāna Siddhiyār uṛai*, *Śivaneri pirakāśam* besides many other of value. One Varadarāja Aiyangār produced during this period a Tamil version of the *Bhāgavatam*, Kamalai Jñanaprakāśa Paṇḍitar was a scholar who lived at Tiruvārūr. He was appointed the superintendent of the tempels at Śikkil, Vaḍakuḍi, Vōḍācēri and a few other places under the orders Kṛṣṇamarasayyan son of Aḷiya Rāmarāsayyan in A.D. 1561. He was the author of a number of works among which were *Anuṭṭāna Agaval*, *Śivapūśai Agaval*, *Śivānanda Bōdam*, *Jñānappuḷḷu*, *Attuvakkattalai*, *Anṇāmalaikōvai*, *Āyirappāḍal*, *Tirumaḷuvāḍipurāṇam*. He also wrote the *Putpavidhi*, a work that describes the flowers that could be used for worship, and the *Pūmālai*, a work that deals with the garlands that could be used for adorning God. Gurujñānasambandar was another notable celebrity of the period who was the author of some important works among which were *Śivabhōgasāram*, *Sokkanātha Venḇā*, *Muktiniccayam* and the *Paramānanda Viḷakkam*. Different from him was Māśilāmaṇi Sambandar whose purāṇa on the Uttarakōśamangai is very useful for a study of the life story of Māṇikkavāśagar. Contemporaneous with him was a Jñānaprakāśar of Tiruvorriyūr who was the author of works like *Tiruvorriyūrpurāṇam*, *Śankaṛpanirākaraṇa uṛai* and *Śivajñānasiddhiyār Parapakka uṛai*. Niramba Aḷagiya Dēśikar was another scholar of the time and was good both in Sanskrit and Tamil. He was the author of the *Setupurāṇam*, *Tiruppaṇṇangiripurāṇam*, *Tiruvaiyārupurāṇam*, *Śivajñānsiddhiyār uṛai* and the *Tiruvāruṭupayan uṛai*. The *Sētu-purāṇam* is of particular value for the lexicogaphist since it contains many rare words from different lexicons. Anadāri was a poet patronised by Tiruvirundan said to have been a minister of Vīrappa Nāyaka, son of Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka of Madurai. He was the author of a translation of the *Sundarapāṇḍyam*, a work in Sanskrit.

Ativīra Rāma Pāṇḍya who was a subordinate ruler under Vijayanagar was himself a good scholar both in Sanskrit and Tamil. Among his works mention may be made of *Naiḍadam*, *Kāśi kaṇḍam*,

Kūrmapurāṇam, *Lingapurāṇam*, and the *Verrivēṛkai*, or *Naṇumdogai*. A contemporary of his was Parañjōtiyar, the author of the *Tiruvilaiyāḍar purāṇam*. Ellappa Nāvalar was another important scholar of the period who was the author of the *Aruṇaiantāti Tiruvārūrkōvai*, *Aruṇācalapurāṇam*, *Tiruviriñjaipurāṇam* and the *Saundaryalahari urai*.

Seventeenth Century Poets :

Towards the close of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century flourished Rēvaṇasiddhar, a poet from Cidambaram. He was the author of *Akarāti Nikandu*, an important lexicon based on previous works as also the *Tiruppattiśvarapurāṇam*, *Tiruvalañjuḷipurāṇam*, and *Tirumēṛṇalipurāṇam*. Āpattaraṇar was another poet of the period and he was the author of the *Bhūkōḷa Sāstram*, a work in Geography. Vaidyanātha Dēśikar of Tiruvārūr was the author of the *Iḷakkanavilakkam* a work on Tamil grammar. The work is referred to as *Kuṭṭit-Tōlkāppiyam*. Another notable scholar of the period was Ambalavāṇa Dēśikar of Turaśai who wrote many works among which are the *Sittānta Śikāmani*, *Niṭṭai Viḷakkam*, *Sanmārga Sittiyār* and the *pyppiḷḷai aṭṭavanai*. The last one is a prose work dealing with Śaiva philosophy. Govinda Diksita mentioned earlier was a scholar in Tamil also, as may be seen from his translation of the Tiruvaīyār māhātmya into it. During the days of Lingama Nāyaka of Vellore lived a certain Turaiyūr Śivaprakāśasvāmi. It is said that he embraced Vira-śaivism to get in to the good books of the Nāyaka and induce him to restore worship in the Naṭarāja temple at Cidambaram which had suffered on account of Vaiṣṇava intolerance. He was the author of a number of works among which were the *Advaitaveṇbā* expounding the Śaiva philosophy and based on the Vātula āgamas, the *Gaṇabhāṣita-ratnamālai* and *Satakatrayam* dealing with the theology and philosophy of Vira-śaivism. His disciple was Nānak-kūttar, the author of *Vrddhācalapurāṇam*. Nānaśivācārya of the *matha* at Suryanār Kōyil in the Thaṇjāvūr District wrote a commentary on Śivajñānabodha a section of the *Ranravāgama*. A notable scholar of the period was Māḍai Tiruvenkaṭanāthar. He was an officer under Tirumalai Nāyaka of Madurai and lived in Kayattar. He was the author of a poem called the *Prabōdha candrō daya* based on the drama of the same name by Kṛṣṇa Miśra. The work is otherwise called *Meyjñānaviḷakkam* and is devoted to an exposition of the Advaita Vedānta. Another scholar of the period was Veḷḷiyambala Tambirān, a disciple of Kumaraguru parar and the author of the *Nānābharaṇa-viḷakkam*, a commentary on the *Śiva-Nāna-Sittiyar*. Mention may be made here of two *Tiruviḷai-yāḍaḷ purāṇams*, dealing with the sports of Lord Sundarēśvara at Madurai. One of them was the composition of Perumbaṇṇappuliyūr Nambi who

appears to have been later than the thirteenth century while the other was by Parañjoti of Vedāraṇyam. Kacciyaṇṇa Sivācārya was the author of the voluminous work, the *Kandapurāṇam*, based on a section of the Sanskrit *Skāndapurāṇa* and on the model of Kamban. His disciple was Andakakkovī Viraraghava Mudaliyār who wrote an *ulā* and a *purāṇa* on Tirukkaḷukkuṇṇam. He is also credited with a *vaṇṇam* on pararājasīṅgaṇ of Ceylon and an *ulā* on Mādai Tiruvēṇḡaḡaṇātha mentioned above. Many *Sthalapurāṇams* were written during the period. Among them may be mentioned Kaḷandai kumaraṇ's *Tiruvañṇiyapurāṇam* and Aghora Muṇivar's *purāṇas* on Kumbakonam, Vedāraṇyam and Tirukkāṇappār, and Bālasubrahmaṇya kavirāya's *Paḷaṇit-tala-purāṇam*. Aghora Muṇivar's pupil was the well-known grammarian, Vaidyaṇātha Dēśikaṛ. Like Varadarāja Aiyangar mentioned earlier, on Sevvaiccinḡuvar of Vembaḡḡūr in the Madurai district gave a version of the *Bhāḡavatam* in Tamil. Kumaraguru svāmigaḷ and Tiraimangalam Śiva prakāśar were two other scholars. The former is said to have been initiated by Māśilāmaṇi Dēśikaṛ, the fourth head of the Dharmapuram matha. He was the author of works like the *Kandar-Kaliveṇbā*, *Kayilaikkalam-bakam*, the *Maduraik-kalambakam* and the *Iraṭṭaimaṇimālai* respectively on the God and Goddess at Madurai, the *Tiruvārūr—nāṇmaṇi mālai*, a *piḷḷait-tamil*, on Muttukkumāraswāmī at Vaidiśvarankōyil, *Cidambaraceyyuṭkōvai*, a work on Tamil prosody, the *Nitineriviḷak-kam*, dealing with ethical conduct, and the *Sakalakalāvallimālai* in praise of Sarasvatī. He is said to have travelled widely in North India and stayed in Banaras for sometime. Sivaprakāśar was the author of the *Prabhulingalīlai*, a translation of the Kannada work of the same name, the *Siddhāntaśikhāmaṇi*, *Vedāntacintamaṇi*, a translation of the Kannada version of a part of Śankarācārya's *Vivekacūḡḡamaṇi*, the *Tarukkapaṛipāḡḡai*, a translation of the śanskṛit work *Tarkapaṛibhāṣā* and the *Nanneṛi*, besides devotional works on the deities at Tiruccendūr, Tiruvēṅgai and Tiruvaṇṇamalai and the *Esumada-nirākaraṇam*. The last work is not available now. Tamilākara Muṇivan was a writer who was probably interested in the Dharmaśāstras. So he wrote the Tamil works called *Prāyacitta samaccayam* and *Asaucadīpikai*. He was also the author of the other works the *Nitisāram* and *Nellaittirup-paṇimālai*. The *Rāmappayyaṇ Ammaṇṇai*, a work dealing with the wars of a general of Tirumalai Nāyaka is an interesting and useful historical ballad.

During the time of Venkatapati Rāya there lived a scholar Ānanda Namaśśivāya Paṇḡḡāram by name, who was the disciple of one Cidambara Guru Namaśśivāyamūṛti. The latter was the author of *Paramarahasyamālai*, *Cidambaraveṇbā*, *Aṇṇamalaiveṇbā*, etc. He was the *Siddha* who wrote the *Aruṇagiriyaṇḡḡadi*.¹⁴⁹

Tāyumāṇavar, the celebrated Tamil mystic poet and philosopher, lived during the time of Tirumala Nāyaka of Madurai. He was a Śaivasiddhāntin and wrote propounding the philosophy of his school. To him mystic experience was everything. "He recognises, again and again the true subtlety and heroism of surrender which is the caution of effort, the acceptance of bondage itself as the Divine will", for it is "the touch of the Divine that transmutes". "As a poet he is unrivalled for sweetness blended with simplicity". According to an inscription he died in A.D. 1662.¹⁵⁰ He is believed to have attained *samādhi* in Ramanathapuram.

Thus the Vijayanagar period was an age of great literary activity. Especially the reigns of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya and Venkaṭapati Rāya constituted the golden age of Telugu and Sanskrit literature. Many of the Nāyak rulers were also scholars and patrons of scholars. Vijayanagar under Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya and Venkaṭapati Rāya may very well be compared with Athens under Pericles. Vijayanagar has been sacked and ruined, but its power through its writers to delight the cultured is still left. The period was truly one of great literary movement and the contribution of Vijayanagar to literature and learning was considerable.

149. See 61 of 1887; *Abhidhānacintāmani*, p. 302; *North Arcot District Manual*, Vol. II, p. 288; V. R., *I.M.P.*, N.A. No. 614:

150. 7 of 1918; See Purnalingam Pillai, *Hist. of Tamil Lit.*, pp. 305-07; also "Tayumanavar" by M. Anantanarayanan in *Seminar on Saints* (ed.) by T. M. P. Mahadevan, pp. 110-116.

CHAPTER XIV

ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE AND PAINTING

SECTION I

INTRODUCTORY

The study of a society in its varied aspects will be incomplete without an assessment of its artistic achievements. Art and architecture are the visible records of man's intellectual evolution through centuries. They reveal the ideals and aspirations of ages and their cultural movements. These are well borne out by the progress of art and architecture in the • Vijayanagar Empire.

The architectural pattern of the period bears some marked characteristics, though some earlier features are not imperceptible in a few of its motifs and morphological details. True the History of Vijayanagar is characterised by frequent destructive wars with the adjoining Islamic states in the North ; but Vijayanagar art in some details was influenced even by contemporary Islamic art. The genius of the Vijayanagar artists lies in their adapting themselves to the conditions of the period and supplying the ritualistic needs of the worshipping public. They took some new motifs and used them in the scheme of temple architecture, without, however, allowing them to dominate the general pattern. "However, in its exuberant verve, and its preoccupation with graphic depiction rather than faultless finish or shape, the Vijayanagar school is distinctive, and it has its own decorative and iconographic peculiarities."

During the Vijayanāgar period temple architecture grew luxuriantly, developing some distinctive features. It attained an extravagance, suggestive of the final issue of the Renaissance in medieval Europe - the Baroque movement. The true nature and spirit of Vijayanagar art are reflected in the numerous new temples constructed and additions that were made to old ones during the period. The practice of constructing unitary temples each with a dominating *vimāna* gave place to the coming into existence of a temple complex with a number of shrines and *maṇṭapas*, necessitated by the multiplication and elaboration of religious rituals and ceremonial observances in the temples. The temple began to have from about this period within its enclosure a number of individual shrines for subsidiary deities, pavilions and pillared halls and annexes, each having a definite purpose. The most significant among the accessory buildings are the *Amman* shrine and the

Kalyāṇamaṇṭapa Usually situated to the north-west of the main building, the former is a subsidiary structure for the consort of the divinity consecrated in the cella of the central structure. The *Kalyāṇamaṇṭapa*, an exquisite ornate structure, is a pillared pavilion usually having a raised platform in the middle meant for ceremonial purposes. The wheel and the horse that are attached to the elevated structure giving it the appearance of a chariot constituted a conspicuous annexe of the entire scheme. Extants of an earlier period with resemblances of these important features may be found in a few places; still it is not too much to say that the Vijayanagar artists heralded a new era by perfecting, beautifying and enlarging the earlier innovations and assigning to them a prominent place, so much so, that the main part of the temple dwindles in importance in relation to the temple Complex as a whole.

The prominent pillars and piers which are numerous and of different varieties and compositions were no less a Vijayanagar product. A frequent and striking type of pillar design is that in which 'the shaft becomes merely a central core for the attachment of an involved group of statuary, often of heroic size and chiselled entirely in the round, having as its most conspicuous element a furiously rearing horse, rampant hippogryph, or upraised animal of a supernatural kind'. A second variety is the pattern of the monolithic pillar having a central column with mystical and slender miniature columnettes reminiscent of Gothic nook-shafts. The shaft is composed of miniature shrines and arranged in zones one above the other in less complicated pattern of column. Equally attractive is the category of shafts that are divided into many cubical motifs separated by bands chamfered into eight or sixteen sides. The intricate and elaborate treatment of these pillars does not at all minimise their structural character. Pillars of all varieties have ornamental brackets forming their capitals, below each of which is a pendant. The lust for richness of detail that animated the Vijayanagar age elaborated this pendant into a volute which terminates as an inverted lotus bud.' Another characteristic feature of the pillar complex relates to what is usually called (or miscalled) musical pillars. In this a number of slender pillars with a strong central pillar are carved out of a free standing granite stone and each of them when tapped produces a musical sound. With richly decorated underside the roll cornice with double flexure serves now as an exceedingly significant motif.

It may also be said that *nāgabandham*, so called because of its resemblance to the 'hood of a cobra', was a feature of Vijayanagar architecture, though in certain cases it is found also in later Cōla extants. The scroll ornamentation and the foliage that surround the *Kūḍu* developed to the highest watermark in this age only to disap-

pear soon. The *Kūḍu* of the Pallava period was characterised by restrained ornamentation and in it is seen a *gandharva* resembling a man looking through a window; and in the Cōḷa period its shewel top is replaced by a trefoil or a lion face (*Simha mukha*) and an arch over it without any figure sculptured in it. After the Vijayanagar period decoration of the *Kūḍus* gradually disappeared and in the temples of the modern age only empty *Kūḍus* are seen.

Similarly the niches which are generally sculptured in high relief in the walls of temples present varied appearance in the different periods of the art history of South India. While in the Pallava and Cōḷa periods there was great ornamentation made over the niche, in the Vijayanagar period, great prominence was given to the *śālai* which contains an elongated roof surmounted by *stūpis*. The upper part of the niche is plain and simple except perhaps for the *Kūḍu* which is sculptured in a few of the *śālais*.

Besides, one is immensely struck by certain other characteristic features of the art of Vijayanagar. One of them relates to the two feminine figures almost in the round on both sides of the entrance under the *gōpura* of the temple. The figure stands on a crouching *yāḷi* and with one leg flexed. The *yāḷi* has the body of a lion and the head of an elephant. From the mouth of the latter rises a thick plant and comes round the female figure. Sometimes involute circles are formed in them which at times contain the figures of the incarnations of Viṣṇu. The two *dvārapālaikas* apparently represent the two rivers, Gangā and Yamunā, and are symbolic and suggestive of the sacredness and purity of the temple. In most of the Viṣṇu temples of the Vijayanagar period is found carved the figure of Narasimha either as springing forth from a pillar and killing Hiranyakaśipu with or without young Prahlāda standing by in a reverential attitude, or he is represented with his consort Lakṣmī by his side or in a yogic pose. It appears certain that the worship of Narasimha attained very great popularity in the period. These figures are generally marked by realism and a dynamic vigour.

Vijayanagar art is unique also in its depiction of scenes from contemporary life particularly on the social side. One may certainly learn a lot about the entertainments that gave pleasure to the people like dance, *kōlātṭam* etc. As in the earlier history of South Indian art, animal figures are sculptured in panels and groups. Figures of elephants, horses, tigers, monkeys, bears, birds etc., are carved in large numbers in a life like manner. Likewise, Vijayanagar art is rich in decorative designs, floral patterns, and spiralling tendrils. The repetition of these decorative motifs, though conventional, adds a charm to the art of Vijayanagar.

Before taking up a few of the more important monuments for brief description it is necessary to add that though a general uniformity in architectural style is seen in them we discern some local variations also particularly in respect of the *vimāna* and the *gōpura*. The *vimāna* over the *garbhagraha* varied in size in shape. With regard to its shape there was the Kadamba-Nāgara type with stepped tiers and recesses in the north-western part of the Empire, more pronounced in the temples of the *trikūṭācala* scheme. Some times the recessed and tiered *vimāna* had a rounded and softened contour. Secondly there was the *vimāna* with the *sukanāsa* adjunct also in the areas outside the Tamil country. Such examples were very few in Tamil Nadu. Thirdly there were the ordinary *vimānas* without the *sukanāsa*, and they were very large in number. In constructing some shrines in the *nīrandhara* form the Vijayanagar artist evidently followed the later Cōla example of adding a *tirumāḷigai* in the inner *prākāra* around the *vimāna*.

Another marked characteristic of the Vijayanagar temples was the provision of huge gateways surmounted by *gōpuras*, most of which dwarfed the *vimāna* that rose over the sanctum. With regard to the *talas* in the *gōpura* there was some difference between those in the Karnāṭaka and Andhra regions and those in Tamil Nadu. In the Karnāṭaka area, though the gateway is large, the total height of the *gōpura* is not much. But in Tamil Nadu the *gōpura* is high, with seven, nine or even eleven *talas*, super-imposed by a *śikhara*, the sides of which have a *nāsika*, decorated with *mukhapatti*, *śaktidhvaja* and *simhaltaṭa*. In the Karnataka and Andhra areas one notices that the *śikhara* side faces inside in a curved way in varying degrees. But in Tamil Nadu it is not so.

SECTION II

HINDU MONUMENTS

Among the numerous sites in South India which contain Vijayanagar monuments probably none attracts us more than the present tiny fever-stricken village of Hampi, once the proud capital of the last great Hindu empire in South India. It now looks too Wild to have been the birth place and capital of a great and powerful empire. The village is seen dotted with little hills and rocks of granite and not a blade of grass may be seen there now. Huge boulders are found at the place in the most fantastic confusion which, however, had probably some indirect influence on the nature and style of many of the monuments. It may even be said that the association between the structures and the rocks beneath are so close that at times it is only with much difficulty one perceives where nature leaves off and art commences. It is on this unpromising site that rose the city "of wide spread fame, marvellous for its size and prosperity with which for richness and magnificence no western capital could compare" a city which even today is "virtually a vast (and impressive) open air museum of Hindu monuments."

For purposes of convenient treatment the Vijayanagar Hindu monuments may be classified under three broad heads : (1) Religious (2) Civil and (3) Military.

1-a. Religious Monuments.

Hampi Śrī Virūpākṣa Temple :

Among the temples at Hampi one of the earliest is the Pampāpati temple dedicated to Śrī Virūpākṣa, the Lord of the Nāgas (serpents). Portions of the temple appear to date their existence from a period prior to the foundation of Vijayanagar as is borne out by a few inscriptions.¹ but additions were made to it by the Vijayanagar kings. Harihara I is said to have built a temple here in honour of Vidyāraṇya who helped him in the foundation of the Empire². Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya built the *rangamaṇṭapa* in front of the main shrine in honour of his coronation.³ Equally old is the shrine of Bhuvanēśvarī, within the temple. The style of

1, See V.R., *I.M.P.*, I, Bl. 332 and 333; see also *M.A.R.*, 1920, p. 14; *A.S.R.*, for 1907-08 p. 236 *fn* 2; 1925-26, p. 140; *Q.J.M.S.*, XI, p. 21.

2. Sewell. *op. cit.*, p. 300; *A.S.R.*, 1907-08, p. 236, *fn* 2,

3. 29 of 1889; *E.I.*, I, pp. 363 and 370.

the building appears to belong to the twelfth century. The shrine has a beautifully executed Cālukyan doorway "flanked by the pierced stone windows characteristic of the style, and several Cālukyan pillars carved in black stone". The plan of the Pampāpati temple consists of two large courts, one to the east and the other to the west, and they are divided by a wall. A large *gōpura* on its eastern wall is the main entrance to the east court, while the west court is entered by a smaller *gōpura* on its northern side. It is in the west court that the principal shrine and many of the smaller ones are found. The *gōpura* of the temple is a good example of mediæval engineering art. Conceivied of as a single unit it has a convex shape; the top of the *gōpura* could be reached by a small flight of steps within one of its walls.^{3a}

Uddhāna Virabhadra Svāmi Temple :

This Temple which was consecrated in 1546 is a Vira Śaiva Temple. It contains a big Virabhadra image with Dakṣa standing by its side. A remarkable thing about the Temple is that in it is consecrated a Prismatic linga with three faces, each containing three diagrams of *cakras* called the Sarvāṅga Linga it might have been used to illustrate the *Satsthala siddhānta* of Vira Śaivism.^{3b}

Kṛṣṇasvāmi Temple :

The Kṛṣṇasvāmi temple was constructed by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya soon after his return from Udayagiri in 1513. He had brought an image of Kṛṣṇa from a temple in the hill fortress of Udayagiri, and in order to house that idol he built this temple.⁴ There is an evenness of style employed in its architecture which shows that the temple was built within a short time. The whole structure consists of a principal shrine enclosed by a *pradakṣiṇa*. In front of the shrine are the *ardhamantapa* and *mahāmanṭapa*. The *garbha graha* and antarala walls contain a good number of bas-reliefs. There is one small temple to the north of the *vimāna* while another is to the north side of the front of the *mahāmanṭapa*; and there is yet another on the south side of the same *manṭapa*.

The workmanship in the execution of the temple does not appear to be of a high order. It is plain and coarse, except in the *mahāmanṭapa* which is ornamented. "It has a carved moulded

3a. See *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India*, I (1955) p. 54.

3b. See "A unique Three-Sided Linga from the Uddāna-Virabhadra-svāmi Temple" by C. T. M. Kotriah in *Vijayanagara Seminar*, 1970 (unpublished).

4. 25 and 26 of 1889; 498 of 1907; *S.I.I.*, IV, Nos. 254 and 255.

basement with piers over each bearing several minor detached shafts, and an overhanging cornice above". To the south of this building in the outer court is a building with a few small slits for windows and a low arched door on the eastern side. Piers with pointed arches divide the interior into squares. The roof is made up of many flat domes with small openings. There are a few ruined gate-ways in the temple which were originally towers constructed with brick and decorated with stucco figures.

Hazāra Rāmasvāmi Temple :

The Hazāra Rāmasvāmi Temple dedicated to Śrī Rāmacandra has been considered to be the private chapel of the kings on account of its close proximity to the royal enclosure,^{4a} the high wall twenty-four feet high all round the courtyard and its ornate character. The construction of this temple has generally been attributed to Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya. But an inscription found on the basement of the temple mentions a Dēva Rāya. Hence it appears to be an old temple. But large parts of it may have been re-built by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya; and they must have been finished late after the Kṛṣṇasvāmi temple was completed, for we find that the execution of the work in the Hazāra Rāmasvāmi temple exhibits in many respects a decided advance over that of the other. The temple which faces east is a small one measuring 200 feet from east to west and 110 feet from north to south, but "is one of the perfect specimens of Hindu temple architecture of the Vijayanagar period in existence." The *ardhamanṭapa* of the temple is a handsome construction of four piers. The roof is supported by four richly carved and beautifully polished black-stone pillars "crowned with bracket capitals of Indo-Corinthian appearance". The shafts of the four columns "are built of contrasting geometrical shapes, a cube alternating with a fluted cylinder, all copiously carved, while each capital is a very substantial four-branched foliated volute, each volute terminating in the characteristic knop."⁵ The whole *manṭapa* including the projecting cornices and drip-stones is built of granite, while the *tri-tala vimāna* over the sanctum is constructed with brick and plaster decorated with stucco figures. The exterior walls of the shrine of the chamber and the pillared porticoes, are decorated by a number of

4a. The temple is believed to mean "the temple of thousand Ramas" on account of the many *Ramayana* bas-reliefs on its walls." But the temple was evidently called *Hajara Rama* *Haj-ramu* in Telugu meaning audience-hall or entrance hall or a palace) because it was the palace-Temple and was also at the entrance to the palace enclosure". (See *Hampi* by D. Devakunjari, published by the Director-General, Archaeological Survey of India, (1970)-

5. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Buddhist and Hindu periods.), I, p. 107.

basreliefs. "Besides these interesting bas-reliefs, the beautiful pilasters and engaged columns, the ornamental niches for detached sculpture, and the handsome mouldings and massive cornices adorning the exterior walls of these two temples are worthy of notice." The exterior walls of the shrine and those of the court are covered with well executed panel groups. These depict interesting scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the legend of Kṛṣṇa. Some of the scenes represented are those of R̥ṣyaśṛṅga doing the *Putrakāneṣṭhi yāga*, Rāma slaying Tāṭakā, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sitā crossing the Ganges, Jaṭāyu falling down half dead after the fight with Rāvaṇa to rescue Sitā, Rāma shooting his arrow through the seven trees to convince Sugrīva of his strength, Hanumān, interviewing Rāvaṇa in Laṅkā and sitting on the top of his coiled up tail and Rāvaṇa in his death agony. Kṛṣṇa is represented with a host of gōpīs. The exterior of this wall contains fine rows of basrelief-sculpture depicting scenes from the *Mahānavami* festival. The bottom row represents a procession of state elephants; the next a procession of the king's horses; the third row depicts a procession of soldiers; the row above this one represents a procession of dancing girls and musicians. Viṣṇu is represented in a sculpture on a pillar as riding a horse which perhaps signifies Kalki. An interesting feature of the temple is the fact that though it is a Vaiṣṇava temple, Śaiva figures are found in it. Thus one sees the figures of Subrahmaṇya and Gaṇeśa in it. Even the Buddha is represented in two basreliefs on the outer side of the walls of the sanctum in the temple.

Viṭṭhala Temple :

It is the Viṭṭhala temple that represents the most perfect specimen of Vijayanagar architecture. The temple is dedicated to Viṣṇu in the form of Viṭṭhala or Viṭhoba or Pāṇḍranga, a form of Kṛṣṇa worshipped particularly in the Maharatta country. The temple may be dated back to the days of Dēva Rāya II. The poet Haribhaṭṭa, a contemporary of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, mentions in his *Narasimhapurāṇa* that Prolugaṇṭi Tippana, an officer of Dēva Rāya II, built the *bhoga-maṇṭapa* of the temple.⁶ Substantial additions to it appear to have been made during the days of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya; but unfortunately the temple never saw completion though there appears to have been worship in it. There are within the temple many inscriptions of dates ranging from 1513 to 1564, and the work of construction seems to have been stopped on account of the partial destruction of the city in 1565 after the disastrous battle of Rakṣas Tangaḍi.

6. See *Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. XXXI pp. 148-49; *Vijayanagar sex-centena Volume*, p. 190; *Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference*, VIII, p. 725.

“The building is the finest of its kind in Southern India”, and as Fergusson says “shows the extreme limit in florid magnificence to which the style advanced”. The temple stands in a rectangular enclosure 538 by 310 feet with three *gōpurams* on the north, south and east sides respectively. There are three compartments in it an open *mahāmanṭapa*, a cloud *ardhamanṭapa* besides the *Kalyāṇa manṭapa* *Utsava mantapa*, a hundreded pillared *mantapa* and the *garbhagriha* (sanctum). The *mahāmanṭapa*, the sides of which are recessed, measures 100 feet both in length and breadth. “Standing on a moulded plinth five feet in height with flights of steps, elephant guarded, on its free three sides, the whole composition is heavily shadowed by means of an immensely wide double flexured eave above the parapet of which rises an irregular outline of brickwork currets, the remains of the original superstructure.”

The most significant feature of this structure consists in its range of fifty-six pillars “each twelve feet in height, forty of them regularly spaced as a kind of colonnade or aisle around its outer edge, while the remaining sixteen form an oblong court in the centre. Each pier comprises an entire sculptured group in itself, being fashioned out of one large block of granite, and each is a variant of much the same type of design. Clusters of delicately shaped columns form the central portion of these broad supports, some of which are four and five feet across, while interposed between them is the...rearing animal motif, half natural, half mythical, but wholly rhythmic, the said architectural character of the one acting as a foil to the free and animated sculpturesque treatment of the other. This scheme surrounds the central core of each pier, joining together above, to form a single massive capital, and below to unite in one moulded pedestal or base while the colonnades as a whole are so closely spaced as to produce an effect of bewildering intricacy. Then over the piers are bracket supports of prodigious size combined with profusely carved entablatures and above all a flat ceiling ornamented with sunk lotus flowers. When it is understood that every stone is chiselled over with the most elaborate patterns, some merely finely engraved, others modelled in high relief, while not a few are so undercut as to be almost detached, the tropical exuberance of its composition will be realised.”⁷ “It has all the characteristics of the Dravidian style. the bold cornice of double flexure, the detached shafts, the *Vyālis*, the richly carved stylobate etc.”⁸ Attached to the pillars are groups of small free standing columns and conventional animals like horses and hyppogryphs with riders on their back. The *ardha manṭapa* is a fifty five feet square surrounded by an aisle of twelve pillars. In the middle

7. Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-7.

8. Fergusson, *Ind. and Eastern Architecture*, I, p. 401.

of it is a square dais, with a pillar at each of its four ends. At the end is the *garbhagrha* over which rises the *vimāna*, which is seventy feet long and seventy two feet broad.

Another ornate structure in the temple is the *Kalyāṇa maṇṭapa*, which measures either way sixty two feet. There are in all forty eight pillars in the *maṇṭapa* twelve of them around the square platform in the centre, the rest “forming a double arcade around its sides”. The elegant design and exuberant workmanship of the *Kalyāṇa maṇṭapa* will naturally excite the wonder and admiration of its beholder.⁹ It is a magnificent building with a raised dais used during festivals. Just opposite to the *mahāmaṇṭapa* is the stone car, part of which is built of granite. Originally it had a dome-shaped *stūpi* made of brick and plaster. The wheels are carved in the form of a lotus. Fergusson thinks that it is formed of a single block of granite and hence monolithic¹⁰ but both Rea and Longhurst feel that it is not so, but consists of nine separate blocks of stone. The people at Hampi say that there were chains of stone rings hanging from the caves at several of the corners of the temple till about fifty or sixty years ago.

Acyuta Rāya Temple :

The Acyuta Rāya Temple, though designed on the plan of the Viṭṭhala temple, is not so grand from the point of view of its workmanship. In front of the main shrine of the temple there is a pillared hall, now in a decayed condition. The pillars in the hall contain some good sculptures. The inner courtyard is surrounded by a verandah with carved pillars and decorated panels representing an elephant procession. The bas-relief representing the combination of an elephant and a bell in the panel is interesting. There are also beautiful sculptures in the panels between the plinth and the cornice mouldings of the basement on the west and north-western sides of the verandah. The stone carving on the ruined northern gateway of the temple is also noteworthy. The different incarnations of Viṣṇu are represented on them. On both sides of the inner and outer door jambs are represented two beautiful female figures, “representing in duplicate the river goddess Gangā or the Ganges, standing on the back of a *makara* or conventional crocodile from the mouth of which issues a floriated scroll ornament of semi-classical character which is continued all round the door frame and forms a very pleasing ornament”. There is also a *Kalyāṇamaṇṭapa* in the temple.

9. Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, p. 132.

10. *Op. cit.* p. 401.

The Mālyavanta Raghunātha Temple :

The Mālyavanta Raghunātha temple is built very near the precipice of the Mālyavanta hill. The image of Rāma, the object of worship in the temple, is carved upon a huge boulder. The temple like many others has a *mahāmaṇṭapa* and a *kalyāṇamaṇṭapa*, and these contain some fine sculptures. One of the most interesting among them is the figure of two serpents approaching the sun or moon, representing a solar or lunar eclipse.

Statue of Narasimha :

A huge monolithic statue of Narasimha, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, is enshrined within a walled enclosure. According to an inscription written on a slab within the enclosure it was hewn out of a single boulder by a Brahman in 1528¹¹. It is twenty-two feet high, and in spite of its large size, the details and the finish of the statue are very well executed. This may be seen even now though it has been mutilated. The broken hand of a slightly smaller figure by its side is found clasping the main figure of Narasimha suggesting that both of them can be taken together as Lakṣminarasimha. About this statue V. A. Smith observes : "The semi-barbarism of the court is reflected in the forms of art. The giant monolithic Manlion (Narasimha) statue, 22 feet high, and the huge monkey god Hanumān, although wrought with exquisite finish, are hideous inartistic monsters; and the sculpture generally, however perfect in mechanical execution, is lacking in beauty and refinement."¹² This only shows that Smith found great difficulty in appreciating some of the ideals of Indian art.

Temples in the Karnataka Area :

With the rise and expansion of the Vijayanagar Empire the Dravidian style of architecture was adopted in a number of new temples or additions to old temples in the Karnāṭaka country, where during the time of the Hoysaḷas the Hoysaḷa style had flourished. But the Dravidian style which gained popularity in the Karnāṭaka region in the Vijayanagar period adopted some features of the Hoysaḷa style.

Vidyasankara Temple :

Built almost immediately after the foundation of the Vijayanagar Empire, the Vidyāśankara temple at Sṅgēri is unique in several respects. A noteworthy thing about this temple is that it is built of fine granite stone indicating a significant change in the choice of the

11. *E.I., I.* p. 399.

12. *Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 228.

material for temple construction. The earlier rulers of the Deccan and the Mysore areas like the Cālukyas of Bādāmi, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi and the Hoysaḷas employed only soft stones like sand-stone, greenish schist and soap-stone. It was under the Vijayanagar rulers that these areas adopted the hard-stone material, a medium which had a tradition of its own in the Tamil country from the time of the Pallavas. The Vidyāśankara temple at Srīngēri is the first in the traditional Cālukyan region to be built in hard-stone medium. This temple also reveals a harmonious blending of the prominent features of the Hoysaḷa and the Dravidian styles. The style of architecture of this temple is a fine blending of the two major traditions of the south, the Calukyan as it had evolved till the time of the Hoysaḷas and the Pallavas as it had evolved till the days of the later Pāṇḍyas of Tamilnad with a sprinkling of some of the features of north Indian styles. "It aims at a continuity of the Hoysaḷa tower arrangement by the emphasis on the horizontal divisions of the tower and the vertical division of the base storey". The apsidal ends, the rows of cornices, the absence of the *mukhamanṭapa*, the plinth platform outside the temple, the friezes of horses, elephants, lions etc., carved on the basement, the pilasters, niches and large images on the upper wall, the double roof, the stepped pyramid tower with its frontal projection and the general impression of the whole structure unmistakably point to the Hoysaḷa characteristics while the inner covered *pradakṣiṇa*, the designs on the balustrades supporting the steps, the rope shaped cornice, the three stories of the tower, the metallic finial on the top, the drapery of the images, the great pillars of the *Navaranga* exhibit its Dravidian features"¹³ The interior has more Dravidian elements while the external aspect has more Hoysaḷa ones.

The plan of the temple is of considerable interest and shows an oblong block with apsidal ends on the eastern and western sides. The layout is of the "*saptaratha* type" and in that process an almost circular outline is imparted to the structure on the front and on the rear resulting in an elliptical form divided by a central cross corridor. The temple has a *garbhagraha*, a *sukhanāsi*, a *pradakṣiṇa* and a *navaranga*. The structure stands on a raised platform of more than five feet, which at the top has a narrow *pradakṣiṇapatha*. Six *sopanas* corresponding to the six door-ways of the temple are provided in this *pradakṣiṇapatha*. Each of these *sopānas* is flanked by two elephants, which, however, do not exhibit the striking individuality characteristic

13. See *Vijayanagar Sex Centenary Commemoration Volume* pp. 289-94; also Q.J.M.S., VI, p.252.

of the Hoysala animal sculptures. Above the *upa-pīṭha* is the *adhiṣṭhāna* which serves as a basement for both the *vimāna* and the *maṇṭapa*. It is noteworthy that as in the north Indian temples and the later Cālukyan and Hoysala temples this basement is well moulded. In it as many as eight friezes or bands, one above the other depicting different scenes or objects are seen. In one panel Ādi Śankara is seen teaching four of his disciples who are seated two on either side with their books placed on *Vyāsapīṭha* (book rests).¹⁴

Another context in which a feature of the Cālukyan and Hoysala styles are seen in the wall space below the cornice and above the basement; this space is interrupted only by the six door openings and the entire available space on the wall is adorned with sixty-one bas-relief images of iconographic interest. On account of its wealth in sculptures the temple is said to be "a museum of sculptures for the study of Hindu iconography". The puranic friezes depict some interesting scenes from the Śaiva puranas. The placement of the *dikpāla* images such as Indra (east), Yama (south), Varuṇa (west) and Kubēra (north) are also indicative of Cālukyan influence, as this is extremely rare in the temples of the extreme south. There are a number of Śrī-Cakra reliefs also. However, the depiction of Dakṣiṇāmūrti near the southern door-way of the *maṇṭapa* in a form characteristic of later Pallava and Cōḷa images indicates that in the Vidyāśankara complex one can find an amalgam of more than one iconographic tradition.

The *vimāna* has three *talas* which pattern akin to the Hoysala shrines. Though the *hārā* of *Kūṭas*, *Koṣṭhas* and *pañjaras* typical of temples in the extreme south are not seen in the *talas*, one notices such southern features as the crowning *grīva*, domical *śikhara* and the *stūpi*. It is of interest to note that one notices the *stūpi* not only at the top but also at the four cardinal sides—a feature which perhaps indicates the *pañcāyatana* - like nature of the shrine. The *sukhanāsa* with a barrel-vault roof on top and a *tōraṇa* frame in front is a Cālukyan extraction.

The shrine has an inner and outer wall and hence it is an example of *sandhara gurbha*. There are six shrines in the inner apse, of which the central one is for the *linga*. On the south, west and north sides of this are three lateral shrines respectively for Brahmā (with *sarasvati*), Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa and Umā-Māheśvara. The remaining two of the peripheral shrines are attached to the side walls of the *mukhamāṇṭapa* of the main shrine and are for Gaṇapati and Durgā.

14. See *M.A.R.*, 1916, pl. VII, No. 4, facing p. 12.

In between this complex and the *maṇṭapa* in front of it is a transept. The concept and design of this temple brings-out the idea that Adi Śankara was a *Śaṇmata sthāpaka*.

The *maṇṭapa* which is in the eastern part of the structure is well known for its pillared hall of nine bays (*navaranga*). "It is a great hall supported by 12 sculptured pillars with lions and riders, the corner pillars having lions and riders on two faces, the whole pillar being carved out of a single block of stone. Many of the lions have balls of stone put into their mouths which must have been prepared when making the lions, seeing that they can be moved about, but cannot be taken out. Each pillar has sculptured on its back a sign of the zodiac such as the ram, bull and so forth, and it is stated that the pillars are so arranged that the rays of the sun fall on them in the order of the solar months; that is to say, the rays of the sun fall on the pillar marked with ram in the first solar month and so on with others. Each pillar has likewise carved on it the particular planet or planets ruling over the particular *rāśi* or zodiacal sign represented by it, while the sun being the lord of all the *rāśis* is sculptured on the top panel of all the pillars.... .. The central ceiling about eight feet square is an exquisite piece of workmanship with a panel, about four feet square and two feet deep, in the middle containing a beautiful lotus bud of five tiers of concentric petals at which parrots are shown as pecking on the four sides head downwards"¹⁵. It is of more than ordinary interest to note that the main sanctum door has a Hanuman Dvarapala. Thus the style of the whole architecture and sculpture in the building is really superb.

In the Tirukkacci nambi temple at the same place contain thirteen good sculptures, which are described by inscriptions under each. These depict interesting incidents in the life of Arjuna such as the performance of penance on the Indrakīla mountain.¹⁶ Similarly the Mallikārjuna temple at Pankajanahalli contains some interesting sculptures. In one of them Kaṇṇappa is seen armed with a bow, piercing his eye with an arrow, his foot on a Linga canopied by a three-hooded snake; Śakti Gaṇapati is represented with his consort on his left thigh; while Śiva is represented as Lingodbhavamūrti with a boar (Viṣṇu) at the bottom and a swan (Brahmā) at the top.¹⁷

15. *Ibid*, para 14; see also K. R. Srinivasan 'The Vidyasamkara temple—Sringeri' in *Sringeri Vigmettes* (Ed) by K. R. Venkataraman, pp. 14-24; K. V. Soundara Rajan, "Two unusual Temple Models in Mysore Area in *P. B. Desai Felicitation Volume*, pp. 132-39.

16. MAR 1907-08, Para 61 referred to in *ibid.*, P. 290.

17. *Ibid.*, P. 291.

Temples in the Andhra Area :

Some temples in the Andhra area were constructed in the Vijayanagar period, while additions were made in the period to a number of older ones. A few of them deserve mention here :

Tadpatri :

Tadpatri (Anantapur District) is a place of much architectural interest. It contains two temples of the Vijayanagar period, namely the temples of Rāmalingēśvara and Venkaṭaramaṇa. The Rāmalingēśvara temple has two large *gōpurams*¹⁸. In some respects the composition and treatment of the *gōpurams* in the temple are even better than those of the Viṭṭhala temple. “The unique feature about these two towers is the fact that while the perpendicular part of the towers is comparatively plain and simple without many sculptural decorations and the lower part is studded with the most elaborate sculptures cut with exquisite sharpness and precision in a fine close grained stone and produces an effect richer, and on the whole perhaps in better taste, than anything else in this style..... If compared with Halebid or Belur these Tadpatri gopurams stand that test (of comparison) than any other work of the Vijayanagar rajas”.¹⁹ The Venkaṭaramaṇa temple has an impressive *mahā-manṭapa*. The walls of the main shrine are adorned with sculptures depicting scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Lepakshi :

Lepakshi (Anantapur District) contains three shrines of Pāpavināśa, Virēśa, and Raghunātha in a *trikūṭācala* form with a common *manṭapa*. The *nāṭyamanṭapa* and the *Kalyāṇamanṭapa* in the Virēśa temple are architecturally important constructions. The Pāpavināśa temple contains good sculptures and well-carved pillars. The shrines of Viṣṇu and Śiva face each other, while that of Virabhadra is in the centre. They were constructed by three brothers of the place, Vira Pannayya Nāyaka, Viraṇṇa Nāyaka and Hiriya Mallappaṇṇayya.

Penukonda :

Penukonda (Anantapur District) one of the capitals of the later Vijayanagar Kings contains a fort in which are two temples, one consecrated to Rāma and the other to Śiva. Unfortunately both of them are without *prākāras* and *gōpuras*. The plans of both the temples and wall decorations in them are interesting.

Puspagiri :

Architecturally Pushpagiri (Cuddapah District) is important for a number of ruined temples, of which, three, namely the Cennakē-

18. Tradition says that a part of the *gopura* was destroyed by the Maharattas.

19. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, I, p. 404.

śava, Santanamallēśvara and the Umāmaheśvara temples of the Vijayanagar period stand inside a walled enclosure.

Somapalem :

To the west of Somapalem (Chittore District) is a temple locally known as the Kāsimkōṭa-Cennarāya temple. It stands inside a walled enclosure with an only entrance in the east surmounted by a *gōpura* of moderate proportions. Outside the compound wall and to the north of the entrance is a *gopuramaṇṭapa* containing a number of portrait sculptures. The *vimāna* above the *garbhagraha* is of the *ekatala* type. The *śikhara* is round and belongs to the *vesara* order. The *mahāmaṇṭapa* contains pillars in the Vijayanagar style. The *Kalyaṇamaṇṭapa* is a highly ornate structure with pillars showing a pleasing variety. The undersides of the ceilings of the *mahāmaṇṭapa* and the *Kalyāṇamaṇṭapa* contain paintings which are similar to those at Lepaksi. But they are badly damaged on account of percolation of water.

Candragiri :

Candragiri itself which served as a capital of the later Vijayanagar kings for some years contains as many as nine temples most of which bear Vijayanagar features. Six of them do not have the *prākāra* and the *gōpura*. The plans of these temples and the wall decorations are of considerable interest.

Temples in the Tamil country:

The Tamil country is a land of temples, and there are many big ones among them. Though the Vijayanagar kings did not build all of them they built at least parts of many of them or made additions to them. It was in the Vijayanagar days that many of the great temples of South India were provided with huge towers. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, for instance, built a good part of the northern tower at Cidambaram, one on the south side of the outer enclosure of the Ekāmbara-nātha shrine at Kāñcīpuram and another at Kālahasti. "The like model of these lofty towers elsewhere introduced, procured for them the designation of Rāya Gōpuram or a tower after Rāyar's fashion — that is a large and lofty tower." ²⁰ Later the huge towers in the temples at places like Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, Śrīrangam, Rāmeśvaram, Madurai and Śrīvilliputtur were built. Further, as said earlier, many of the huge *maṇṭapās* in the temples of South India were built in the Vijayanagar days.

20. W. Taylor, *Or. Hist. Mss.*, II, p. 125.

Vellore :

The Jalakanṭheśvara temple within the fort is important for the *Kalyāṇa maṇṭapa* it contains. The *maṇṭapa* is perhaps the richest and most beautiful structure of its kind” and one of the best specimens of Dravidian architecture. The *vyālis* and rearing horsemen are exquisitely carved, but there is no exaggeration of the parts.” Nothing could exceed the spirit or vigour of the hypogryphs and dragons of its pillars or the fineness or prodigality of the ornament “The great cornice, too, with its double flexures and its little trelliswork of supports, is not only very elegant in form but one of those marvels of patient industry such as are to be found hardly anywhere else.”²¹

Kāñcīpuram :

The Ēkāmbaranāthā temple at Kāñcīpuram possesses one of the largest *gōpurams* in South India measuring 188 feet and it has ten stories. It was built by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya of Vijayanagar as stated in an inscription in it. On account of the exuberant sculptures and ornamentation it contains the impression of its soaring height is very much increased. The attractive tower served as a model for the construction of similar ones, though in the balance and rhythm of its design it is superior to them. There are many *maṇṭapas* in the temple one of which has about 540 columns. The Varadarājasvāmi temple, parts of which were built by the Vijayanagar kings, contains a *kalyāṇamaṇṭapa* in the style of the one at Vellore with granite pillars in which are represented figures riding on horses or hippogriffs ; but on account of their overcrowding nature they appear to mar the view of the interior. The corners of the *kapota* have stone chains hanging down, all of them made of one stone. A panel in the plinth of the *kalyāṇamaṇṭapa* showing Rāma shooting the seven *śāla* trees is interesting.

Cidambaram :

Large additions were made by the Vijayanagar kings to the temple at Cidambaram. Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya constructed a good portion of the northern *gōpuram* on his return from Simhādri. It is a massive structure, 140 feet high. The lower part of it is constructed of granite, while the pyramidal part is built of brick and plaster and

21- *Ibid.*, p. 396, also Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Buddhist and Hindu) Vol I, p. 94; K. R. Srinivasan, *Temples of South India*, p. 171.

studded with stucco figures. There are carved on it both Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva figures. The figure of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya is sculptured in high relief in a niche on the western side of the northern tower of the temple. A spacious *maṇṭapa* standing on a thousand columns within the temple enclosure appears to have been constructed during this period. It is about 197 feet wide and 338 feet long. The pillars are each made of a single block of granite. The style and ornamentation of these pillars look old but certain features in the building give it a later appearance. The central pier is formed of radiating arches supported by brick vaults. Fergusson is of opinion that these vaults are certainly integral, and could not have been employed "till after the Muslims had settled in the south and taught the Hindus how to use them." One of the finest structures at the place is the porch before the Pārvaṭi (Sivakāmasundari) shrine. It contains five aisles. The outer ones are each six feet broad, the next ones eight feet each, while the central one is about twenty-one feet six inches. "In order to roof this without employing stones of such dimensions as would crush the supports, recourse was had to vaulting, or rather bracketing shafts and these brackets were again tied together by transverse purlins all in stone, and the system was continued till the width was reduced to a dimension that could easily be spanned. As the whole is enclosed in a court surrounded by galleries two storeys in height the effect of the whole is singularly pleasing"²² The shrine is surrounded by double-storeyed galleries. There is an attractive portico standing on square pillars, all of them elaborately ornamented, before the shrine of Saṁmukha or Subrahmanya to the north of the shrine of Pārvaṭi. From the character of its ornamentation it appears to have been built about the end of the seventeenth century, and the beginning of the eighteenth century. Fergusson, however, thinks that from the nature of its style the building is assignable to an earlier date.

Śrīrangam :

The Śrīrangam temple which impresses one by its size and seven *āvaranas* or enclosures is by far the biggest in South India. The total length of its enclosing walls is about 32,592 running feet, and the total area occupied by the temple is about 156 acres. The temple received considerable additions in the form of *prakāras*, *gōpuras* and *maṇṭapas* during the Vijayanagar and the Nāyaka periods. Of the one of them, that on the southern entrance, had been completed, would *gōpuras*, two are incomplete on the outermost wall. It is said that if

²². Fergusson, *op. cit.*, p. 377.

have risen to a height of about 300 feet. The *Sēṣagirirāyar maṇṭapa* is called the 'horse court' in the temple is noted for its 'colonnade of furiously fighting steeds each rearing up to a height of nearly nine feet. the whole executed in a technique so emphatic as to be not like stone, but hardened steel.'²³

Madurai :

The structure and shape of the Madurai temple has undergone a number of changes from time to time in the past. In its present form it contains the style of Dravidian religious architecture as it prevailed in the 17th century. Among its typical features are numerous porches, cloisters and galleries, delicate sculptures, lofty pyramidal towers, rectangular enclosures one within the other like a China box and the use of the horizontal roofing to the neglect of the dome or the arch. It has also the merit of being built largely at one time. The temple is almost a regular rectangle, two of its sides from north to south measure 720 feet and 729 feet, the two east to west sides measure 834 feet and 852 feet. This is a double temple having two separate sanctuaries for the God and the Goddess. Both these shrines are surrounded by three enclosures each of which being protected by four minor towers. The temple is especially prodigal in *maṇṭapas* of which the *Kiḷikatti maṇṭapa*, the *Kambattadi maṇṭapa*, the *Thousand Pillar maṇṭapa* and the *Pudu maṇṭapa* constitute a significant quartette.²⁴ The *Kiḷikatti maṇṭapa* is a single corridor remarkable for its richly carved pillars on its two sides and perhaps the most ornate of all the *maṇṭapas*. The *Kambattadi maṇṭapa* has eight monolithic pillars decorated with carvings of the twenty four Śaiva Mūrthams. The base, fluted pillars and the corbels of the Nandi shrine in this *maṇṭapa* are excellent specimens of Vijayanagar art. The thousand pillar *maṇṭapa* ²⁵ is an attractive structure the east and west wings of which are filled with rows of pillars. These pillars are rich with delicate sculptures of iconographic interest and a marked distinctiveness is discernible in these from numerous sculptures in other parts

23 Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, I, p. 94.

24. A Tamil work called the *Tiruppanimalai* states that Krishna-virappa Nayaka constructed (reconstructed?) the *Velliambalam*, the northern *gopuram*, the shrine called *Sevvisvaramar*, the kitchen, as also the thousand-pillared *maṇṭapa*, the *Murti-yamman maṇṭapa*, the *Surru maṇṭapa* of the second prakara and the *Virappa maṇṭapa* with sculptured pillars. He also covered the pillars of a *maṇṭapa* of the temple of Minakshi with gold (*E.I.*, XII, p. 161.).

25. This is believed to have been built by Ariyanatha Mudaliar See Taylor: *Oriental Historical Manuscripts* Vol. II, p. 116.

of the temple. The bracketed gyphons and corbels extending from the main shaft in the compound pillars of this *maṇṭapa* are noteworthy. The *Pudu maṇṭapa* in front of the east *gōpura*, a three-aisled rectangular hall, measures 330 feet by 105 feet and is said to have been built by Tirumalai Nāyaka. It is supported by four rows of columns all profusely sculptured. The four types of pillars characteristics of the Madura school — the *yāli* type, the portrait type, the decorative compound type and the iconographic type —, the canopied *maṇṭapa* used for ceremonial purposes and called the Vasantamaṇṭapa and the life-size statues of the Nāyak rulers add a charm and elegance to this famous structure. The pillars are usually adorned with *yālis*, monsters of the lion type trampling on an elephant; or they are adorned with warriors sitting on the rearing horse, their feet supported by the shields of footsoldiers sometimes killing men and sometimes tigers.

The *gōpuram* in front of the choultry was also begun by Tirumala Nāyaka. From north to south it is 174 feet and in depth it is 117 feet. The *gōpuram* remains incomplete; but even in its present size it is an imposing structure. The door posts are made of single granite stone carved with beautiful scroll patterns of elaborated foliage.

I-b Portrait Sculpture

V. A. Smith felt that 'well-authenticated portrait statues are rare in India'²⁶ and J. ph. Vogel thought that 'portrait statues of kings are extremely rare in Indian art.' But at least in South India sufficient number of portrait sculptures from the days of the Sātavāhanas are found. The art suffered a temporary eclipse with the fall of the Cōlas but revived under the Vijayanagar kings. Some inscriptions mention the making of portraits of persons obviously to perpetuate their memeor. A few of the portraits bear their names also.

Generally speaking the Vijayanagar sculptures tend to be formal with their draperies conventionalised. The face is rather expressionless, nose both pointed and prominent and the chin grooved vertically. Compared to the sculptures of the earlier periods the abdomen is more round and tends to droop forwards.

The earliest known portrait of the period is that of Irugappa - a staunch Jaina who served under Bukka II - in the temple at Tiruparuttikuṇṅam. The hands that are held in the *añjali* pose, the *kacca* fashion in which the under garment is tied "and the

26. Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 238.

entire absence of the second garment indicate a spirit of extreme devotion and humility, asceticism, self sacrifice and eagerness to be at the service of humanity". The hair of the head is made up in a knot and thrown on the left side of the figure.

In the Hanumān temple at Hampi (near the old gate) is found the figure of King Mallikārjuna according to an inscription below it. The temple itself was constructed by one Siramga, his Cauri bearer.^{26a}

In the Śrī Venkaṭeśvara temple at Tirumalai there is a group of copper images of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya and his two queens Cinnādēvi and Tirumaladēvi, with labels in Kannada. They are brilliant specimens of repouse work. "Each is made in two hallow sections, a frontal and a rear one, put together so as to give the appearance of a solid statue and kept in position by rivets." The bronze statue of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya may well be compared with a stone portrait of the same Emperor fixed in a niche in the western side of the entrance of the Northern gōpura of the famous temple at Chidambaram.²⁷ The features of this figure are graceful and exhibit his cultivated tastes. It is a little flabbier in muscle, a little fuller above the waist, and little mellower in expression.²⁸ Along with the group of the images of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya and his queens at Tirumalai, the statues of two of his successors are also seen. One of them in copper is standing by himself and the other in the company of his consort in stone. The single statue which bears a label in Telugu characters is identified as that of Venkaṭa II and the pair as Emperor Tirumala and his queen Vengalāmbā,²⁹ the parents of Venkaṭa.

At the foot of the left pillar of the *Tulābhāra* near the Viṭṭhala temple at Hampi is seen the sculpture of a King who was probably Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya with his queens.^{29a}

The statues of Govinda Dikṣita, a scholar statesman who flourished in the Nāyak court at Tañjāvūr in the last quarter of the sixteenth and the first quarter of the seventeenth centuries are

26a. See 'portrait Sculpture of the Vijayanager King Mallikāajuna by N. Lakshminaryanu Rao in *Studies in Indian History and Culture* (P.B. Desai Felicitation Volume) pp. 188-9.

27. See Frontispiece.

28. T. G. Aravamuthan, *South Indian portraits in Stone and Metal* pp. 18-20.

29. But an inventory of the articles and properties of the temple refers to the group as statues of Acyuta and his queen Varadarāja Amma. See *A. S. R.*, 1912, p. 189, fr. 3; see also Heras, *Aravida Dynasty*, I, plate facing p. 248. also V. N. Srinivasa Rao, *Tirupati Sri Venkateswara Balaji* pp.

29a. See Longhurst, Hampi Runis p. 41.

installed in the Kumbheśvara temple at Kumbakōṇam and the Śiva temple at Paṭṭiśvaram (Tanjore district); in both the temples his wife stands by his side and in the Kumbheśvara temple he is represented as a *linga* perhaps to show that he had become one with God. The Paṭṭiśvaram temple contains also portraits of rulers believed to be the members of the Tañjavur Nāyak dynasty. Again at Kumbakōṇam in the Rāmasvāmi temple there is a life-like group of portraits identified with the Tañjāvūr Nāyak ruler Raghunātha and his queens." So free is the expression and so majestic is the appearance that the figures would appear to be idealised pictures of men, were it not for their intensely human expression, which stamps them indisputably as portrait statues."³⁰ The statues of Vijayaranga Cokkanātha with his queen and the former's brother with his wife, made of a core of sandalwood, exhibit remarkable workmanship.

The great temple at Srirangam contains a number of portrait sculptures. In the *Śeṣagīrīrāyar maṇṭapa* are seen on a pillar two figures of a man and a woman wearing respectively *dhoti* and *sāri* which are so fine that they reveal the limbs. They are flanked by two men. They represent the chieftain who built the mantapa, his wife and attendants. The *garuda maṇṭapa* contains the portraits probably of a few Nāyak rulers of Mudurai. Made in black basalt they are of life size and considered to be the best portraits in the temple. The figures are believed to be the portraits of the Madurai Nāyak ruler Cokkanātha Nāyaka and his four brothers Muttu Aḷakādri, Acyutappa, Kṛṣṇappa and Vallappa.^{30a}

Madurai is particularly rich in this branch of sculpture as evidenced by numerous specimens in the *Aṣṭaśaktimaṇṭapa*, and the *Prākāras* in the Mīnākṣi shrine and the *Pudumaṇṭapa*. Ten life size statues, each representing a king of the Nāyak dynasty of Madurai are seen in the *Pudumaṇṭapa*. The statue of Viśvanātha Nāyaka stands first and is rich in regalia and portrayed appreciably. The next image is that of his son Kumāra Kṛṣṇappa wearing a typically Vijayanagar cap. The third image is that of Virappa Nāyaka, a great contributor to the temple complex, and the fourth that of Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka. The embroidered cap, necklaces and shoulder ornaments of Lingama Nāyaka who comes next are indeed attractive. The next statue of Viśvappa Nāyaka is interesting in two ways: he abandons for the first time the characteristic Vijayanagar cap that adorned the heads of his predecessors and substitutes it by another type of cap or turban that is being worn by his successors also; and secondly, again in deviation from his predeces-

30. T. A. Aravamuthan, *Portrait Sculptures in South India*, p. 32.

30a. See V. N. Hari Rao, *The Srirangam Temple*, pp. 77-8.

sors he abandons the Saiva mark on his forehead and wears a Vaiṣṇava one. The images of Kastūri Rangappa, Muttu Kṛṣṇappa and Muttu Virappa that come next respectively are in no way inferior to the above mentioned from the artistic point of view. The physical characteristics of the Nāyak family as seen in these images are wonderfully depicted in the tenth statue of Tirumala. "His broad jaw, his powerful shoulders, his tremendous hips, his strong gigantic legs and even his protuberent abdomen, bulging out over the belt are some of these features which we may see in almost all the preceding statues and are here carried to an extreme of development"³¹. There is close resemblance between this statue and similar images of the same Nāyaka at Srivilliputtūr, Tirupparaṅkunṅam and Alagarkōyil.

The four statues in the *Aṣṭaśakti maṇṭapa* are only half the height of the figures in the *Pudumaṇṭapa* and exhibit remarkable workmanship. Apart from these, fourteen other images are to be seen in the corridors round the Amman shrine. The statues of a Pāṇḍya king and a śeṭṭi on the *Pāṇḍyan Paḍitturai* of the Golden Lily tank, of Ariyanātha mudali mounted on a caparisoned charger in the thousand pillared *maṇṭapa*, and of Nāraṇappayyar, Mutturāma Ayyar, Subbarāyar and Gurusvami śeṭṭi are excellent specimens of the richness of the art; and, nearby in Tirupparaṅkunṅam one sees the wonderful images of Rāṇi Mangammāl and Muttambala Mudali. Of these sculptures Fergusson says; "These groups are found literally in hundreds in South India, and as works exhibiting difficulties overcome by patient labour, they are unrivalled, so far as I know, by anything found elsewhere. As works of art they are the most barbarous, it may be said the most vulgar to be found in India, and do more to shake one's faith in the civilization of the people who produced them than anything they did in the department of art."³² But as Vincent Smith remarks, "the opinions of Fergusson are too harsh. Fergusson's criticism fails to give the southern sculptures due credit for their power of expressing vigorous movement...such figures appear to be unknown elsewhere, and it is not apparent how they became so much favoured in the Tamil country."³³ He however remarks: "The southern sculpture, remarkable...for its enormous quantity, fantastic character, often degenerating into the grotesque, and marvellous elaboration rarely, if ever, exhibits the higher qualities of art. The sculptures being designed to be viewed by the mass, not as

31. H. Heras in 'The Statues of the Nayaks of Madura in the *Pudumantapa*, in *Q.J.M.S.* XV. 209-18 where the figures are reproduced; also Gangoly, *South Indian Bronzes*, pl. lxxxiv. p. 60.

32. Fergusson, *op. cit.*, pp. 389-90.

33. V. A. Smith, *A Hist. of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, pp. 233-34.

individual works, reproductions of a few separate figures cannot do full justice either to the sculptor's intention or to the general effect." ³⁴

The temple at Viriñcipuram in the North Arcot District contains some portraits which are probably those of the Nāyak rulers who ruled from Vellore. The freestanding pillars on the foreshore at Pondicherry contain some portrait sculptures. Originally they were at Ceñji. The figures are believed to be the portraits of the Nāyaks of the place. Though in some cases the portraits may be considered true representations of the persons concerned, as for instance in the case of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, it may not be possible to think so with regard to many of them. For instance, Tirumalai Nāyaka who constructed the *Pudumaṇṭapa* at Madura had the portraits of his ancestors as also of himself made. It is not possible to say how far the portraits of his ancestors are true representations of them.

2. Civil Architecture

(a) Palaces and public buildings in Vijayanagar :

The palaces and other civil buildings like Palaces, mansions of which contemporary writers have given good description are now in ruins. Many of them were razed to the ground by the Muslims who committed all manner of excesses after the battle of Rakṣas Tangadi. As a result, instead of the buildings we see a number of platforms and basements over which such structures must have stood. While the basement was usually of stone the superstructure was generally of wood though metal and brick were also employed.

Within the citadel there is a very large basement which appears to have been that of an important building—perhaps the audience hall of the Vijayanagar kings. The upper surface of the platform shows traces of the existence of six rows of pillars, each row containing ten pillars, for there are to be seen sixty bases on which the pillars probably rested. They were in all likelihood made of timber since no stone pillar is seen there now in a broken condition. From the statement of Abdur Razzak that the king's "Audience Hall was elevated above all the rest of the lofty buildings in the Citadel" we can presume that it had one or two stories above it. But it appears they were all in timber. The basement of the platform is adorned with simple carvings.

The "Throne Platform" is the most attractive among the many to be seen there. Paes calls the building that stood upon this

34. *Ibid.*, p. 234-35.

platform the "House of Victory" as it was built by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya soon after his return from his victorious campaign against the ruler of Orissa. It was the place where the king used to sit to witness the celebration of the *Mahānavami* festival. The platform "is a massive structure, originally faced with carved granite blocks and slabs which have subsequently been partly refaced with dark green chlorite stone on the front or west side of the platform. The spaces between the different rows of the plinth mouldings of the platform are mostly elaborately carved in a similar style to that employed in the ornamentation of the enclosure walls of the Hazāra Rāma temple, the different scenes representing processions of soldiers, horses, elephants, camels and dancing girls."³⁵ A few bas-reliefs on the walls of the platform depict hunting scenes and conventional animals. The sculptures are, however, crude on account of the granite on which they are made. "The upper course of stone is decorated with a procession of elephants. Two foreign-looking men with pointed beards and Persian-like caps are shown bowing to a group of three figures seated on a throne. Perhaps the scene is intended to represent a visit of two foreign ambassadors to the court".³⁶ The three figures obviously represent King Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya and his two queens. Longhurst holds that there is a pronounced Jaina style about these old bas-reliefs, and that it is at times a little difficult "to know whether some of the figures represent men or women owing to the curious manner in which both sexes wear their hair".³⁷ Below the procession of elephants are seen a row of sacred geese and conventional crocodiles which was a favourite design of the early Jains and Buddhists. Under this there are three rows of dancing girls. The figures are full of spirit and action. In another place in the same building, there are a few other sculptures. In the top panel we see a parade of the king's horses. Below it is seen a hunting scene. "One man is shown spearing a tiger or panther, whilst two men, one armed with a bow, and the other with a curiously shaped weapon and leading brace of gray hounds, are depicted hunting antelope. In the centre is a tree in which are two armed men being attacked by some wild beast. Below the tree is a boar on one side and a cross on the other, the latter is certainly peculiar, but in this case it is merely a conventional method of representing an ornamental tank. Below are represented two boxes giving an exhibition of the "noble art" before the king in the manner related by Nuniz. To the left we have a very Assyrian looking bas-relief representing a warrior slaying a bear by calmly plunging a dagger into its open mouth as it charges.....Processions, drums shaped like baskets, elephants,

35. Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, p. 58.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

37. *Ibid.*

dancing girls and musicians make up the rest of the scenes depicted in these quaint old bas-reliefs.”³⁸ The gorgeous processions connected with the *Mahānavami* festival described by the foreign travellers are all represented on the sides of the platform. In one of them a young noble is seen taking part in the festival along with a group of dancing girls, “two of the latter being armed with squirts full of saffron water”. Longhurst takes this to be a representation of the *Holi* festival described by Nicolo dei Conti. But the panel appears to represent a very common feature of the life of the Vijayanagar nobility — the water sports or *jalakriḍā* which contemporary literature describes elaborately.

There is another platform in the locality which appears to have been that of the palace since it is situated within the royal enclosure near the king’s Audience Hall and the Throne Platform. The walls standing on this Platform are of brick and mortar instead of stone, while the superstructure and the pillars appear to have been of wood, which were probably burnt down by the Muslims. The basement stands on a platform of about five feet on the panels of which are engraved interesting *Mahānavami* processions.

(b) *Irrigation works :*

For the supply of water to the city of Vijayanagar great facilities were provided. Water seems to have been got from a tank situated at a comparatively high level. But Longhurst suggests that it must have been got from a well outside the city,” in the usual Indian fashion by means of large leather buckets worked by bullocks the water being poured into a main channel connected with branch pipes.”³⁹ A stone channel which is near the Throne Platform leads to the enclosure walls of the citadel. Another branches from it to the Zenānā enclosure. It goes up to the Queen’s Bath. This is a square building in the Indo-Saracenic style of architecture and is surrounded by a moat. An arched corridor with small projecting balconies surrounds the building, and from it a view can be had of the Bath in the centre. To the north of the Candraśekhara temple in the citadel is an octagonal tank with a dilapidated pavilion in the centre and a pillared corridor with a flat roof running all round the tank. It was perhaps used as a pleasure resort. The Turuttu channel runs alongside of the hill and “takes off from the Turuttu anicut across the river Tungabhadra about a mile west of Hampi. Apart from these, there are two objects of great interest. One is a stone trough opposite the platform of the king’s “Audience Hall”. It was used perhaps for storing water for the horses and elephants of the ambassadors and nobles who sought the audience of the king.

38. *Ibid*, pp. 64-65.

39. *Op. cit.*, p. 52.

It is made of a single block of granite measuring $41\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length and 3 feet in width, and 2 feet 9 inches in thickness and contains a small drainage hole for flushing out purposes. The other building is the octagonal pavilion, rather a large structure. It is built in the Indo-Saracenic style. On all sides of the building there are arched openings and there is a small fountain basin in the centre of the building. The building also contains a massive stone trough carved out of a single block of granite in which, it is said, milk was kept for distribution to the poor during the big festivals at the capital.

(c) *Bazaars* :

Interesting examples of street architecture in the Vijayanagar days can be seen in the Hampi bazaar which continues to exist even to the present day in a fairly good condition. It is opposite to the temple at Hampi and is thirty five yards wide and eight hundred yards long. Many of the buildings in the street are simple *maṇṭapas* standing on stone pillars supporting ornamented lintel. A few of them have two stories "and a row of moulded columns with carved capitals in front, supporting a moulded and ornamental cornice and parapet".⁴⁰ At the east end of the street is a large *Nandi* (the Sacred Bull of Śiva) facing the Hampi temple. Just in front of the *maṇṭapa* in which it is housed is the two-storied building with many finely carved pillars of black stone in the Cālukyan style of which mention has been made earlier.⁴¹ Another street known as the Soolai Bazaar or the dancing girls' street runs north of Acyuta Rāya's temple. The dancing girls are said to have lived here. The houses are in ruins, but they appear to have been separated by rubble walls which were plastered over. There is a tank or bath at the north-western end of the street which was probably used by the dancing girls.

To the east of the Kṛṣṇasvāmi temple there is another bazaar; but this is on a lower ground than the temple itself. The buildings have all only one story and the lintels used for them stand on stone piers. At the north side of the street there is a large tank surrounded by a corridor and it is entered by an ornamented gateway. Both this and the Soolai Bazaar are now deserted, and the lands between the ruins are under cultivation.

3. MILITARY ARCHITECTURE

The city of Vijayanagar was surrounded by seven lines of fortifications. 'Audur Razzāk observed that the city was so built that it had seven fortified walls one within another. He says: Beyond

40. Rea, *Madras, Chr. Coll. Mag.*, II, p. 506.

41. See p.

circuit of the outer wall there is an explanade extending for about forty yards in which stones are fixed within one another to the height of a man; one half is buried firmly in the earth and the other half rises above it, so that neither foot nor horse, however bold can advance with facility near the outer-wall.”⁴² There were six fortresses within this outer one, and within the last fortress was the palace of the King. Paes also confirms the account of the Persian Ambassador and states that the city was fortified by walls “made of strong masonry such as would be found in a few other parts”.⁴³ In the present state of our knowledge of the shape of the city as seen from the scattered ruins in it, it is difficult to form any clear idea of the plan of the city. ‘Abdur Razzāk speaks of the city as having been a circle and situated on a hill.⁴⁴ Caesar Frederick confirms this statement.⁴⁵ But the city was not made in a day. Different parts of the city came into existence at different times for different purposes.^{45 a} All of them became one big city in the course with natural fortifications like hills and man-made fortifications like fort walls.

The size of the city has been variously estimated. Nicolo de Conte remarks that the walls of the city of Vijayanagar were carried upto the mountains and enclosed the valleys at their foot and that by that reason the extent of the city was increased, and its circumference was sixty miles.⁴⁶ Abdur Razzāk says that the distance between the northern and southern gates of the outer fortress was two statute *Parasangs* and the same was also the distance between eastern and western outer gates.⁴⁷

Paes thinks that the circumference of the city was twenty-four leagues⁴⁸ and says that the first *serra* was two leagues away from the capital. According to Caesar Frederick it was twenty-four miles. From these widely conflicting statements of the different writers it is

42. Elliot, *Hist. of India*, IV, p. 106.

43. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

44. Elliot *op. cit.*, IV, p. 106. The *Vidyaranya Kalaigana* states that city was built like a Sricakra. S. R. Rao feels that probably it was planned more or less on the lines of the *Svastika* (Summary of a paper on Town Planning of Vijayanagar of Vijayanagar in Seminar on Vijayanagar (unpublished).

45. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 97.

45a. The city which covered all the area from Anegondi to Hospet and Hampi to Kamalapuram consisted of parts like Pampalnagari, Krsnapura, Tirumalapura, Tirumaladeviyara pattana, Nagalapuram, etc.

46. Major, *India*, p. 6.

47. Elliot, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 107; Parasang = 3½ miles.

48. Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-43. League = 3 miles.

difficult to estimate the exact size of the capital. However, it appears that the accounts of Nicolo dei Conti and Paes are highly exaggerated with regard to the size of the city. It is highly improbable that the size was so big, for, if it had really been so, the distance between the centre of the capital and the first line of fortifications must have been about eighteen to twenty miles. It is probable that both the chroniclers wrongly took into account the mountain fortresses and the fortifications outside the main fortifications of the capital and calculated the circumference to be more than sixty miles. Abdur Razzak's statement that the diameter of the city was fourteen miles can be well compared with the modest estimate of the circumference of the city by Caesar Frederick. Sewell says: "From the last fortification in the south beyond the present town of Hospet, to the extreme point of the defences of Anegundi on the north the distance is about twelve miles." From the extreme western line of walls in the plain to the last of eastern works amongst the hills lying in the direction of Daroji and Kampili the interval measures about ten miles. Within this area we find the remains of the structures of which I have spoken"⁴⁹ Thus the area of the present ruined site of the capital of Vijayanagar also shows that in estimating it Ābdur Razzāk and Caesar Frederick are nearer the truth than Nicolo dei Conti and Paes.

The massive fortification walls at the capital were pierced by openings which served as gateways. They were generally constructed in the Hindu style but in a few of them the influence of Muslim architecture is visible. One of the most important of the gateways of Vijayanagar was what is known as Bhīma's gateway. It got this name because there is in it a large well carved bas-relief image of Bhīma. This gateway has a sallyport and is supported by massive walls on either side. Half a mile to the north-east of the Paṭṭābhīrāma temple is another gate which seems to have served as a main entrance on the northern side of the city of Vijayanagar. In the inner side of the gateway there is a large image of Hanumān. Another gateway that deserves passing mention is the one that is on the road that leads to the Paṭṭābhīrāma temple from the south. While the lower portion of the gateway is built in the Hindu style, the upper portion is built in the Muslim style of architecture.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

SECTION III

Jain Monuments :

The prevalence of religious tolerance in the empire expressed itself in the construction of Jain temples . At the capital itself there is a Jain temple called the Gāṇigitti temple. Gāṇigitti means “an oil woman”, but it is difficult to say how the temple came to be so named. The main tower above the shrine is built in the series of steps which is the most noticeable feature of this style. The pillars are of the heavy cubical variety. There is a beautiful monolithic stambha in front of the shrine and it contains an inscription of A.D. 1385,⁵⁰ which states that it was built by Irugappa Daṇḍanātha, the Jain minister of Harihara II and that it was known as the Caityālaya of Kundu Jinanātha. The figure of a Jain Tīrthankara with three superimposed umbrellas above his head and a flywhisk on either side is engraved upon the stone lintel over the main doorway. Further on the plaster parapet over the front porch there are three small niches each of which contains the remains of three seated Jaina images of the same saint carved on the door lintel.

The Vardhamāna temple at Jīna Kāñcī or Tirupparuttikkunṇam in the Chingleput district received special attention at the hands of Irugappa. He built the *sangītamāṇṭapa* before the Vardhamāna *ardhamāṇṭapa* in front of the shrine at the instance of his preceptor Puṣpasēna. It is so named probably because musical concerts were held in it. It measures 61 feet 9 inches by 26 feet 4 inches. The style of the pillars is early Vijayanagar. On the base of the pillars are carved lions, plants, creepers, twisting snakes, knots, dancing girls, dwarfish Yakṣas playing on musical instruments etc. The capital looks like a lotus and a motif hangs from it representing the seed vessel. In one of the pillars in the *maṇṭapa* is carved the figure of Irugappa Daṇḍanātha in high relief as mentioned earlier.

The base of the *gōpura* is built of granite while its pyramidal part is constructed with stucco and brick. On the sides of the *gōpura* are pilasters with corbels of the Cōla type. In each of the window ornaments (*kūḍus*) of the tower is placed a Jain Tīrthankara in a meditating pose.⁵¹

50. *S.I.I.*, I, p. 156.

51. See for other particulars, T. N. Ramachandran, *Tirupparuttikkunram and its Temples*, (Bulletin of the Madras Govt Museum), 1934, pp. 27-32.

SECTION IV

INDO-SARACENIC ARCHITECTURE

Some of the buildings at the capital and some other provincial centers show that the Hindu architecture was influenced in some of them by the contemporary Muslim style. Political animosity and frequent wars between the Hindus and the Muslims did not stand in the way of this synthesis. The resultant Indo-Islamic art was possibly due to the Hindu pliancy of adopting some of the techniques and principles of the Islamic tradition. Islamic art was responsible for the introduction of new features and forms in the Hindu pattern as is visible in the stalactite, honey-combing, half-domed portal, the minaret and the pendentive.

One of the important buildings at the capital showing 'the effect of the increasing pressure of the intruding building art of Islam on the indigenous style' is the Lotus Mahal within what is now called the Zenānā enclosure: While the recessed and foliated arches in this building are reminiscent of the Lodi type of buildings, the pyramidal roof is adapted from the *śikhara* of the Dravidian structures. The building is a beautiful pavilion with an upper storey. Some fine stucco ornaments adorn the walls of the pavilion. The building itself stands on a raised and ornamented stone basement. The angles are doubly recessed. "This pavilion is open on all sides and provided with massive pillars and arches supporting the room above which is reached by the flight of steps on the north side. The upper room is provided with numerous little windows on all sides, each window originally having little wooden shutters, a feature which we do not find in any other building here, and one which tends to strengthen the conjecture that these buildings do really represent those of the Zenānā. While the pillars and arches are Muslim in character, the base, roof, cornice and stucco ornament are Hindu in design. It is an interesting and not an unpleasant blending of these two different styles and a fine example of Indo-Saracenic architecture."⁵² The Zenānā was enclosed by high walls. The thickness of these walls which are now partly in ruins diminishes with their height. Their top portion, built of cement, appears to have been originally armed with a row of iron spikes all round. On the north end of the enclosure is a huge watch tower rising over a small entrance through the walls.

52. Longhurst, *Op. cit.*, p. 84.

In the south-east corner there is another of the same type. Longhurst thinks that though these towers might have been used for that purpose, 'their architectural style suggests that they were used mainly by the ladies of the Zenānā as pleasure resorts where they might safely watch events taking place outside the enclosure without themselves being seen'.⁵³

Outside the Zenānā enclosures there is a long building with eleven roomy stalls or rooms covered over with lofty domes. Over the central stall there is a square turret and the top is reached by a flight of steps on either side of it. The architecture of the building shows that it is entirely Muslim in character. According to Havell the building was a mosque built for the use of the Muslim troops.^{53a} "The seven larger domes are prototypes of the Jami Masjid at Bijāpur and are modifications of the same Buddhist-Hindu patterns that appear in their original form in the four intermediate domes".^{53b} Local tradition affirms that it was used as a stable for the state elephants.

Very near the elephant stables is an oblong building with an arched verandah. Its external appearance looks Gothic. Around the walls of the interior there is a raised platform running all round and it is divided into a number of equal spaces with pillars in between carrying arches supporting the vaulted roofs above. Longhurst suggests that "the spaces between these rows of pillars were originally closed with rubble walls so as to form a number of small rooms or cubicles".⁵⁴

Within the Daṇāik's enclosure there is a ruined building which Longhurst thinks to be the ruins of a mosque. If it is so, it appears to have been built on a ruined Hindu building. Originally it seems to have been an open pavilion, and stood on an ornamented stone platform full of sculptures and carved mouldings. Later it appears to have been converted into a mosque by raising three walls on three sides of the building. The style of the architecture of the present building is Muslim. There now exists the ruined facade of a building, known as Rāma Rāja's treasury. In it the principle of the foliated arch has been followed for structural purposes only. This is the structural basis of many of the Muslim buildings.⁵⁵

53. *Ibid.*, pp. 83-84.

53a. E. B. Havell, *Indian Architecture*, p. 185.

53b. Heinrich Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. I, p. 282.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

55. See Havell, *Indian Architecture*, p. 184, fig. 43 and compare it with pl. xxxv of the same book.

There is a massive square tower in the north-west corner of the enclosure; over it is a small room divided into three small chambers on a raised platform. There are two windows one on the northern and the other on the western side of the tower; and below them are massive corbels supporting the projecting balconies in front. The roof is supported with arches and little domes.

In the palace at Candragiri the Dravidian pyramidal tower is more prominent while the three storeys of the structure are worked out by means of arcades of pointed arches suggestive of the Islamic pattern. "With the exception of the angles each floor consists of a pillared hall, the piers are arched across both ways corbelled at the angles and closed with flat. ...on the north or near the face of the palace in question the walls pierced by the arches which have brick work are built with brick entirely.....The older vaults particularly those in the lower storey appear to be worked in stone form corbels, while the upper vaults are of brick".⁵⁶ There is very little of ornament above the basement. It appears that the building was originally finer than it is now.

The palace at Madurai is a good specimen of Indo-Islamic architecture. It has a court yard 160 by 100 feet surrounded by arcades on all sides. In it the arches are preferred to the lintel. The pillars on which the arches rest are of stone, forty feet in height "and are joined by foliated brick arcades of great elegance of design, carrying a cornice and entablature rising to upwards of sixty feet."⁵⁷ Next to it is another building called the *svargavilāsam* or celestial pavilion measuring two hundred and thirty five feet by hundred and five feet. It is arranged like a mosque, the central dome being supported by twelve columns, linked together by Islamic arches. "Four similar arches are there thrown across the corner and the octagonal drum rises from these pierced by a clerestory. Above this at the cornice, 45½ feet, the octagon is changed to a circle and the dome rises in the centre to 75 feet, from the floor."⁵⁸

Apart from the inevitable influence of Islam one sees also the intrusion of an entirely different style, brought about by intimate relations with the west. The architectural style of the palace at Madurai built by Tirumalai Nāyaka bears testimony to this new influence. Externally the main building measures four hundred and

56. See *Ind Ant.*, XII, pp- 395-96, for an article by Dr R. F. Chisholm.

57. Fergusson, *Hist. of Ind. and East Arch.*, I, p. 412.

58. *Ibid.*, pp. 413-14.

fifty feet by two hundred and fifty feet and has an interior quadrangle two hundred and fifty two feet by one hundred and fifty feet having columned aisles on its three sides and the Durbar Hall and throne Room on its remaining side. At its northern angle there is another noble hall one hundred and forty feet long by seventy feet wide. "With its massive granite columns forty feet high surrounding the inner courtyard like a peristyle, it expresses something of the spirit of the Greek temple, yet above there are foliated arches in brick and stucco reminiscent of the plaster arcades in the courts of the Alhambra in Spain"⁵⁹ while vaulting of the roofs and the domes have "all the structural propriety and character of Gothic building".⁶⁰ The builders who were able to assimilate Islamic designs more appreciably were however less successful as borne out by the palace of Tirumalai Nāyaka in combining an occidental pattern in their compositions.

59. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Islamic period)* p. 132.

60. See Fergusson, *Indian Architecture* Vol. I, pp. 412-414.

SECTION V

PAINTING

Literary evidence, indigenous and foreign, shows that painting flourished along with other arts⁶¹ with the usual royal patronage. Though technically some decline was perceptible and the delicate modelling of the earlier periods was conspicuous by its absence in the period under review, painting continued to be the medium of the expression of the artistic tastes and genius of the people. Paintings were made on the ceilings and walls of temples and civil buildings and the stucco figures and figurines on towers and *Sikharas* as also sculptures of high relief in them. The celebrated examples of the Vijayanagar paintings so far known are those in some temples at Hampi, Ānegundi, Lepākṣi and Somapalle, the Varadarājasvāmi temple at Kāñcīpuram and the Vardhamāna temple at Tirupparuttikuṇṇam. There was also a later group of paintings superimposed on an earlier group of Cōla paintings in the inner *pradakṣiṇa* of the Bṛhadīśvara temple at Tañjāvūr.⁶²

Strictly speaking the Vijayanagar paintings do not betray any distinct features; but in some instances they were slightly different from the earlier ones. In earlier times the stationary images which were not taken out in procession or bathed on religious occasions were coated with a thin paint.⁶³ By the Vijayanagar days the images were no longer painted, but the stucco figures and decorative features of the plaster work were picked out in handsome colours for the sake of producing brilliant effect and with intention of portraying the legends associated with the deity in the sanctum. Also in its depiction of scenes from mythology with a religious purpose the 'Vijayanagar school' may be said to be distinctive in South India. The figure-painted on the walls of the temples generally depended on the deity enshrined in the sanctum. Scenes from the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* or the *Vaiṣṇava purāṇās* formed excellent themes for paintings in the Viṣṇu temples while scenes from the *Śaiva purāṇās* and legends associated with the Śaiva saints offered good themes for

61. See *Bharatesa Vaibhava* of Ratnakaravarni, Nandi Timmana's *Parijatapaharanamu*, the accounts of 'Abdur Razzak, Paes, Nuniz, etc.

62. The Ramasvami temple at Kumbakonam to which large additions appear to have been made by Govinda Diksita contains one thousand fresh paintings, perhaps of a later date, descriptive of scenes from the *Ramayana*. The Sarngapani temple at the place also contains some good paintings of the period.

63. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, P. 38.

the paintings in the Śiva temples. Likewise scenes from the lives of Jain Tīrthankaras were painted on the walls and ceilings of Jain temples. It was thus the religious impulse that suggested the themes for the art. The famous miniature painting that was flourishing in the contemporary North had not yet come to the Deccan and South India. Paintings of a secular nature were not uncommon but they were over-shadowed by their religious and spiritual counterparts both in quantity and quality. The artists had brilliant conceptions of pose and form and a remarkable colour sense to paint attractive pictures. Decorations and ornaments besides forming artistic embellishments have historical significance illustrative of contemporary methods of adornment.

The paintings of the period differ in technique from those of the earlier periods. This is evident in the deviation from the Cōḷa *fresco-buono* or true fresco to *fresco secco* or painting in lime medium in plaster. The former consists in mixing the pigments with water and applying it over the wet plaster and the latter consists in mixing the pigments with lime water and applying it to the dry plaster on the wall. This is seen, for instance at Tañjāvūr.

In the ceiling of the *Mukhamanṭapa* or *Mahārangamanṭapa* of the Virūpākṣa temple paintings from Hindu mythology are seen. These are in thirteen horizontal rows. Figures of the Trimūrtis (the Hindu trinity) seated with their consorts on thrones are painted respectively on the first three panels. The marriage of Virūpākṣa and Pampāmbā the principal deities of the temple form the theme of the next group. The mythological scenes of 'Madana Vijaya' and 'Tripurasamhāra' in the next panel are by far the most interesting. The figure of Manmatha with the bow of sugarcane and arrow of flowers in his hands with his consort Rati in the chariot behind, the representation in colour at Śiva's feet of Tungabhadṛā on the bank of which Śiva is supposed to have done penance, the depiction of Śiva as Tripurāntakamūrti attacking the three demons with the earth as the chariot, the sun and moon being its wheels, and *Manthara Parvata* as bow and Viṣṇu as arrow show tremendous skill and passionate execution. The paintings of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, the winning of Śīta by Rāma having lifted 'Śiva Dhanus' and Draupadī by Arjuna on hitting the revolving fish in the succeeding panels are depictions from mythology. In the centre of the last panel is a scene of a saint identified with Vidyāraṇya, being carried in procession in a palanquin with all imperial honours. The border decorations depict heavy escort symbolising the veneration in which Śrī Vidyāraṇya was held and the realistically portrayed figure of a horse behind him deserves special notice in this picture.

The Vijayanagar paintings at Ānegundi are seen in the ceiling of the Ucayappa Maṭha. They present a black and white effect with a few red lines of the preliminary drawings left. The colours in the painting of an eight-petalled white lotus on a blue ground with a yellow centre surrounded by red, in a niche of the wall is fortunately preserved unlike similar paintings in the ceilings. The paintings on the ceilings of a part of the pillared hall are exquisite. In one panel we see a bush full of flowers, a squirrel, two women and two men besides two indistinct figures below; in another is seen a bearded rider on an elephant preceded by a woman as also lotus garlands hanging from the top.⁶⁴

By far the most interesting temple rich with Vijayanagar paintings is the one at Lepākṣi.⁶⁵ In it the ceiling of the Raghunātha shrine, the walls surrounding the sanctum of Vīrabhadra and a part of the *maṇṭapa* adjoining the Śiva sanctuary contain numerous pictures. The figures in the *nāṭyamaṇṭapa* and the *ardhamāṇṭapa* are drawn with profound skill and mastery. One of the faces in the former possesses 'the unusual character of appearing to look full at the spectator from whatever point it is viewed. This is a representation of Kṛṣṇa lying as a child on the banyan leaf (*Vaṭapatraśāyi*), his right hand taking up his left toe to his mouth. The sky-blue complexion and the round face of the child and strings of pearls and profuse jewellery that adorn Him are very well painted. Among other specimens of remarkable workmanship the paintings of the marriage of Pārvatī with Śiva, Dakṣiṇāmūrti and Rāma's coronation may be mentioned. The depiction of Śiva as *sukhāsina*, of hunters and sages, the picture of Arjuna receiving a weapon and that of Śiva coming in disguise as a hunter with his boar and spouse, the fight that follows and Śiva blessing Arjuna indicate unmistakably the story of Arjuna's penance. One sees among these paintings a few scenes from the well-known story of Manu-Cōlan who granted impartial justice to an aggrieved cow at the very cost of his own son's life.⁶⁶

The figures of Śiva in his several aspects, as for instance, his rising from the Linga and assuring protection to devotees, dancing over a demon who is being pierced by a trident, his presenting an axe to Caṇḍikēśvara and the figure of a seated Dakṣiṇāmūrti also deserve mention. Perhaps the finest piece is the painting of

64. Stella Kramrisch, *A Survey of Painting in the Deccan*, pp. 108-114.

65. For a detailed study of individual paintings at Lepākṣi Dr. P. Srinivasachar, 'Vijayanagara Painting: Lepakshi' in the *Journal of Deccan History and Culture*, Vol. III, No. 1.

66. It is of interest to note that both the story of Arjuna's penance and that of Manu Colan are repeated in the sculptured panels of the Śiva temple at Penukoṇḍa.

Gauriprasādhaka appeasing Gauri. "In this there is a happy blend of action and repose, anger and calm; also of the straight line and the curve in the lines that form the rhythmic outline of the composition in the simple *samabhaṅga* of Pārvatī and the complex *tribhaṅga* of Śiva that already appears to have stepped into the boundary of *atibhaṅga*." The stream of Gangā spontaneously flowing from the locks of Śiva in accordance with the boon obtained by Bhagīratha has here caused Pāravatī's vexation. The expression of forsakenness in the face of Pārvatī is splendidly brought out. The figure of a *purōhita* giving sacred ashes to Virapaṇṇayya and Virappa in front of the deity Virabhadra may be cited as an example of portrait-painting in the temple.^{66a} The ceiling in the Visnu temple at Adamankōṭṭai near Dharmapuri contains paintings of the Vijayanagar period. They portray scenes from the *Rāmāyana*, *Mahābhārata* and *Bhāgavata*.

The paintings in the Bṛhadiśvara temple at Tañjāvūr betray some degeneracy in the art of painting in the Tamil country. Highly conventionalised and far less perfect than the Cōla paintings these are still important to students of South Indian art. These outlayers of the Vijayanagar paintings include scenes from Hindu mythology such as the churning of the Ocean of milk, several things that came out of it, Śiva taking the poison, the advent of Virabhadra, Dakṣa's sacrifice and Rāvaṇa lifting up Mount Kailāsa. Scenes from the Tañjāvūr *Sthalapurāṇa*, and profuse representations from the lives of the Śiva saints and the Hindu pantheon are also of particular interest.

The Mysore country also contains some temples the walls of which were decorated in the Vijayanagar period with the paintings of scenes from the Purāṇas. Figures of the *Aṣṭadikpālas* are painted on the ceiling of the *Mahādvāra* of the Tontāda Siddhalingēśvara temple at Edeyūr in the Kunigal taluk. Scenes from the life of Siddhalinga, the great Vīra Śaiva teacher, and the *Pañcavimśati* or the twenty-five sports of Śiva are painted on the ceilings of the *mukhamanṭapa* and the *pātālankaṇa* of the same temple. Under each figure explanatory notes are written in Kannaḍa characters. These probably belong to the fifteenth century. Scenes from the Śaiva purāṇa are painted on the ceilings of the *mukhamanṭapa* of the Terumallēśvara temple at Hiriyūr.

The ceilings of the *mukhamanṭapa* and the *sangītamānṭapa* of the Vardhamāna temple at Tirupparuttikkunṇam bear a number of coloured paintings illustrative of the incidents

66a. See for details "Vijayanagara Paintings from the Temple at Lepakshi" by C. Sivaramurti in *Viz. Sixcentenary commemoration* p. 79.

in the lives of three Jain Tirthankaras, Ṛṣabhadēva, Vardhamāna and Nēminātha, and incidentally Kṛṣṇa, the cousin of Nēminātha, the twenty-second Tirthankara. Under some of them are labels explaining the incidents painted on the ceiling. Among the scenes represented are the births of Ṛṣabhadēva, his marriage with two Vidyādhara brides, the festivities and entertainment connected with it, the coronation of Ṛṣabhadēva as king, the dance of the celestial nymph, the *dikṣa* ceremony of Ṛṣabhadēva and many others. The *janmābhiṣēka* of Vardhamāna, Vardhamāna performing *dikṣa*, dance of the celestial ladies and the *kōlaṭṭam* dance are a few of the scenes from the life of Vardhamāna painted on the ceilings. Incidents from the early life of Kṛṣṇa are also represented in painting on the ceiling. Scenes illustrative of Nēminātha proceeding in a palanquin for *dikṣa*; his departure to the forest and his penance are also seen painted on the ceilings.⁶⁷

Besides the mythological and legendary scenes contemporary life was also portrayed in some of the paintings. Referring to a chamber in the palace of the king at Vijayanagar, Paes says that there were designed in painting all the ways of the life of the men who had been there, including the Portuguese so that the king's 'wives' could understand the manner in which each one lived in his own country, even to the blind and the beggars.⁶⁸ At the entrance to the king's residence were two images painted life-like and drawn to their respective manner. One of them represented Kṛṣṇadēva Raya's father, and looked in the painted figure as a dark gentleman of fine form and a little stout, while the other was the painting of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya himself.⁶⁹ The outer walls of a particular chamber within the palace were decorated with the figures of women with bows and arrows like amazons.⁷⁰ The hall where the women within the palace practised dancing was studded with painted sculptures; and the design of these showed the different positions at the ends of dances to remind the dancers of the postures in which they had to stand after a particular dance.⁷¹ Paes speaks also of a painted recess where the women clung on with their hands in "order better to stretch and loosen their bodies and legs".⁷² Ābdur Razzāk too

67. See T. N. Ramachandran, *Tirupparuttikkuṇṇam and its Temples*, (Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum), 1934, p. 63. To Mrs. Stevenson, this practice of colour painting is a terrible vulgarity which disfigures modern Jaina temples. Opinion must differ on this.

68. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

69. *Ibid.*, pp. 284-85.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 287.

71. *Ibid.*, p. 289.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 289.

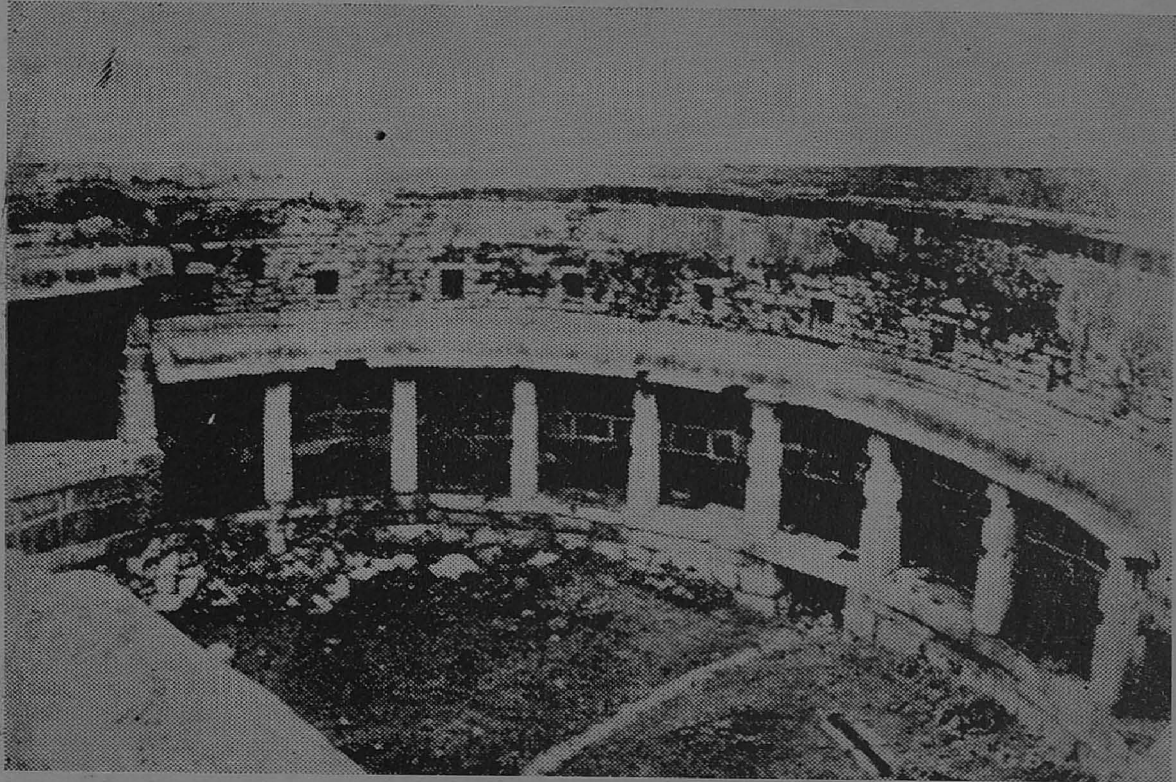
while describing the avenues formed by the houses of nobles and dancing girls, says that the figures of lions, panthers, tigers and other animals were so well painted before them, that they seemed to be alive.⁷³ The *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* also mentions the paintings of birds, swans, doves, parrots and other domesticated animals in front of these houses.⁷⁴

A study of the art of painting under the Vijayanagar kings will be incomplete without an account of the encouragement the Jesuit painters received at the hands of Venkaṭa II. The emperor was very much pleased with a few paintings of the Jesuit Fathers de Sa and Ricao who were staying at his court at Candragiri and asked them to send to him a good painter from St. Thome. They readily sent to him a Jesuit Lay Brother, Alexander Frey by name; and he remained with the king till 1602 during which period he is said to have painted and given to the king very fine paintings of scenes from the life of Jesus which were all very much appreciated by him. Soon he left Venkaṭa's court, but the reason for this is not apparent. In 1607 the Jesuit Fathers sent to the court of Venkaṭa an Italian Lay Brother, Bartolomeo Fontebona, who was a good painter. He painted the figures of Loyola and Xavier for the king. Venkaṭa was very much pleased with his work and himself sat for a portrait of his by the painter. The king hung in a prominent part of his court at Vellore the pictures of Jesus which the Lay Brother had painted and given him. The services of this painter at the court of Venkaṭa were so valuable to the Jesuits that they even thought of promoting him to the priesthood; but he was not raised to that position. It appears that when the Portuguese mission was closed at Vellore in 1611, Bartolomeo Fontebona also left the place. But during his stay at Vellore, his intimacy with the king and his ability to work quickly in painting were responsible for the great patronage and encouragement Jesuit painting received in the early seventeenth century at the Hindu court of Vijayanagar.⁷⁵

73. Elliot, *Op. cit.*, IV, p. 111.

74. Canto I, v. 106.

75. See for a detailed account of Venkata's relations with the Jesuit painters, Heras, *Aravida Dynasty*, I, pp. 486-493.

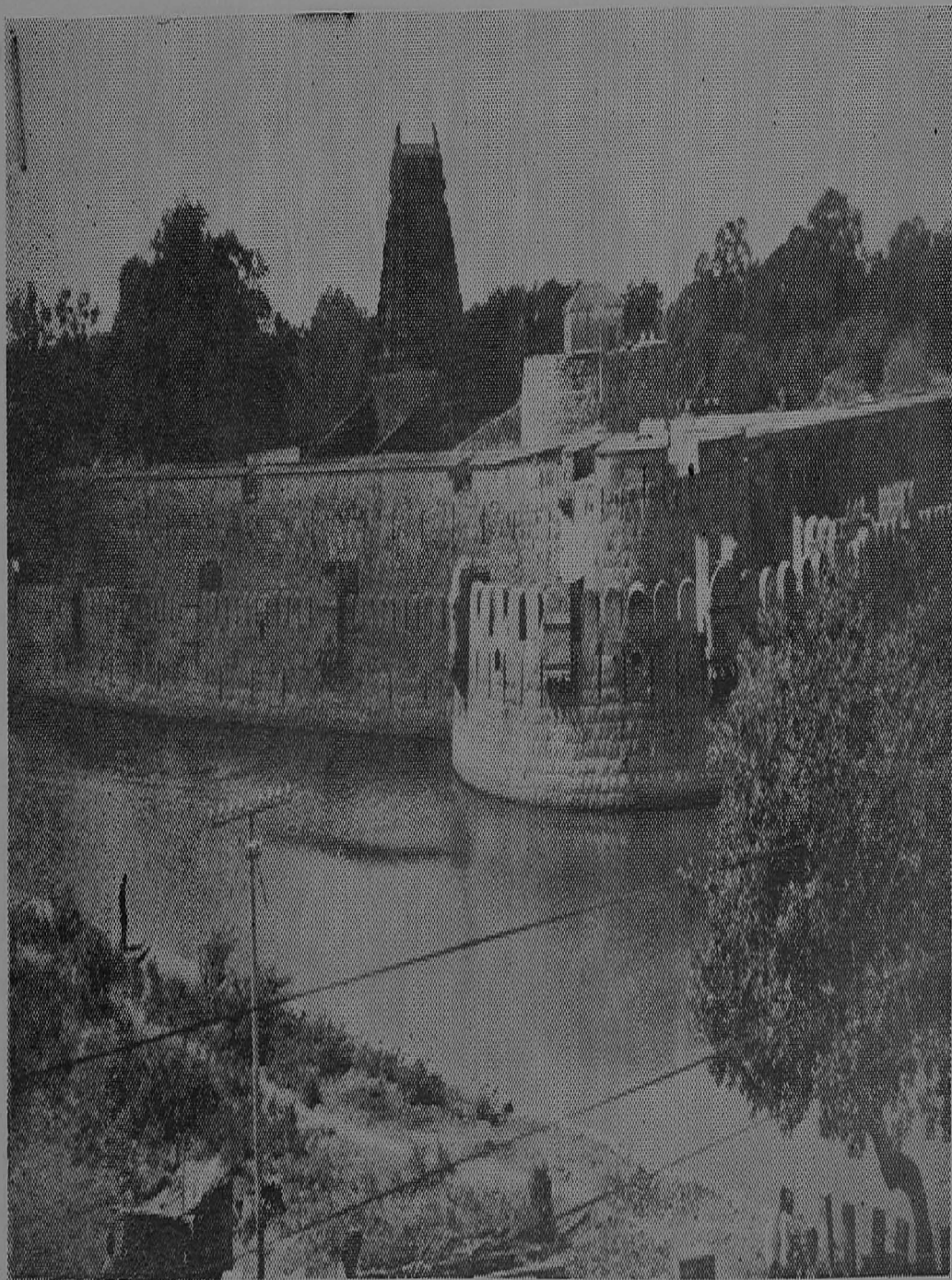


Part of the Prison House, Gingee Fort, Gingee, South Arcot District.

— *By courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.*



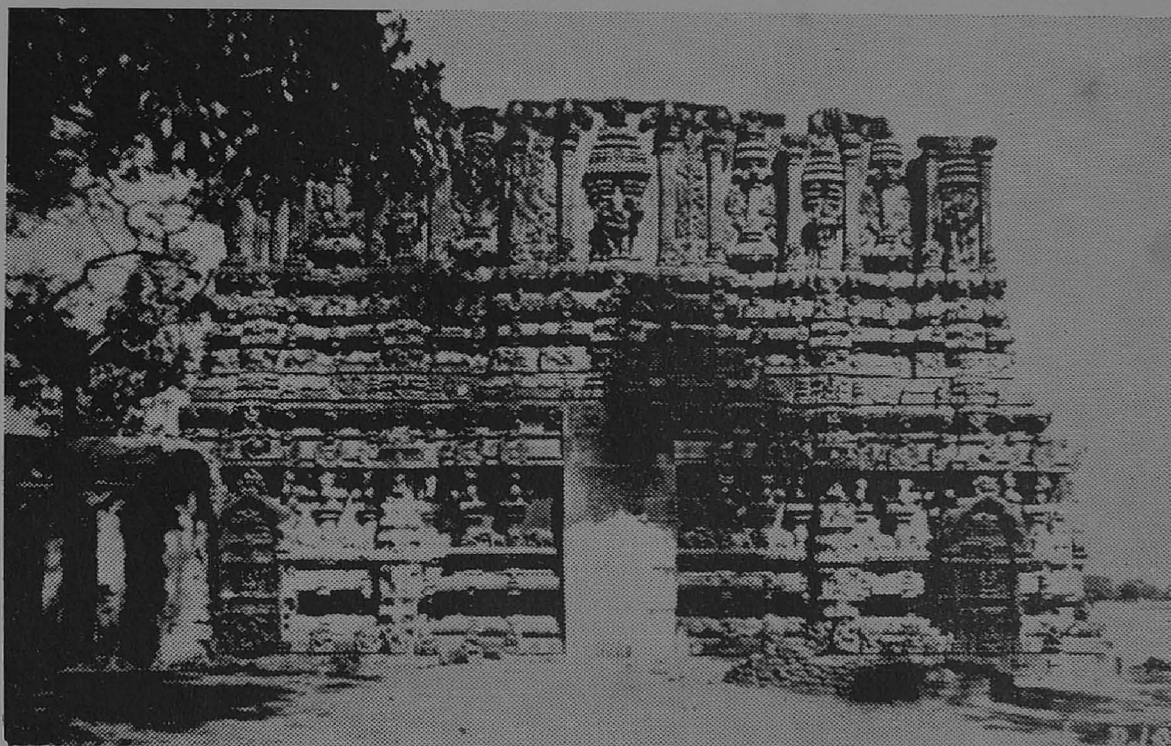
An old pipal tree married to a margosa tree near Madura.
— *By courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.*



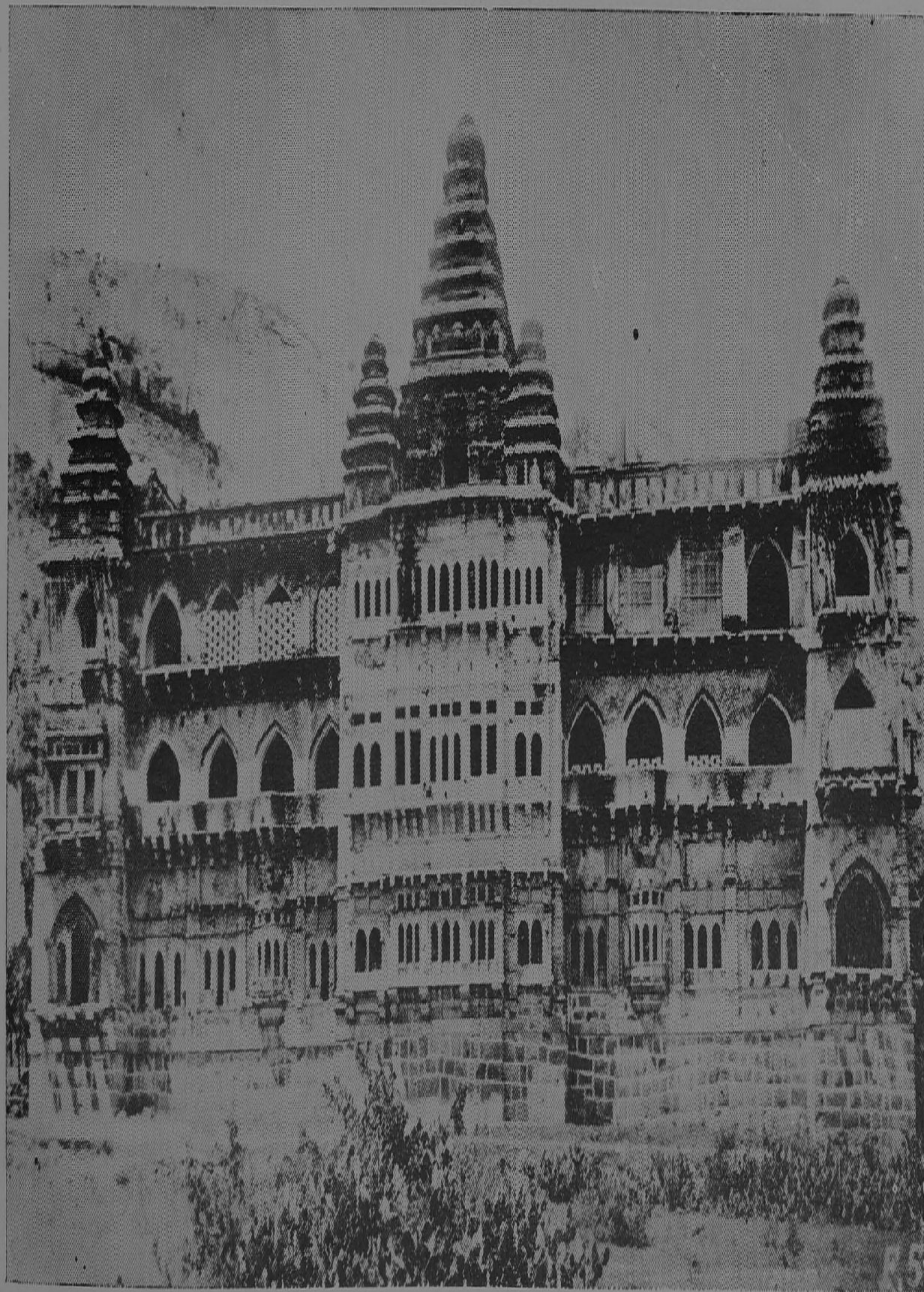
Vellore Fort with a view of the gopuram of the temple inside.



South-west view of the Chintalaraya temple. Tadpatri, Anantapur District.
(Copied from the photo of South-eastern Circle, Hyderabad)
— *By courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.*

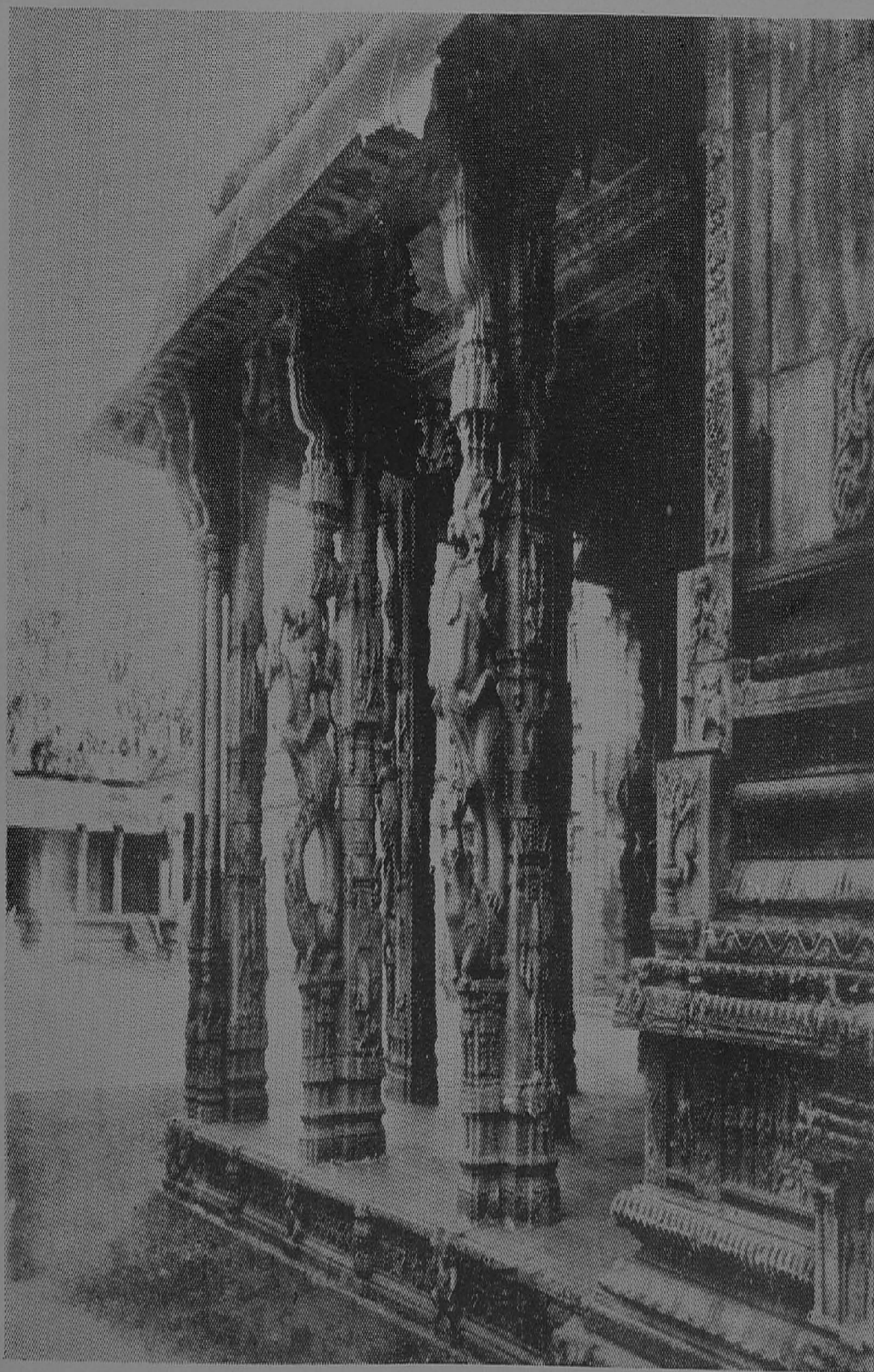


Eastern view of the gopuram base in the Rama temple,
Tadpatri, Anantapur District.
(Copied from the photo of South-eastern Circle, Hyderabad)
— *By courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.*



Chandragiri Raja's Palace south elevation, 'Chandragiri, Chittoor District.

— By courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.



North view of Kalyanamandapa in front of the hall of Jalakantesvara temple
in the Fort, Vellore, North Arcot District.

— By courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.



Details on a pillar of Kalyanamandapa, Varadarajaperumal temple,
Kanchipuram, Chingleput District.

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INDEX

A

Abbe Dubois, On the occasions of quarrels between the Right and Left hand classes, 27.

Abdulla, (Sultān of Golkonda), English factory under the patronage of, 143.

Abdur Razzāk (Ambassador from Persia), On the audience hall of the V.kings, 324; on the bazaar in the V.city, 56; on brāhmans in V.empire, 15; on the breeding of elephants in the V.city, 127; on the contemporary paintings, 340; on courtezans, 43; on the customs duty at Calicut, 165; on the custom of eating alone, 59, 60, n. 266; on the custom of kissing of the royal feet, 50; on dance before the idol during the *Mahānavami* festival, 72; on the display of *Mahānavami* festival, 49; on the *Dombaras*, 25; on the elephants of Dēva Rāya II, 127; on a festival lasting for three days, 240 n. 203; on the harem of Dēva Rāya II, 41; on the houses at Bidrūr, 56; on the hunting of elephants, 70; on the lands under cultivation, 78-9; on the meat supplied to him, 58; on the method of writing, 253-4; on the number of ports on both the coasts, 152; on the ornaments worn by Dēva Rāya II, 64; on populous towns in V.empire, 2; on the population of V.city and V.empire, 4; on the residential quarters of the courtezans, 44; on the royal throne of V.kings, 48; on the security measures at Calicut, 165; on slavery in V.empire, 10; on the treatment given to ships, 165; on

the use of betel leaf, 66; on V.city, 55; on the size and walls (fortification) of the V.city, 327-8.

Abhijnāna-Śākuntalam, a drama by Kālidāsa, 281.

Abhilaṣitārthadāyanī, (a commentary on Jayadēva's *Prasannarāghava*) Cerukūri Lakṣmīdhara, the author of the, 271.

Abhimala, a *tāla* designed by Raghunātha Nāyaka, 75.

Abhinandana, a *tāla* designed by Rāghunātha Nāyaka, 75.

Abhinava Narasimha Bhārati, a pontiff of Śṛṅgēri *maṭha*, 230.

Abhirāma, father of Soṇārdri-nātha, 268.

Ācāryas, (masters of craftsmen), 125.

Accukkaṭṭu lands (rain-fed lands), 77, 101.

Acyutappa (a brother of Cokkanātha Nāyaka), portrait sculpture of, 322.

Acyuta Rāya (Acyuta, Acyuta Dēva Rāya, Acyutayyadēva Mahārāya, Citarao) *Ānanda-nidhi* gift made by, 171, 218; an ardent *Śrī-vaiṣṇava*, 218; *Bhāgavata-Campū*, a work dedicated to, 271; brother of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 270; coronation of, at Tirupati, 229; gift of land by, for the recitation of *purāṇam*, 251; gifts made to the Viṭṭhala temple by, 218; grant made for the celebration of the Car festival of Naṭarāja by, 219 n. 121;

- grants to the Varadarāja-svāmin and Ēkāmbaranātha-svāmin temples by, 218; grant of a village for the promotion of studies by, 250; installation of the image of God Tillai Gōvindarāja at Cidambaram by, 218-9, 219 n. 121; marks of honour conferred by, 54; Nuniz on the harem of, 41; Paes on the cap worn by, 61; *svarṇamēru* gift made by, 46, 271; *Tālamahōdadhi*, a work of, 270; Tirumalāmbā, a queen of, 255; Tirunāvalūr *maṭha*, during the time of, 237; *Tulābhāra* ceremony at Kāñci by, 218; women cooks for the personal service of, 59.
- Acyutarāyabhyudayam*, a work of Rājanātha Diṇḍima, 271.
- Acyuta Rāya temple, 310-1.
- Aḍaikka'appaṭṭu*, a work of Vēdānta Dēśika, 294.
- Aḍaiyapalam, vi., (North Arcot dt., Tamilnadu) a school in the temple at 249.
- Adamankōṭṭai (near Dharmapuri, Tamilnadu), paintings on the ceiling of the Viṣṇu temple at, 338.
- Aḍappam* (betel bearer), Nuniz on, 50.
- Āḍavāṇi, route connecting V. city with, 161.
- Aden, export of coconuts to, 82, 104, 130; export of rice to, 129; import of cloth from, 128; import of gold from 126.
- Adhikaraṇa-Sārāvali* (string of Sanskrit verses), a work by Vēdānta Dēśika, 257.
- Adhmār *maṭha*, 236.
- Adhyayanavṛtti*, same as *bhaṭṭavṛtti*, 109, 250.
- Ādil Shāh (of Bījāpūr) tempting offer to the Portuguese made by, 135.
- Ādil Shāh (Sultān of Madurai), 184.
- Ādinātha, father of Bharata, 292.
- Ādi Śaṅkara, depicted in a panel in the Vidyasaṅkara temple, 313.
- Āditya Rāya, a (brāhman scholar) honoured by Mallikārjuna Rāya, 110, 252.
- Adoni, a city in the central part of V. empire, 3.
- Advaita-Dīpika* (a work of Appayya Dīkṣita), refuted by *Caṇḍamārutam* of Doḍḍayācārya, 221.
- Advaita-veṇbā*, a work of Turaiyūr Śivaprakāśasvami, 298.
- Adyātmasaṅkīrtanalu*, A devotional work on music by Annamācārya, 74.
- Africa, export of wheat to Melinde in, 104.
- Affonso de Albuquerque, on the ports of Cochin and Calicut, 155.
- Āgamas, (twenty-eight) Śaiva *Siddhānta* based on, 194.
- Agara (*agrahāra*), 32 n. 133a.
- Agasta, identification of, with Vidyānāthā, 269, n.80.
- Agastya, Teacher of Gaṅgādēvi, 269, n.80.
- Aghora Munivar, Teacher of Vaidyanātha Dēśikar, wrote *purāṇas* on sacred towns, 299.

Aghora śivācārya, a pontiff of Gḍaki maṭha at Puṣpagiri, 234.

Agni-praveśa, made by a Ganga-sāni of Pāmini, 36.

Agrahāra tenure, same as *gaṇa-bhōgam*, 110.

Agriculture and Land tenures, (76-104).

Ahappēy, a *Śittar*, 195.

Ahmad Khān, A servant of Dēvarāya II, 211.

Ahōbala (Ahōbalādri) an important vaiṣṇava centre, 223, 229; restoration of worship in the temple at, by Śri Raṅga, 222; *tulāpuruṣa* and other gifts made by Tirumala I at, 222.

Ahōbala Narasimha (God at Ahōbala). Presents of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya to, 217.

Ain-ul-Mulk Gilani (Ainana Malukka), an officer under Rāma rāja, 212.

Aitareyadīpikā, a work by Vidyāraṇya, 258.

Aiyappa Nāyaka, younger brother of Venkaṭappa, 145.

Akarāti Nikaṇḍu, a lexicon, 298.

Ākāśavāśi, a variant of the term *Ākāśamukhin*, 214, n.96.

Ākāśavāśi, Sāmavēdiguru, Śiṅgaṇṇa Oḍeya, a disciple of, 214, n.96.

Akkadēva, arrangement made for the annual clearance of silt in a tank by, 87.

Aksobhya Muni (Tīrtha), (contemporary of Vidyāraṇya and

a follower of *Dvaita* philosophy) his philosophical dispute with Vidyāraṇya, 189, 191.

Ākuvīti Venkaṭādri, *Rāghava Pāṇḍavīyaṇtu*, a work dedicated to, 285.

Alagiya Tiruccirrambalam-udaiya Tambirānār (Naṭarāja), God at Cidambaram, 219 n.121.

Ālāṅku, a cubic measure in Tamil land, 169.

Alaṅkāra-raṣṇākara, A work of Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita, 277.

Alaṅkāra-sudhānidhi, a work of Śāyaṇācārya, 260, 261; works of Bhōganātha as said in, 264.

Ālattūr, vi., a hamlet of Uttaramērūr, 90.

Alā-u-din Sikandar Shāh, Sul-tān of Madurai, 184.

Alcaid, 51 & n.220.

Alexander Frey (a Jesuit Lay brother), appreciated for his paintings by the emperor, 340.

Alexandria, 137.

Alīya Rāmarāsayyan, father of Kṛṣṇamarasayyan, 297.

Allama (Prabhudēva), *Prabhu-līṅga līla*, a work on the life of, 290.

Allappa Nāyaka, ch., called a champion over *maṇḍalikas*, 70; land grant to the *tambūra* players of Huruvaḷi by, 73.

Allāsāni Peddanna, (One of the *aṣṭadiggajas* of V. court),

- a poet laureate of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 269, n.80, 283; author of the *Manucaritamu*, 217; On Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's devotion to God Veṅkatēśa, 217; Life and works of, 283.
- Āḷamañji*, 86.
- Ālvārs*, *Tiruvāymoli*, a work on the lives of, 196.
- Ālvār Tirunagari*, Maṇavāla-mahāmuṇi from, 199.
- Amalanāḍippirān*, a commentary on, 257.
- Amaramāgani*, (*amaramāgaḷi*) lands held by *amaranāyakas*, 111.
- Amaram* grant, 110.
- Amaranāyaka* tenure, see *nāyankara* tenure, 110.
- Amarēśvara* temple, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's visit to the, 42.
- Amarayya*, *Prabhāvatī Pradhyumnan*, a work dedicated to, 285.
- Ambalavāṇa Dēśikar*, A head of the *Tiruvāvaḍuturai maṭha*, 237.
- Ambalavāṇa Dēśikar* of Turaśai, works of, 298.
- Amboyana*, abandonment of English factory at, 141; massacre of, (in early 1623), 141, 143.
- Āmōdā*, a work of Sudhīndra Tīrtha, 277.
- Āmuktamālyada* (*Viṣṇucittiyā*), A Telugu work of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 269, 281; the authorship of, attributed to Peddana, 282; on the double dress worn by women, 63; on the economic policy of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 164; emphasis made in, to increase the irrigation facilities, 175; on the meal in a Brāhman's house, 59; on the regulated programme of a king, 53; on the use of horses, 162.
- Amur Khān, an officer under Rāma Rāja, 212.
- Anadāri (a minister of Vīrappa Nāyaka), 297.
- Ānandalaharī*, an Advaita work, 274.
- Ānandamālai*, a work of Kavi-rāśa Paṇḍitar, 296.
- Ānanda Namaśśivāya Paṇḍāram, a disciple of Cidāmbara Guru Namaśśivāya-mūrti, 299.
- Ānanda-nidhi* (a kind of gift made in favour of brāhmins), 171; gift of, made by Acyuta Rāya, 218.
- Ānanda-nilaya-vimāna*, gilding of the, of Śrī Veṅkatēśvara at Tirumalai by Tātācārya, 272.
- Ānanda pañcaka*, a joint work of Bhāratī Tīrtha and Vidyāraṇya, 258.
- Ānanda pūraṇa, commentaries written by, 267.
- Ānanda Rāghava*, a work of Rājacūḍamaṇi, 278.
- Ānanda tīrtha, *Sūtrā bhāṣyas* of, 266.
- Anaṅgaparikramana*, a *tāla* designed by Raghunātha Nāyaka, 75.
- Anantapur, Branch of Goḷaki *maṭha* at, 234; diamond mines in the district of, 116.

Anantārya, author of the *Pra-pannāmṛtam*, 215 n.101.

Anantaśayanam, a city in the southern part of the V. empire, 3; pilgrim centre, 229.

Anargha rāghava, a commentary on, by Cerukūri Lakṣmīdhara, 272.

Anavēma Redḍi family (in the Candanūr country), Vēmana, a member of, 287.

Ana Vēma Redḍi (of Koṇḍavīdu), also called Karpūra vasantarāja, 268.

Andakakkavi Vīrarāghava Mudaliyār (a disciple of Kacciyappa Śivācārya), works of, 299.

Āndhrakavitāpitāmaha, a title of Allasāni Peddana, 283.

Ānegundi temple, paintings in the, 335.

Angarāyam *maṭha*, 237.

Ankoḷa, a town in the west coast of V. empire, 3; cloth purchased by the Portuguese at, 131.

Ankuśa Rāya (a feudatory of Rāma III). Ēkāmrānātha, a poet at the court of, 271.

Aṇimā, a *siddi*, 194.

Annamācārya (a musician poet) a member of the Tāḷapākkam family, 268; honoured by Rāmarāja, 221; works of, 74.

Aṇṇāmalaikkōvai, a work of Kāmalai Jñānaprakāśa Paṇḍitar, 297.

Aṇṇāmalai-veṇba, a work of Cīdambara Guru Namaśśivāya mūrti, 299.

Aṇṇāmārādhyā, a brāhman minister under Dēvā Rāya II, 16.

Aṇṇāṇavadipparari, a work of Tattuvarāyar, 294.

Ant. Schorer (a Junior Dutch Factor at Masulipatam in 1609), account of the coromandel coast by, 179, n.37.

Anubhūti prakāśika, by Vidyāranya, 258.

Anuttāna-agaval, by Kāmalai Jñānaprakāśa Paṇḍitar, 297.

Aparokoṣānubhūtidīpika, a commentary on Śrī Śaṅkara's *Aparokṣānubhūti*, 258.

Aparokṣānubhūti, (a work of Śrī Śaṅkara), commentary on, 258.

Āpattaraṇar (poet), author of the *Bhūkōḷa Śāstram*, 298.

Appa Koṇḍaja (a Secretary of Venkaṭa II), embassy sent to the British traders with a letter from, 142.

Appāṇḍār temple, a Jaina temple at Tiruniṇṇankōṇṇai, 204.

Appayya Dīkṣita (1520-93) A great Advaita teacher, 274; son of Raṅgarāja Dīkṣita, 273; an able controversialist, 191-2; Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, the disciple of, 275; commentary on *Śaiva-bhāṣya* by 194; commentary on *Śrīkaṇṭha-bhāṣya*, by, 249; commentary on *Yādavābhyudayam* by, 256; defeat of, by Doḍḍayācārya in a controversy, 221; a follower of Śrīkaṇṭha, 275; life and work of, 273; patronised by Venkaṭa II, 255; protege of Cīnna Bommu Nāyaka of Vēlūr, 275; school established at Aḍaiyapalam by,

- 249; tried to be assassinated by Tātācārya, 273; victory of, in a religious controversy with Tātācārya, 225.
- Arabia, exports from South India to, 104, 127, 129, 131.
- Arabian coast, sea-voyages for trade purposes to, 134.
- Arabs, exclusion of, from trade market by the, 134.
- Ārādhya-caritra*, (a work by (Nilakaṇṭha Śivācārya), biographical sketch of Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhya in the, 291.
- Aṛaikāval*, Superintendent of the temple stores, 227.
- Aramaḷatta Nāyanār, 22.
- Aramvalatta Nācciyar, interview with the king sought by, 46.
- Araviḍu kings, spread of *śrīvaiṣṇavism* under, 222-4.
- Arubattumūvaṇ-tirumaḍam* at Tirukkoḍuṅṇam, Iśāna Śiva of, 235.
- Architecture, Sculpture and Painting, (301-340).
- Ardha-maṇṭapa* at Śrīraṅgam temple, construction of, by Śrī Raṅga, 222.
- Ariccandira-purāṇam*, a work of Vīrakavirāyar, 296.
- Ariviḷimaṅgalam plates, 222.
- Ariyanātha Mudali, statue of, in the thousand pillared *maṇṭapa* of the Madurai temple, 323.
- Arkkāvati, River, 84.
- Armagon, English trading unit started thro' Ārumuga Mudali at, 144; order to dismantle the factory at, 145, 174.
- Ārumuga Mudali, (the chief of Armagon) English trading unit at Armagon, started through, 144.
- Arroba*, 114, n.130.
- Arthapañcakam*, a work of Vēdānta Dēśika, 294.
- Articles of Agricultural Production, 76.
- Articles of Trade, 126.
- Artisan in V. empire, 20f.
- Arulāḷadāśar, see Varadan, 296.
- Arulāḷap-Perumāl temple, *Sarasvatī Bhaṇḍāra* in, 254.
- Aruṇāchalapurāṇam*, by Ellappa Nāvalar, 298.
- Aruṇagiri, a pontiff of Kāmakōṭi-piṭha at Kāñci, 231.
- Aruṇagiri-andādi*, a work of Cidambara guru Namaśśivāyamūrti, 299.
- Aruṇagirinātha, (a poet during the days of Praudādēva Rāya), *Tiruppugal*, a work of, 294.
- Aruṇagirinātha, (author of the farce 'Somavalliyōgānanda'), *Prahasana*, a commentary on *Saundaryalahari* by, 268.
- Aruṇagiri-purāṇam*, by Maṛaij-ñānasambandar, 297.
- Aruṇai-antāti*, a work of Ellappa Nāvalar, 298.
- Arulnandi-Śivācārya, a follower of Meykaṇḍa, 194.

Asal (a kind of rice), 80.

Asancadīpika, a work of Tamiḷ-akara Muṇivaṇ, 299.

Ashi, Sea voyages for trade purposes to, 134.

Aspergh, (plain high things), worn by people on their feet, 62.

Aṣṭa bhōga tējah svāmya, 107.

Aṣṭabhujāṣṭaka, a work by Vēdānta Dēśika, 257.

Aṣṭadiggajas, the eight great poets of the court of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 282-3.

Aṣṭa-śakti-maṇṭapa at Maḍurai, 322.

Asu, (a kind of poetry), 46, 278.

Atharvavēda-samhitā-bhāṣya, by Sāyaṇācārya, 261.

Aṭhavaṇi (revenue), 253.

Ativīra Rāma Pāṇḍya, (a scholar and a subordinate ruler under V. crown), works of, 297; Varatuṅga Rāma Pāṇḍya, a cousin of, 296.

Ātmabōdhēndra (a pontiff of Kāmakōṭi-pīṭha at Kāñci); composition of *Gururatna-mālā* at the instance of, 231.

Ātrēya Rāmānuja, Vēdānta Dēśika the nephew of, 256.

Attiparru, vi., 90.

Attuvakkattalai, a work of Kamalai Jñānaprakāśa Paṇḍitar, 297.

Aufrecht on the authorship of the Vedic commentaries, 263; on the foundation of Vyāsārāya maṭha, 202.

Auavagas, (a kind of rice), 80.

Ava, perfumes imported from, 128.

Avaidika Pāsūpatas, 192.

Avirodhanātha (a Jaina scholar of the 14th century A.D.), author of the *Tirunūṛṇṭāḍi*, 193.

Āyatavarma, author of the *Ratnakaraṇḍaka*, a translatory work, 290.

Āyirappāḍal, a work of Kamalai Jñānaprakāśa Paṇḍitar, 297.

Āyurvēda, 251.

Āyūrvēda Sudhānidhi, by Sāyaṇācārya, 261.

Ayyala Rāju, one of the *aṣṭadiggajas*, 283.

Ayyapparaśu, a brāhman minister under Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 16.

Ayyalarāzu Rāmabhadra, adaptation of *Prapañcadarpaṇa*, into Telugu by, 269, n.80. 264.

B

Babylonia, supply of emerald and sapphires by, 116.

Bacahallī Plates of Harihara II,

Bacanūr, see Bārakūr, 3.

Bācaraśayya, a brāhman minister under Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 16.

Bādarāyaṇa, *Brahmasūtras* of, 267.

Baden Powell, remarks of, on sale of land, 102-3.

Bāhmani kingdom, Feroz Shāh, the sultan of, 148; encourage-

- ment to the pirate chieftains by Hindu government to molest the trade of, 160.
- Bāhubāli (a poet of the early V. period), a work by, on the life of Dharmanātha, 289.
- Baicaya Daṇḍanātha, father of Immaḍi-Bukka Mantriśvara, 204.
- Baicaya Daṇḍēśa (family), Irugappa Daṇḍanātha, a member of, 266.
- Bairanikoṇḍa, a mountain peak in the Nallamalai range, Kurnool district, 208.
- Bākanūr (a port in the Kanara country), visited by many ships from abroad, 154.
- Bakshish* (bribes), 160.
- Bāla-bhāgavatamu*, by Kōnērunātha, 286
- Bāla Bhārata*, (of Agastya), a commentary on, 269.
- Bāla Bhārata Vyākhyā* (Manōramā), a commentary on *Bāla-Bhārata*, 269.
- Bālasubrahmanya Kavirāya, author of the *Paṇṇit-talapurāṇam*, 299.
- Balimkut, a port, 154.
- Bali Redḍi, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's land grant to, 77.
- Bali Redḍihalli, a tank at (Anantapur district), 77.
- Ballāḷa III (1310-42) submission of, to Muhammad-bin-Tughluk, 184.
- Ballam*, a cubic measure in Kannaḍa area, 169.
- Ballas*, a measure, 102.
- Bammera Potana, works of, 281.
- Banajigarū* (of many trades) a Right hand class, 26 n.108.
- Banavāśi, Bhaṭkal-Vijayanagar road through, 161.
- Banda, abandonment of English factory at, 141.
- Bandarasayya (the agent of Rāma Rāja Tirumāla Rājayya), settlement of a dispute by, between cultivators and *pañcālas*, 20.
- Bandha*, a kind of poetry, 46, 278.
- Bangāru Kāmākṣi (deity), consecration of a temple for, by Candrasēkhara Sarasvati, 234.
- Baniyas*, a merchant community, 149.
- Baṅkāpura (Baṅkāpūr), a city in the central part of V. empire, 3, 79; abundant rice cultivation in, 80; Bhaṭkal-Vijayanagar road through, 161; a road connecting the capital with Goa, through, 161.
- Bārakūr (Bācanor), a town in the west coast of the V. empire, 3; annual tribute paid to the Portugues by the ruler of 134.
- Bāram* (*baram*), a unit of weight in Tamil-area, 169.
- Bārbers* (a community), favour shown by Sadāśiva Rāya and his minister Rāma Rāya to, 24 and n.105.
- Barbosa (Duarte), On the ability of businessmen, 149; on the dwelling houses, 69; on the

breeding places on livestock in the Deccan, 98; on cities, towns etc., in the V. empire, 2; on the condition of *kudis* in the west coast area, 95; on the conveyance available in the empire, 162; on the crews maintained by the pirates of the west coast, 159-60; on the consumption of rice in Malabar, 154; on the daily wages earned by workmen, 125; on the dancing girls, 45; on the dress of women, 62, 63; on the dyeing industry, 114; on the ear-rings used by the people, 65; on the entertainment by the courtezans to please the king, 45; on the equity and justice in the empire, 166; on the export of rice, from South India, 80, 129-30; on the false diamonds fabricated in India, 116; on the food of vegetarians, 58-9; on the Hindu mendicants, 245; on the hospitality of the king, 164; on the houses, 55, 120; on the incision by the people during the car-festival, 246; on ivory articles, 120; on king's order, regarding the company of wives and children with soldiers, 43; on the life lead by Cettis, 148-9; on the members of the harem, 41; on the method of obtaining alms by ascetics, 172; on the Muslim ships, 156; on Mylapore a deserted port at the time of, 156; on the ornaments used by women, 65; on Poleas Pariahs, Muslims and their residences, 2; on the population of in the west coast of the empire, 4; on the 'powdered sugar', 114; on the practice of writing, 254; on the price of rice, 178; on the prosperous conditions in the kingdom of Narasiṅga, 79; on the provision of river communications in the empire, 158; on the quarters of women-servants, 40; resentful remark by, on brahmins as

great eaters, 18; on the right of fishing in the port of Kāyal, 155; on rice cultivation in the V. Empire, 80, 92; on the rivalry among the women in the harem, 40 & n.165; on the rough shoes used by the people, 121; on *sati*, 34, 35-6; on slavery in Vijayanagar, 11; on the streets in V. city, 4; on the system of buying in advance, 150; on the trade routes connecting Vijayanagar and Pulicat, 161; on the traders among Moors and Heathen, 155; on the trade in the port of Goa, 153; on *Tuias* engaged in the preparation of wine, 115; on the uses of cocoanut balms, 115; on the use of footwears and umbrellas, 62; on the wealth of the courtezans, 44; on wheat production, 80; on women-education, 46.

Barcelore. See Basrūr, 135;

Barradas (1614), on 'a page of the betel of the king of Bisenaga', 51; on *sati*, 33.

Bartolomeo, Fontelona (an Italian Lay Brother), at the court of Venkaṭa, 340.

Basavaga (bond-servant), 10.

Basava (Viṣabha)—a minister and contemporary of king Bijjala, 193.

Basava-Purāṇa, a Kannada translation of, 289.

Basava-bhaṭṭa, accepted the superiority of Vyasarāya, 201.

Basrūr (Barcelore), a town in the west coast of the V. empire, 3; agents of the Muslim merchants at, 133; annual tribute paid to the Portuguese by the rulers of, 134.

Bayaderes, (dancing girls of the temple and palace), 43.

Bēdabōdhini, a work of Rāghavēndra, 277.

Bedakōṭa, *vipravīnōdins* in, 19.

Bednur, (Bidanūr) a place in the west coast of the V. empire, 3.

Bellary, branch of Gōḷaki-*maṭha* at, 234.

Bengal, 128, 134, 137.

Berbera (in Africa), gold imported from, 126.

Bēricetty merchants, a left hand class, 25 n.108; the preceptors of, 234.

Bettu, a land measure, 79, 102.

Bezeneger, see Vijayanagar, 61.

Bhadri (of Badāri), a *mānya* by king Sadāśiva to, 24.

Bhāgavata by Vijayīndra Tīrtha, a commentary on, 236.

Bhāgavata, translation of certain *cantos* of, by Haribhaṭṭa, 270.

Bhāgavatam, a Tamil version of, by Śevvaiccinduvār, 299; and another one by Varadarāja Aiyangār, 296, 297.

Bhāgavata-campū a work of Rājanātha Diṇḍima, dedicated to Acyuta Rāya, 271.

Bhāgavata-purāṇam, a Tamil work of Sevvaiccoduvār, 280, 295.

Bhairava hill (modern Bairāṇi-konḍa), 208.

Bhaiṣmī-pariṇaya-campū, a work of Ratnakhēta Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita, 278.

Bhakti-Saṅjīvinī, 228; recitation of the, 228, 251.

Bhaṇḍāra, the same as *kara*, 109.

Bhaṇḍāra-grāmas (royal villages), 108.

Bhandarkar, on the Vaḍagalai and Teṅgalai systems, 196-7.

Bhārangi, a place in the west coast of V. empire, 3.

Bhārata, ten *parvas* of, by Kumāra Vyāsa (in Kannaḍa), 290.

Bhārata, Sudhā, by Raghunātha Nāyaka, 277.

Bharatēśa Vaibhava (a work dealing with the story of Bharata), by Ratnākara Varṇi, 292.

[Bhārati Tīrtha, a pontiff of Sṛṅgēri *maṭha*, 230; a *guru* of Mādhava, 258.

Bhāskara Bavadūra (prince), construction of a huge tank by, 83.

Bhāskara Kavi, father of Tim-mṇṇa Kavi, 291.

Bhāṣya Bhūṣa, a work, 252.

Bhāṣya-ratnāvali, by Sundarēśvara Sāstri, 278.

Bhatkal (Batacalla), a port-town in the west coast, 3, 79; dye stuffs shipped from, 130; frequent wars of the Portuguese with the rulers of, 136; iron exported from, 131; Ormuz ships brought horses and pearls to, 154; road leading to Vijayanagar from, 161; sheep and goats in, 98;

Bhaṭṭa Baciappa, a composer of royal grant, 253.

Bhaṭṭakalanka dēva (a grammarian and poet), court poet of Śrī Raṅga I and Veṅkaṭa II, 292.

Bhaṭṭasangrahamīmāmsa Bhāva Sangraha, by Rāghavēndra, 277.

Bhaṭṭavṛtti, 109.

Bhaṭṭavṛttimānyam, villages granted as, 250.

Bhaṭṭōgi Dīkṣita, (a *vyākaraṇa* scholar of the 17th century), a disciple of Appayya Dīkṣita, 275; works of 275.

Bhaṭṭu Mūrti (Rāma Rāja Bhūṣana), 286.

Bhāva-bhūti, author of the *Mālatīmādhava*, 267.

Bhāvacintāratna, a work of Guruliṅga Vibhu, 291.

Bhāvanā-puruṣōttama, a drama by Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita composed at the instance of Śūrappa Nāyaka, 272, 278.

Bhava Sṅgāra Bhūṣana Bhūṣana, by Vāmaṇa, 268.

Ehedavidyā-vilāsa, a work of Sudhīndra Tīrtha, 277.

Bhēri, a musical instrument, 73.

Bhikṣāmaṭha, same as Lakṣadhyaī, 235; Visvesvara Sivacarya, and, 228.

Bhikṣātana-caritra, a *śaiva* work by Guruliṅga Vibhu, 291.

Bhīma gateway, 329.

Bhīma Kavi, (a brahman poet), Kannaḍa version of *Baṣava Purāna*, by, 289.

Bhīmakhaṇḍa, by Śrīnātha, 280.

Bhoganātha (a brother of Mādhavācārya and a disciple of Śrīkaṇṭha), life and work of, 264-5; Sāyaṇa's regard for, 265.

Bhōgāvali (praśāstī), 206.

Bhōgāvali, a work of Śrīnivāsa-yajvan, 271.

Bhōgayadēva Mahārāja (an agent of the state), *sabhā* summoned at the instance of, 271.

Bhogini Daṇḍakannu, by Bamera Potana, 281.

Bhramaragīta, a work of Śrīpāda rāya, 292.

Bhūkōḷa Sāstram, a work in Geography by Apattaraṇar, 298.

Bhūmipa (the protector of the earth), a title, 106.

Bhūmīśvara (master of the earth), a title, 106.

Bhuvanēśvari shrine in the Śrī Virupākṣa temple, 305.

Bidanūr, see Bednūr, 3.

Bidar, slavery in, 10.

Bidrūr, Abdur Razzāk on the houses at, 56.

Bijjala (king of the Kaḷacūri dynasty), Basava, a minister and contemporary of, 193.

Bijapūr, Ādil Shāh of, 134.

Bisnaga (Vijayanagar), 5, 58, 116.

Bitragunta grant, 264.

Bizengalia (see Vijayanagar), 242.

Bodial (Budehal, Chitaldrug, Mysore state), linen cloths manufactured in, 123.

Bombeya Lakka (a Vīraśaiva scholar), the story of Hariścandra by, 291.

Bommakka, a deity worshipped by *Tōṭṭiyans*, 29.

Bommarasa (a Kannaḍa scholar) *Soundara purāṇa* by, 290.

Bommera Potana (a younger contemporary of Śrīnātha), author of the *Vīrabhadra-vijaya*, 280.

Borneo, imports from, 128, 156.

Bovaṇṇa Ayya, son of Dēvap-
paṇṇa Ayya, a *sthānika*, 31.

Brahmadēśam, a declaration by the temple authorities at, 21.

Brahmadēya, 109.

Brahmans in V. empire, 15f; according to *śivādvaita* school, 194; as merchants, 149; as active politicians, 16; as pure vegetarians, 15; child marriage among the, 33; dispute of, with Saurāṣṭras, 29; kinds of gifts made in favour of, 171; Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya on, 16; remarks by foreign travellers on the, 15, 18, 19; respected by Dēva Rāya II and Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya 15; sacred thread worn by, 18; *sati* among the, 36; Telugu, 30; a voluntary agreement by, regarding *kanyādāna*, 32; Van Linschoten on, 16, 18; women among the, 39.

Brahmanical education, system of, 249.

Brahmaṇya Tīrtha, teacher of Vyāsarāya, 201.

Brahmasiddhi, a commentary by Ānanda Pūrāṇa on, 267.

Brahmasūtras (of Bādarāyaṇa), *Brahmasūtravṛtti*, a gloss on the, 267.

Brahmasūtra, 273.

Brahmasūtras (deduced by Mādhava), *Yuktimālīka*, a work on the, 276.

Brahmasūtrārtha Sangraha, a work of Sudhīndra Tīrtha, 277.

Brahmasūtravṛtti, a gloss on the *Brahmasūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa, 267.

Bṛhadīśvara temple at Thaṇjāvūr, paintings in the, 335, 338.

Bṛhadvivarṇa, a work of Īśvara Dīkṣita, 270.

Brickceden, president of the English settlements of the East and the council at Baṅtam, 143.

Brown, on the pedigree of Vēmana, 287.

Buchanan (a visitor to Mysore towards the close of the 18th century), 247 on Right and Left hand classes in the V. empire, 25 n.108.

Buddhāditya, a monk who composed a *bhōgāvali* on the king of Majapahit, 206.

Buddhism and Jainism, 203f.

Bukkarāyapaṭnam, 279.

Bukka I, (Bukkamahīpati, Bukkaṇṇa Uḍaiyār, Bukka Rāja), 189; a disciple of both Vidyā Tīrtha and Vidyārāyaṇa, 214; helped by Vidyārāyaṇa in the task of religious revival, 189; father of Kamapaṇa, 265; Madhavacarya,

the minister of, 16, 260; Mādhavācārya wrote a commentary on the Rg. Vēda, at the request of, 262; Mādhvācārya appreciated by, 259; Mallappa Oḍeya, the son of 267; Sāyaṇācārya, minister under, 260; settlement of a dispute between Jains and Vaiṣṇava in A.D. 1368 by, 203.

Bukka II, construction of a channel by Śiṅgayya Bhaṭṭa, under instructions from, 84; grant by, for a library, 254; Lakṣmaṇa Paṇḍita in the court of, 266.

Bukkamahīpati (Bukka I), 189.

Burhan-i-Mazīr, on ports in V. empire, 153.

C

Cabaia (thin cotton linen gown), 18.

Cabayas, tunics, 49.

Caesar Frederick (an Italian traveller), Nāgapattinam port during the days of, 155; on *Aspergh* (plain high things) worn by people on their feet, 62; on the circumference of the V. city, 328; on the customs duty on horses from Goa, 165; on the dress of people, 61; on the fortification of V. city, 328; on Mylāpore, 137; on the results of the Hindu defeat at Rakṣas Tangḍi, 138; on *śati*, 35, 36; on the transport facilities, 161; visit of, to Mylāpore, 156.

Caitanya, disputation of, with the Buddhists in Arcot, 208.

Caitra festival (spring festival), 244; in the temple of Virūpākṣa, 71; *Jambavatīkalyānam*, a drama enacted during the, 269.

Cakenahalḷi, grant of, by Immaḍi Naraśimha, 252.

Cakkiliyans, a caste, 28.

Carka-mīmāṃsā, by Vādirāja, 276.

Calicut (port), 152, 159; customs duty at, 165; English factory at, 143; Ginger shipped from, 131; Muslim population at, 133; musical instruments of the people of, 73; pepper exported from 130; security offered by the state in, 165; sheeps and goats in, 98; varieties of cloth imported at, 128.

Cāma Nṛpāla, ; commander-in-chief under Dēvarāya II, 88.

Cāmara, bearers of, 51.

Cāmaraśa, See Kumāra Vyāsa, 290.

Camatra, printed cotton cloths exported to, 123.

Cambaya, Pulicat had trade relations with, 156, 79, 153.

Caṇḍamārutam, a work of Doḍḍayācārya refuting *Advaita Dipika* of Appayya Dīkṣita, 221.

Candracūdendra, a pontiff of Kāmakōṭi-pītha at Kāñcī, 231.

Candracūda Sarasvati, (Candra Śēkhara), a disciple of Mahādēva Sarasvati, 232.

Candragiri, a city in the eastern part of the V. empire, 3; a capital of later Vijayanagara kings, 316; drifting of V. kings from Penugonda to, in the south, 223; the gymnasium at, 69; Mylāpore-Vijayanagar land route through, 161; the palace at, 333; school by missionaries at, 249; temples at, 316.

Candrakavi, a work on the audience hall of God Virupākṣa, by, 290.

Candranātha Basadi (in Vijayamangalam), 204.

Candraprabhā Jīna, a work on the life of, by Doḍḍiah, 291.

Candraśēkhara, Sadāśiva Bhōdendra Sarasvati, a disciple of, 233.

Candraśēkhara Bhārati, a pontiff of Sṛngēri-maṭha, 230.

Candraśēkhara Bhārati, (same as Rāmacandra Bhārati), 230.

Candraśēkhara Sarasvati (Candracūda), migration of, to Uḍaiyārpālayam, 234.

Candraśēkhara temple at Hampi, an octagonal tank to the north of the, 326.

Candravalli, a record at, registering a land grant for maintaining a gymnasium, 69.

Candravarman, a Buddhist name related to Kāñcīpuram, 206 n.63.

Candrika, a commentary by Gōpa, 269-70.

Candy (*baram*), a unit of weight in the Telugu-area, 169.

Cannabasava-purāṇa (a late Kannaḍa work), on the patronage to Vīraśaivism by the king, 193.

Cannanore, 154; Ginger shipped from the port of, 131.

Car festival, 242, 243.

Carnad (near Mulki) annual tribute paid to the Portuguese by the rulers of, 134.

Castanheda, on the practice of duelling, 69.

Castell, a small fort built by Ove Geede at Tranquebar, 142.

Castle Geldria, the new fort constructed by the Dutch at Pulicat, 140.

Catra, same as *dharma-catra*, 172.

Caturdaṇḍiprakāśika, by Venkaṭamakshi, 75, 277.

Caturaṅgapaṭṭinam (Sadras), a port on the coromandel coast, 155; improvements to, by the Dutch, 156.

Caturmata-sāra, a philosophical work by Appayya Dīkṣita, 274.

- Caulūru* see *Mahājanas*, 19
- Caṇḍapa, father of Caṇḍa Mādhava, 265
- Cauri*, a mark of honour, 51
- Cāvadi*, an administrative unit, 100
- Cellūr, a record registering an agreement between three villages from, 90
- Cemakuri Veṅkaṭakavi, patronised by Vijayarāghava Nāyaka, 288.
- Ceñji. consecration of a temple at, by Vēdānta Dēśika, 256,
- Cenna Basava, treated as an incarnation of *Śiva* in the *Cenna Basava Purāṇa*, 291.
- Cenna-bhaṭṭa, patronised by Rāmacandra, 266.
- Cennakēśava, *Dhanurmāsa Pūja* in the temple of, 19, 315-6.
- Cennappa Uḍaiyār (a nephew of Hariharā II), an *agrahāra* grant to Vidyābhūṣana Dīkṣita by, 214.
- Cerukūri Lakṣmīdhara, a literary celebrity, works of, 271-2.
- Ceṭṭis*, a native merchant community, 141, 147 ; Barbosa on the, 148-9 ; of Kāyal, 155.
- Ceylon, exports from South India to, 129 ; imports from 116, 128, 129 ; supply of elephants from, 127, 148,
- Charles Turner, Sir, on the private ownership of the soil in the Malabar district, 106-7.
- Charity and Famine Relief, 170f
- Chaul, a port lost to Vijayanagar in sixteenth century, 153.
- Chautang, musk imported from, 148.
- Chei*, unit of sq. measure in Tamil-area ($=1\frac{3}{4}$ acres), 168.
- Chili (Chih-li-pu)* a kind of cloth, 123.
- China, commodities imported from, 126, 128, 148, 156 ; exports from South India to, 129 ; Muslims brought goods from, 134 ; Taoists of, 171.
- Chintakora, River. 136.
- Chittore, branch of Gōḷaki-maṭha at, 234.
- Chounsāṭha Jōgini temple (at Bhēdagnat), 235 n.
- Christian IV (king), Danish East India Company started under the patronage of, 141.
- Christianity, 209f.
- Cidambaracceyyuṭkōvai*, a work on Tamil prosody by Kumara-guru Svāmigal, 299.
- Cidambara Guru Namaśśivāya Mūrtti, teacher of Ānanda Namaśśivāya Paṇḍāram, 299.
- Cidambaram (Citrakūṭa, Kaṇaka-sabhā, Perumbaṅṅappuḷiyūr), a city in the southern part of V. empire, 3 ; additions made to the temple at, 317 ; installation of the image of Gōvindarāja at, by Acyuta Rāya, 218-9 ; authorship of the northern *gōpura* at, 216, n. 103 ; Periyadēva - nāyinār maṭha at, 237 ; a route connecting V. city with, 161 ; the routes of processions at, fixed

- by Śrī Raṅga, 224 ; *tulāpurusa* and other gifts made by Tirumala I at, 222.
- Cidambara-pāṭṭiyal*, a work on poetics by Parañjōtiyār, 295.
- Cidambara-purāṇam*, by Tirumalainātha, 295.
- Cidambara-venḇā*, a work of Cidambara Guru Namaśśivāya, 299.
- Cinna Bommu Nāyaka, Appayya Dikṣita in the court of, 255, 275.
- Cinna Dēvi (Cinnadēviammā), a queen of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 42 ; copper image of, at Tirumalai temple, 321.
- Cinnapiḷḷaiyāndāns*, junior servants under the *aḍappam* of the king, 51 and n. 217.
- Cinna Timma Rāja (the younger brother of Viṭṭhala, *Bāla Bhāgavatamu*, a work dedicated to, 286.
- Cintalapūdi Ellaya, works of, 287.
- Citra*, a kind of poetry, 46, 278.
- Citradūta*, 207.
- Citti*, a cubic measure in Telugu-area, 169.
- Classes of people, 8f.
- Cochin, a port, 154 ; pepper exported from 130.
- Cokkanātha Makhin, same as Sundarēśvara Śāstri, 278.
- Cokkanātha Nāyaka, a sandal wood statue and a portrait sculpture of, 322.
- Cōḷa-maṇḍalam, 219 n. 121, 256.
- Cōḷarājya sāṅgatyā*, a work of Liṅga, 291.
- Collemat, a port on the coromandel coast, 155.
- Colonel Sykes, on the sentiment of charity, 170.
- Comedy of Errors, Kalāpūrṇodayamu*, a work resembling the, 284.
- Commercial Communities, 133f.
- Communication and Transport, 152f.
- Conda Ma (see Kondama).
- Condesvaramma, a village goddess, 245, n. 224.
- Copenhagen, Danish East India Company started in 1616 at, 141.
- Cortor* (broker), same as *Lella* 151.
- Cotaṅgi, same as, Chautang, 148.
- Country and the People, 1f.
- Court Life, 48f.
- Coutinho, Fr., on the car-festival, 243, n. 242 ; the malice of Jesuit Fathers against Tātācārya, as exhibited in one of the letters of, 272-3.
- Couto, (a Portuguese historian), on the results of the battle of Rakṣas Tangḍi, 137-8.
- Cranganore, English factory at, 143.

Cruzaḍa, 61, 62, 127, 135.

Crole, on the irrigation policy of V. kings, 91.

Cubit, unit of sq. measure in Telugu-area (=19.68 inches), 168.

Cuddapah, branch of Gōḷaki-maṭha at, 234.

Cumbola (Kumbala), a port-town in the west coast of V. empire, 154.

Culca seṭṭi, a unit of weight in Tamil-area (=3 *paḷam*), 169.

D

Dabhol, a port on the west coast, 153.

Dabul, 80, 98.

Daivajña-vilāsa, (a work), Lolla Lakṣmīdhara, the author of a part of, 270.

Dakṣiṇāmūrti, a pontiff of Tiruvāvaḍuturai-maṭha, 237.

Daḷavāys (chieftains), 52.

Daḷavāy Sevvappa Nāyakkar, provision for deepening a tank by, 87.

Damarla Venkaṭappa (Venkaṭappa), elder brother of Aiyappa belonged to Velugoti family, a chief of Wandiwash, 145.

Dames, on the luxurious umbrellas used, 62 and n. 290.

Daṇḍakumāra and Hemamāla (a couple), the holy tooth relic deposited to Laṅka-dvīpa, in the charge of, 207.

Daṇḍapalle copper plate grant 213-4.

Daṇḍege umbaḷi (*palaki umbaḷi*), grant of rent free land for the upkeep of a palanquin, 111.

Daṇḍu, privilege of the use of, 23.

Danes, a foreign commercial community, 141; breaking up of trade monopoly enjoyed by the Dutch by, 139.

Danish East India Company, started at Copenhagen, 141; Tranquebar, a port acquired by, 155.

Daquen (Deccan), 128.

Daraga, encouragement given by V. kings to, 112.

Dāsakūta, organization of, by Vyāsarāya, 202, 292.

Dasarah-festival. 241 n. 206.

Daśavanda grant, 85.

Dayirya koḷage, rent-free land for some brave service, 112.

Debt and Interest, 180f.

Denmark, a treaty concluded between Kandyan king and the king of, 141.

De Nobili, Fr., (Jesuit missionary) Campaign of Conversion, 209; on the course of instruction and the number of pupils, at Madurai, 250.

Desa, a variety of music, 47, 75.

De Sa, Jesuit father at Candra-giri court, 340.

Dēsayāmātya, (son of Lolla Lakṣmīdhara). a *pañcikā* on *Mahimnāstava* by; 270.

De Souza, Fr., on the early printing of the Christian doctrines, 254.

Dēvadāna (*Dēvadāya*), grant to temples, 1, 77, 109, 110.

Dēvadāsis, deputations to the king led by, 46, 72.

Dēvalu Pāpa Rāya, (a chief under Veṅkaṭa II), hospitality of, 172.

Dēvañāmpaṭṭinam, a port on the Coromandel coast, 144, 155 ; Dutch factory at, 139.

Devanga, a class of weavers, 23 n. 99 ; a caste in the Left hand group, 25 n. 108.

Dēvaraḍḍiyāla, (*Dēvaraḍḍiyār*), repositories of the art of dance, 9 ; meaning of the term, 45, 228.

Dēvarāja, author of the *Nig- haṇṇu-vyākhyā*, 268.

Dēvarāśa, an engraver, 253.

Dēva Rāya I. divisions among pañcālas during the time of, 20 ; Harihara, the son of, 204 ; Kṛiyāśakti Paṇḍita, a royal preceptor of, 213 ; Nehal's refusal of a gift presented by, 41 n. 175 ; Siddara, a minister under, 279 ; Viṭṭhaṇṇa Uḍai-yār, the brahman minister under, 15.

Dēva Rāya II, Abdur Razzāk on the elephants owned by, 127 ; Abdur Razzāk on the harem of, 41 ; Abdur Razzāk on the ornaments worn by 64 ; agreement arrived at by the brahmans regarding *Kan-yādāna*, during the time of, 32 ; Anṇamārādhyā, a brahman minister under, 16 ; a banquet by the brother of,

59 ; boar hunt by, 70 ; Cāma Nṛpāla, commander-in-chief under, 88 ; a Christian Dewan under, 209 ; construction of a temple for Arhat Parśava-nātha by, 204 ; copper plate grant embodying a *sarvamānya* gift by, 46 ; daughter of, given in marriage to Kerasthaḷada Virappa, 193 ; encouragement to Muslims to settle in the empire by, 211 ; falconers engaged by, 70 and n. 337 ; a hunter of elephants, 70 ; a grant to Harinidēva Voḍeyār, 86 ; and the Hazara Rāma-svāmi temple, 307 ; Kalli-nātha, a contemporary of, 74 ; Kumāra Vyāsa very much admired and honoured by, 290 ; literary works of, 267 ; Nagaṇṇa Voḍeyār, a minister of, 88 ; and Nēmicandra, 225 ; patron of scholars, 267 ; Sārādā, a poetess of the court of, 280 ; scholars during the time of, 289 ; a sister of, 267 ; Śrīnātha dubbed *kaviratna* at the court of, 280 ; his title *Vira-śaivāgamasampanna*, 193 ; Turuṣka horsemen in the service of, 211 ; the viṭṭhala temple dated back to the days of, 308.

Devarāyapura, vi., grant of, by Mallikārjuna Rāya, 252.

Dēvēndra (Kavi Dēvēndra), See Vallabha Amatyaudu, 284 n. 124.

Dēvikkāpuram, Bikṣa-maṭha at, 228 ; Īśāna Sivācārya, the pontiff of Gōḷaki-maṭha at, 234.

Dhamaparikṣe (a Kannada version of the sanskrit work of the same name), by Vṛtta Vilāsa, 289.

Dhanurmāsya worship, 19.

Dharma bhūṣana, Immaḍi Bukka Mantriśvara, a disciple of, 204.

Dharma-cakra, Buddhist symbol, 206.

Dharma-catra, rest house, 172.

Dharmanātha (the fifteenth Tirthaṅkara), a work on the life of 289.

Dharmanātha purāna, by Madhura, 289.

Dharmapatam, a port in the west coast, 154.

Dharmapurāṁ-maṭha, a Śaiva maṭha, 236 ; pontiffs of, 237.

Dharmarājādharin, works of, 276.

Dharmaśūri, author of the *Narakadhvamsa Vyāyōga*, 278

Dharmaśāstras, kinds of marriages mentioned in, 31.

Dharmasūtras, (of Jaimini), 257

Dhātu-ratnāvali, a work of Sundarēśvara Sastri, 278.

Dhātu pañcakam, 204.

Dhātu-vṛtti, a work on Sanskrit verbs by Sāyanācārya, 261.

Dhīmat (philosopher), Candracūḍa Saraśvatī called as, 232.

Dhūrjaṭi, one of the *aṣṭadig-gaīas*, 283 ; life and work of, 284.

Dhyānabhadra, prince of Magadha, 207.

Dil-uvar Khan, (an agent of Rāma Rāja), grant of a village by, 212.

Diṇḍima Bhaṭṭa (a Gauḍa poet at the court of Dēvarāya II), defeat of, by Śrīnātha, 280.

Diṇḍima (family), literary celebrities of, 234, 267-8.

Diṇḍima Kavi, 252.

Diṇḍima Sārvabhauma, (son of Rājanātha Diṇḍima), author of the *Rāmābhyaudayam*, 267.

Dīpāvali festival, significance of, 241 and n. 206.

Diu, Portuguese settlement at, 134.

Divya-bhōga-svāmya rights, 107.

Divyasūri - caritam, a *kāvya* dealing with the lives of the Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas and Ālvārs, 268.

Dodḍiah (a Kannaḍa scholar), a work of, on the life of Candraprabhā Jina, 291.

Dombaras, a community of acrobats, 25.

Dommaripannu, a tax collected by or for Dombaras, 25 n. 107.

Draviḍa dēśa, *Vipravīnōdins* in, 19.

Draviḍa Vēdas, See prabandhas, 251.

Ḍṛgdrśyavivēka, a joint work by Bhārati Tīrtha and Vidyāraṇya, 258.

Duarte Barbosa, See Barbosa.

Dubaguṇṭa Nārāyaṇa, author of the *Pāñcatantra*, 281.

Dubashes, (interpreters), 150.

Ducats, 138, 151, 177.

Duggupalli Duggaya, author of the *Naciketopākhyanam*, 281.

Du Jarric. on a gymnasium at Candragiri, 69-70; on the wrestling matches, 68.

Dundubi, a musical instrument, 73.

Durgā, worship of, in the *mahā-navami* festival, 238.

Durgādēvi, a famine, 173.

Durgāṣṭami, 240 n. 203.

Dutch, a foreign commercial community, 139; Çaturaṅga-paṭṭinam improved by, 156.

Dutch Governor-General, a letter by, directing the Dutch agent at Masūlipaṭam against the English, 140 i.

Dvarāsamudra, a city in the central part of V. empire, 3.

Dvijas (Brahmans), 15.

E

Education and Learning, (248-300)

Ēkabhōgam, a type of tenure under *sarvamānya* grant, 110.

Ēkāmrānātha (a poet in the court of Aṅkuśa Rāya), works of, 271.

Ēkāmrānātha temple. 317; grant made by Acyuta Rāya to the, 218.

Ēkāmrēśa-stava, a devotional poem by Śrīnivāsajvan, 271

Ēkāṅgavīras, a community, 245 n. 224.

Ekōttara Sātsthala, a work of Mahāliṅgadēva, 289.

Elizabeth (queen of England), charter to enhance the trade with Far East by, 142.

Ellappa Nāvalar, works of, 298

Elliot, T.W., on an account of Abdur Razzāk about a three days festival, 240 n. 203

Ellis, T.W., on the origin of the *Valaṅgai* and *Iḍaṅgai* classes, 26.

Elphinstone, on the proprietorship of soil, 105.

Emanuel de Veiga (a Jesuit), on the dancing girls attached to temples, 45.

English, a foreign merchant community (142-7) breaking up of trade monopoly enjoyed by the Dutch, by, 139,

Engravers of inscriptions in the V. empire, 253.

Errapraggaḍa, author of the *Harivaṁśam* (translation), 279.

Ēśumada Nirākaraṇam, a polemic composed by Śivaprakāśa-Śittar, 195, 299.

Eṭṭūr Immaḍi Kumāra Tātācārya, foundation stone for one of the sluices of the tank at Tennēri laid by, 89.

Eṭṭūr Kumāra Tirumala Tātācārya, see Tātācārya, 222.

Eṭṭūr Kumāra Tātācārya, see tātācārya, 272.

F

Fakrud-din Mubārak Shāh, Sultan of Madurai, 184.

Fanaos, (= 30 reis), 178.

Fandarina, a port in the west coast, 154.

Fergusson on the architecture of Viṭṭhala temple, 309; on the images in the Tirupparaṅkuṅgam temple, 323.

Ferishta, on certain reforms effected by Dēva Rāya, 211; on child marriages, 33; on the non-use of hawks by Hindus, 70.

Fernandez, Fr., established a school at Madurai, 249; opposed the method adopted by Nobili to convert the Hindus, 210.

Feroz Shāh, (ruler of Bāhmini), supply of imported articles by Tippayya Ceṭṭi and his brothers to, 148.

Festivals, 238f.

Fisheries in the V empire, 124

Flemish Companies, amalgamation of, into a united company in 1602, 139.

Floating festival, 243.

Francis Day, (factor of Armagon); authorised by Thomas Ivie to find a better place in the coast, 145; secured a grant of the territory of Madras paṭam from Venkaṭadri Nāyaka, 145.

G

Gadādhara Bhaṭṭa, a scholar, accepted the superiority of Vyāsarāya, 201.

Gaṭṭikācala (Shōlingar), 220 n. 121.

Gajabeṭekāra (*Gajabeṭ akāra*), 'hunter of elephants', a title of Dēva Rāya II, 70.

Gajamṛgāyāvihāra (sportful, hunter of the elephants), a title borne by the V kings, 70

Gajapati (ruler of Orissa), supply of imported articles by Tippayya Ceṭṭi and his brothers to, 148.

Gajāraṇya-Kṣētram (Gajāraṇya, Jambukēśvaram, Tiruvāṇaik-kāval), 186, 233.

Games and Amusements, 68f.

Gaṇabhāṣitā-ratnamālai, a work of Turaiyūr Sivaprakāśa svāmi, 298.

Gaṇabhōgam tenure, a type of tenure under *sarvamānyam*, 110.

Gaṇḍapeṇḍāram (anklet of the heroes), 65.

Gaṅgādāsa (prince), ruler of Pavācala state, request of, to the poet Gangādhara, 71.

Gangādāsaprataṭā pavilāsa by Gangādhara, 268.

Gaṅgādēvi, wife of Vira Kamapaṇa, 47; authoress of the *Virakamparāya - caritam*; *Madhurāvijayam* 46; 255. disciple of Agastya, 269, n. 80; life and work of, 265; on the water sports of Kamapaṇa with the courtezans, 45.

Gangādhara, (poet, contemporary to Mallikārjuna Rāya), author of the play *Gangādāsa-pratāpa-vilāsam*, 71; Mallikārjuna, the patron of 268.

Gaṅga Rāya Dēva Mahārāja Aya, a grant of village to a puppet player by, 72.

Gangāvatarāṇa, a work of Nilakaṇṭha Dikṣita, 276.

Gāṇigitti temple, 330.

Garaḍi Umbaḷi, rent-free land for the maintenance of gymnasium, 111.

Carbha, a kind of poetry, 46, 278.

Garimā, a *siddhi*, 195.

Garposā (ruler of Honāvar), pirates paid a part of Their plunder to, 159.

Garuḍa banner, 27.

Garuḍa-vēhaṇṇa, a surname of Śrīnivāsa, 229, 268.

Gaspero Balbi, on *śati* custom among goldsmiths, 36.

Gass (equal to $1\frac{1}{4}$ Dutch *ell*), 179 n. 37.

Gauḍas, 36, 100.

Gaurana, author of the *Harī-ścandropākhyana*, 281.

Gaurī, (the wife of Mahōdaka), feast in honour of, 73.

Gaurināthaśātaka, a work of Bhōganātha, 265.

Gerasoppe, a place in the west coast of V. empire,.

Ghaṇṭa, a poet bī, t.

Ghias-ud-din (son-in-law and successor of Jalal-ud-din), defeat of Vīra Balāla III by, 184; Ibn Battuta, the brother-in-law of, 185.

Ghōṣṭhipura, See Tirukkōṣṭhiyūr, 185.

Gibbon, on the nature of trade in south India, 126.

Giovanni (Joao) Gansalves, a Jesuit lay Brother, 254.

Giraśal, a kind of rice, 80.

Giriśa-srutisūkr̥ti-māla, *Tattva-prakāśika*, a commentary on the, 269.

Gita Bhāṣya, *Tātparyacandrikā*, a commentary on the, 257.

Gita Gōvinda, (a lyrical drama of Jayadēva), a commentary on the, 272.

Gitas, 74.

Gōkaraṇa, a pilgrim centre, 229.

Gōḷaki-maṭha (an important Pāsupata Śaiva religious institution), branches of, 234-6; Hiralal on the origin of, 235. n. 191; and the management of temples, 234.

Gommaṭa-stuti, a poem by Madhura on Gommaṭeśvara of Śravana Belgola, 289.

Gommaṭeśvara of Śravana Belgola, *Gommata-stuti*, a poem on, 289.

Gōpa, nephew of Sāḷuva Timma, 269-70.

Gōpaṇṇa, (a minister and subordinate of Kampaṇa), help rendered by, to repair and consecrate the Gōvindarāja shrine at Cidambaram, 219 n. 121; the idol of Raṅganātha installed at Śīṅgāvaram, by, 187, 188; transferred his headquarters to Kaṇṇanūr, 187;

Gōpa Tippa, 72, 74; grandson of Harimā, 267.

Gōpigita, a work of Śrīpādarāja, 292.

Goru, unit of sq. measure in Telugu-area (=50 *junta*), 169.

Goa, (a port in the west coast), articles of trade from, 128, 148; boats built after the Portuguese fashion in, 157; conquered for Vijayanagar by 1391, 153; cotton production around, 123; customs duty on horses from, 165; embassy of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya to the Portuguese viceroy at, 134; Portuguese settlement at, 134; a road through Bankāpūr connecting the capital with, 161.

Gōvinda Dēśika (the royal preceptor of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya), replaced by Tātācārya, 17, 221;

Gōvinda Dīkṣhita, 250; minister of Raghunātha Nāyaka, 277; surnamed *Advaita Vidyācārya* 277; the statues of, and his wife in the Kumbakōnam and Pattīśvaram temples, 321-2; father of Veṅkaṭa Makhi, 75.

Gōvinda Paṇḍita (a scholar in *Āyurvēda*), 251.

Gōvindarāja temple, Cidambaram, 221, 224; Chequered history of 219, n. 121.

Gracia de Orta, visit of, Vijayanagar in 1534 A.D., 116.

Gribble, on gold mines in Deccan, 117.

Gujarat (Guzarate), wheat production in, 80; printed cotton cloths exported to the kingdom of, 123.

Gujarāti, a right hand class, 26 n. 208.

Guṇabhadra, teacher of Maṇḍalapuruḍar, 295.

Guṇabhadra cārya (*Virasangha-pratiṣṭhācārya*), identification of, 295-6.

Gundalahalli, vi., a record registering a *kaṭṭu kōḍage* gran at, 86.

Guntur, branch of Gōḷakimaṭha at, 234, sale of cotton thread in, 123;

Gurudakṣiṇā, 74.

Gurudēva, a scholar, 289.

Gurujñānasambandar, works of, 297.

Gurujñānasambanda svāmigal, See Jñānaprakāśa Paṇḍāram, 236.

Guruliṅga Vibhu, author of the *Bhikṣāṭana caritre*, 291.

Guruparamparā, a work, a controversy recorded in the, 189; on the consecration of Govindarāja shrine at Cidambaram, 219 n. 121;

Gurupararampārastava, Pūrṇānanda's pilgrimage to Nepal mentioned in, 232 n. 179.

Guru-ratnamālā, by Sadāśiva Brahman, 231-2.

Guzarate, See Gujarat, 123.

H

Hamsa Meghadūta, a work of Vēdānta Dēśika, 256.

Hande Anantapuram, Malakappa, the chief of, 222.

Hanumantakuḍi, a Jaina centre, 205.

Haravilāśamu, (a work of Śrinātha), on foreign trade in the country, 148.

Haribhaktisāra, a work of Kanakadāśa, 292.

Haribhaṭṭa (a contemporary poet of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya),

- reference to the construction of a *maṇṭapa* in a work of, 308; works of, 270.
- Haridāsa movement, 292.
- Haridrā, (River), a dam constructed across, 88.
- Harigolu*, coracle or round basket boat, 157.
- Harihar, a pilgrim centre, 229.
- Harihara I (Harihara Oḍeyār, Haryab), construction of Śrī Virupākṣa temple by, 304; Mārappa, the brother of 265.
- Haribara, II, 255; Angarāyammātha during the days of, 237; Cennappa Uḍaiyār, a nephew of, 214; a disciple of Vidyāranya, 214; Irugappa Daṇḍanātha, a Jaina minister under, 204, 266, 330; father of Immaḍi Bukka, 214; helped by Vidyāranya in the task of religious revival, 189; *Karnāṭaka Vidyāvilāsa*, a title of, 289; Mādhavācārya, *kulaguru* of, 260; Sāyana the brahman minister under, 16; Sāyanācārya witnessed the enthronement of, 260; titles assumed by, 255; Virupākṣa, the son of, 265.
- Harihara III (son of Dēva Rāya I), gift of land to the Candranātha Basadi in Vijayamaṅgalam by, 204; Vallabharāya, a governor under, 266.
- Harihara ābedha*, 275.
- Harihara stuth*, 275.
- Harimā, sister of Dēva Rāya II and grand-mother of Gōpa Tippa, 267.
- Harinidēva Voḍeyār, construction of a tank by, 86.
- Hariścandra Naḷōpakhyāna*, a *dvayārtha-kāvya* by Rāma Rāja Bhūṣana, 286.
- Hariścandropākhyana*, by Gaurana, 281.
- Harita Veṅkaṭācārya (Tōlapar), a Vaiṣṇava scholar, 267.
- Harivamśam* a translation of, by Errapraggaḍa, 219.
- Harivilāsam*, a Śaiva work by Śrīnātha, 280.
- Havell, on the stable for state elephants, 332.
- Hayagrīvastōtra* a work of Vēdānta Dēśika, 257.
- Hayalakṣaṇa Śāstra (a work on horses), by Manumanu Bhaṭṭa, 287.
- Hayam Wuruk (king of Majapahit—1350-89), high esteem enjoyed by, 206.
- Hazara Rāmasvāmi temple- (307-8).
- Hazrath Muhammad Moiuddin Khān Sāhēb, 220 n. 121.
- Heganigāru*, a Left hand caste, 25 n. 108.
- Henne, River, 84.
- Henriquez, H. Fr., established a school at Ponneri Kāyal, 249.
- Henry Sill of Bantam, English agent of Masūlipaṭam, 144.
- Heras, on the perished trade between the Portuguese and Vijayanagar, 138; on Tātācārya, 272.
- Hervey, on the cause of popularity of the *sati* custom, 37.

Hinduism, (191—202)

Hindu monuments, 305f.

Hippon, English captain, 142.

Hiralal, on the origin of
Goḷaki-maṭha, 235 n. 191.

Hiriya Mallappaṇṇayya, con-
struction of a shrine in the
Pāpavināśa temple by, 315.

Holeyas, dependents of Vīra
Banajgas, 10.

Hōli festival, 241 n. 206.

Hommel, a kind of furnace used
for smelting iron, 118.

Honganūr, rule made for the
cultivation of the rice lands
at, 100.

Honour (Honāvar), a port in
the west coast of the V.
empire, 3; Bhatkal—Vijaya-
nagar road through, 161;
cloth purchased by the Portu-
guese, at, 131; direct road
from Vijayanagar to, 161;
governed by *rāja* paying tri-
bute to V. king, 154; a head-
quarter of two pirates, 159;
rice cultivation in, 80.

Honāvar, same as Honour, 3.

Housing, Food and Dress 55f.

Hoysaḷas of Dvārasamudra, 184.

Human Sacrifices, 245.

Hurumanji, See Ormuz, 148.

I

Ibn Battuta, brother-in-law
of Ghias-ud-din, 185; on the
number of pupils in a school,
249.

Ibrahim Qutb Shāh, occupation
of Ahōbalam by, and recon-
quest of the same by Śrī
Raṅga, 222.

Idaiyārruparru, vi., 22.

Idakāḍu, a port, 154.

Idaṅgai a group of communi-
ties known as, 25.

Idaṅgaivari, a communal tax
paid by *Idaṅgai* class, 28.

Idu, a commentary on the *Tiru-
vāymoḷi*, 196.

Ikkēri, a city in the central part
of V. empire, 3; a road con-
necting Sāgar with, 161.

Ilagumā, a *śiddhi*, 195.

Ilaivāṇiyar, origin of the, 23
n. 100; privileges accorded to,
23.

Ilakkaṇa-viḷakkam, (*Kuṭṭilit-
tolkāppiyam*), a work on
Tamil grammar by Vaidya-
nātha Deśiker, 208.

Immaḍi Bukka (Son of Hari-
harā II), grant to the temple
of Vidyasaṅkara by, 214.

Immaḍi Bukka Mantriśvara
(son of Baicaya Daṇḍanātha)
construction of a *caityālaya*
by, 204.

Immaḍi Naraśimha, grant of
Cākenahallī by, 252

Immaḍi Narasimha Bhārati, a
pontiff of Sṅgēri matha, 230

Immaḍi Rudra Śivācārya, a
pontiff of Goḷaki maṭha at
Kālahāṣṭi, 234

India the Less, identification
of, 118

Indo-Saracenic Architecture
331f.

Industry, Trade and Commerce,
(113-169)

Irā madagu kāval sēri, (settlement for guarding the sluice at night), 90

Irattaimaṇimālai, a work of Kumaraguru svāmigaḷ, 299

Irattai pulavar (twin poets), *Ēkāṁraṇāthaṇ ulā*, composed by, 293

Irrigation, 82

Irrigation works, provision for the repair and maintenance of, 86-8

Irugappa Daṇḍanātha (a Jaina Minister under Harihara II), 255, 266; portrait of, 320 *Nanartha-raṇamāla*, a work of, 255; a Jaina temple constructed by, 204, 330; a disciple of Puṣpasēna, 204

Irugappa Nāyaka, statue of, at Tirupparuttikuṇḡam, 330

Iruṅgōḷapāṇḍi-vaḷanāḍu, 28

Iruṣamaya-viḷakkam, (an exposition of both *Saivism* and *Vaiṣṇavism*) by Vaḍamalai Aṇṇagalayyaṇ, 295

Īsāna Dēśikar *alias* Svāminātha Dēśikar, a head of the Tiruvāvaḍuturāi-maṭha, 237

Īsānasamhitā of the *Skandapurāṇam*, 280.

Īsāna Śiva, pontiff of Gōḷakimaṭha at Tirupattūr, 235.

Īsāna Śivācārya, pontiff of Gōḷakimaṭha at Dēvikāpuram, 234.

Islam, 211f.

Īśvara Dikṣita, works of, 270.

Jagadisa Ayyar, P. V. on the knowledge of Brahmans

regarding a plantjuice used in *sati*, 35 n. 140.

Jaga Rāya (Governor of San Thome), an embassy sent by, to the British traders, 142.

Jaimini Bhāratamu, a work of Pina Virabhadra, 280.

Jaimini Sūtras, 259; Govinda Dikṣita, the author of the commentary on, 277.

Jaiminiyanyāyamālā, a work of Mādhavācārya, 259; a commentary on, by Mādhavācārya, 106; Bhāratī Tirtha, a *guru* of Mādhava according to, 260.

Jalminiyanyāyamālāvistara, a work of Mādhava, 259, 260.

Jainism and Buddhism, 203.

Jain monuments, 330f.

Jakkanārya (a Vīraśaiva scholar and patron), author of the *Nūṇondusthala*, 289.

Jakkanna, a deity worshipped by the *Tōṭṭiyans*, 29.

Jakkanna (a Telugu poet), author of the *Vikramārka-caritram*, 208; a work of, dedicated to siddara, 279.

Jakkinis, a type of work, 288.

Jalakaṇṭeśvara temple, 317.

Jalal-ud-din, appointed as a ruler of Madurai by Md. bin Tukhlak, his independence, 184.

Jalasūtra (hydraulic Engineer), 84.

Jāmbavatikalyāṇam, a play written by Kṛṣṇdēva Rāya, enacted before the people during

- the *caitra* festival of Śrī Virūpākṣa, 71, 244, 269; interest of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya in maintaining the social solidārit̥y as revealed in, 15.
- Jāmbavati kalyāṇam*, a work of Ekāmraṇātha, 271.
- Jambukēśvaram (Gajāraṇya, Gajāraṇyakṣētram, Tiruvāṇaikkāval), a grant to the Śankarācārya *maṭha* at, by Nayaka of Mādura, 233.
- Jambukēśvara temple (at Tiruvāṇaikkōyil), management of the, by the *Pāśupata-grahas-tas*, 192.
- James I, treaty between English and Dutch concluded between the States-General and 140.
- Janavaśya*, (*Mallikārjuna Vijaya, Mādantilaka*), a work Valīarasa, 268, 290.
- Jaṅgama Kāla jñāna* death defeat and of Rāma Rāya as given in, 223 n. 140.
- Java commodities imported from, 128.
- Jayadēva, Gītagovinda* a lyrical drama by, 272.
- Jayamaṅgala*, a *rāga* designed by Ragunātha Nāyaka, 75.
- Jayanissaru*(?), a *rāga* designed by Ragunātha Nāyaka, 75.
- Jayantasēna*, a *rāga* styled by Ragunātha Nāyaka, 75.
- Jaya Tīrtha (Jaya Tīrtha Tikācārya), a disciple of Akṣōbhya Tīrtha, 200, 266; work of, 266.
- Jedda, perfumes imported from 128.
- Jesui Fathers, in the V. empire, 249.
- Jewellery, 119f.
- Jīna Kāñci, See Tirupparuttikuṇṇyam, 205, 330.
- Jīvanmuktiviveka*, a work of Mādhava on *Advaita Vēdānta*, 258, 259.
- Jñāna bhāskara-carite*, by Nēm-anna, 292.
- Jñāna mār̥ga*, 290.
- Jñānappaḷu*, a work of Kamalai Jñānaprakāśa Paṇḍitar, 297.
- Jñānaprakāśa Dēśikai, *Mañjari-appa*, a work of, 295.
- Jñānaprakāśa Paṇḍāram (Guru-jñānasambanda svāmigaḷ), foundation of Dharmapuram *maṭha* by, 236.
- Jñānaprakāsar of Tiruvorriyūr, works of, 297.
- Jñānaśakti, a *Kālāmukha* pontiff, 235.
- Jñānasāra*, a commentary on, by Maṇavāḷa Mahāmuni, 267.
- Jñānaśivācāryas (of Mullāmdram) connection of Santānaśivācāryas with the, 234; Diṇḍima family of poets related to the, 234-5.
- Jñānavarṇaviḷakka urai*, a work on Śaiva Siddhānta Philosophy, 236.
- João della Ponte (a Portuguese worker in stone), assisted Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya in constructing a new tank, 85.
- Jōḍi*, a tax, 88.

John of Monte Coroino, on agriculture in the Coromandel, 93.

Johnson, information sent by, to the Superior Council regarding the anxiety of Nāyak of Thaṅjāvūr to open trade relations with English, 143.

Jordanus, gold obtained in India the Less, in the days of, 118.

Joseph Vogel, on the portrait sculptures in South India, 320.

Jotiphana, a Right hand class, 26 n.108.

Junta, unit of sq. measure in Telugu-area (= 0.0663 acre), 168.

Jyotiṣkuḍi (Kālaiyārkoil), the image of Maḍura God taken to, 185.

K

Kacaccaritra, a *rāga* designed by Raghunātha Nāyaka, 75.

Kacci-kalambagam, a work describing the greatness of Kāñci, 295.

Kaccikku Nāyakkar, *paḷliccandam* endowment to a Baudha image, named, 206.

Kaccirāyar, 22.

Kacciyappa Śivācārya, author of the *Kandapurāṇam*, 299.

Kaḍaippu, 79, 93, 102.

Kaḍamai ūḷiyars, forced labourers or serfs, 97.

Kādambari of Bāṇa, 280.

Kadiri Lakṣmīnarasimha temple, 86.

Kadiripati, author of the *Śukasapatati*, 288.

Kaikkōlas (weavers), an influential community in V. empire, 12, 22, 123.

Kaivalya-navanītam ('butter of *Kaivalya mōkṣa*), a work of Tāṇḍavarāya Svāmigal, 295.

Kaivinaikkuḍi (labourer hired daily), 94.

Kākatālīya, philosophical disputation about, 277.

Kākatiyās of Warangal, 184.

Kākustha vijayam, a work of Matli Ananta, 287.

Kākkunāyaka-ṽḷagam, (*Kāval-kāṇi*), grant for the duty of policing, 93, 112.

Kālabhairava, a village deity, 247.

Kālahasti, a city in the eastern part of the V. empire, 3; additions made by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya to the temple at, 216; Immaḍi Rudra Śivācārya, the Pontiff at Gōḷaki-maṭha at, 234; a pilgrim centre, 229; route connecting Vijayanagar with, 161.

Kālahasti Māhātmyam, a work of Dhūrjaṭi, 284.

Kālahastīśvara Śatakam, a work of Dhūrjaṭi, 284.

Kālakaṇṭhēśvara temple at Aḍaiyapalam, construction of, by Appayya Dīkṣita, 275, a school at, 249.

Kalam, a cubic measure in Tamil-area (= 3 *tūṇi*), 102, 169.

- Kālamādhaviya*, (*Kālanirṇaya*), a work of Mādhavācārya, 259, 260.
- Kalambakams*, 293.
- Kā'amēghappulavar* (a poet), Tirumalayya dēva praised by, 294.
- Kālāmukhas*, 192, 265.
- Kalamukha-maṭhas*, 235-6 and a Kṛandai Kumaran, author of the *Tiruvaṇṇiyapurāṇam*, 299.
- Kālanirṇaya*, see *Kālamādhaviya*, 259.
- Kalāpūrṇodayamu*, by Pingali Śūranna, 284.
- Kallaraśa**, author of the *Jana-vaśya*, 268, 290.
- Kalāvati**, a buddhist town near the Bhairava hill, 208.
- Kālidāsa**, *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam*, a drama by, 281.
- Kallaḍaikkuricci**, quarrel and settlement at, 20.
- Kallinātha** (a contemporary of Dēva Rāya II), a commentary by, on the *Śaṅgita ratnā kara* of Sāraṅgadēva, 74.
- Kāliyamardhana*, a drama by Vijayarāghava Nāyaka, 288.
- Kalyāṇakōṭi vimāna* at **Kāñci**, gilding of, by Tātācārya, 272.
- Kalyāṇi** inscriptions, Nagapaṭṭinam as a Buddhist centre as recorded in, 207.
- Kāma** (Cupid), spring festival celebrated for, 243.
- Kāmakōṭi-pītha* at **Kāñci**, a maṭha founded by Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, 231-4; and the Kāmākṣi ammaṇ temple, 232 n. 176.
- Kama'ai Jñānaprakāśa Paṇḍitar** (a Scholār in Tiruvārūr), appointed the superintendent of several temples, 297; works of 297.
- Kamalālaya purāṇam*, a work of Maṇaijñāsambandar, 297.
- Kamalini Kalāhamsa*, by Rāja Cūḍamaṇi Dīkṣita, 278.
- Kāmāmbikā**, wife of Saṅgama, 189.
- Kāmasūtra*, (of Vātsyāyana), 290.
- Kambampalli**, vi., grant of, by Acyuta Rāya, 250.
- Kambarguḍi**, sale of hereditary tenancy rights by some individual over the lands at, 96.
- Kampaṇa**, an administrative division, 3.
- Kampaṇa**, son of Sāyaṇācārya, 261.
- Kampaṇa I** (Kampa), Sāyaṇācārya minister of, 260 Śiṅganna Oḍeya, grandson of, 214 n.96.
- Kampaṇa** (Kumāra Kampaṇa), son of Bukka I, conquest of South India, by, 187; conquest of Madurai, by, 184; Gaṅgadēvi, the wife of, 265; Kṛiyaśakti Paṇḍita, the *kulaguru* of, 213; literary activity in Tamil country under, 293; victory of, over the Sultan of Madurai, 256.
- Kampili**, road connecting Kōvilkoṇḍa with, 161.
- Kanakābhiṣeka* (bathing in gold), poet Gaṅgādhara honoured

- with a, 71; women well versed in music honoured by Ragu-nātha, with, 75.
- Kanakadāśa, a warrior who joined the Haridāśa movement, 74, 202; works of, 292.
- Kanakagiri city, 51; identification of 51 n.126.
- Kanakalēkha kalyāṇa*, a drama by Vāmana Bhaṭṭa, 268.
- Kanara country, ports in the, 154.
- Kanakasabhā (Ciṭṭambaram), 222.
- Kāñcīpuram, a city in the southern part of the V. empire, 31 an *advaita maṭha* at, 191; artisan communities in, 22; a Buddhist centre, 206 n.63; Buddhist sculptures in the Ēkāmrānātha temple at, 206; Ēkāmrānātha temple at, 313; improvements caused by Śrī Raṅga to the viṣṇu temple at, 222; *kaikkōḷas* of, 22; *mēlvāram* on the *tiruviṭṭaiyāṭṭam* lands of the temples at, 96; a pilgrim centre, 229; route connecting Vijayanagar with, 161; also called *sadvihāra*, 206; tulāpuruṣa and other gifts by Tirumala I at, 222; Varadarājasvāmin temple at, 217; *Vedamaṭha* in the Arulāḷa Perumāḷ temple at, 250.
- Kaṇcuḍhakka*, a metal gong, 280.
- Kandāḷa Appalācārya, a Vaiṣṇava teacher, 223.
- Kandāḷa Śrīraṅgacārya, (a Śrī-Vaiṣṇava teacher), grant by, to Rāmānujakūṭam, 221.
- Kandanavolu, modern Kurnool, 204.
- Kandapurāṇam*, (a work based on *Skāṇḍapurāṇa*), by Kacci-yappa Śivācārya, 299.
- Kandar Kaliveṇbā*, a work of Kumaraguru svāmigaḷ, 299. Kāṇḍyan king, needed Danish help to drive out the Portuguese in Ceylon, 141; a treaty negotiated by a Dutchman with the king of Denmark on behalf of, 141.
- Kāṇi*, unit of sq. measure in Tamil area, (= 100 *kulī*) 168.
- Kaṇkāṇi*, temple superintendent, 227.
- Kaṇmāḷar*, artisan community, 21.
- Kaṇṇaṇūr, conversion of the temple at, into a Mosque, 185; transfer of headquarters at Ceñji by Gōpaṇṇa to, 187.
- Kan-pa-mei (modern Coimbatore), cotton industry in, 123.
- Kānur *maṭha*, 236.
- Kanyādāna*, a popular form of marriage, 31.
- Kanyāśulka (dowry), 33.
- Kaumārīḷa Darśana*, Gōvinda Dīkṣita, the author of commentaries on, 277.
- Karai*, unit of sq. measure in Tamil area, 168.
- Kāraikāl, British chief factors' visit to, 144.
- Karandai, a Jaina centre, 205.
- Kāraṇḍa Vyūha Sūtra*, 207.
- Karaṇika Cāvaḍi*, 100.

- Karaṇika Lakṣmīnāraṇa**, a brahman minister under Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 16.
- Karaṇika Mangaraśayya**, a brahman minister under Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 16.
- Karma-mīmāṃsa**, exposition of the system of, by Mādhava, 259.
- Karmāntra vārttika**, a commentary on a portion of the *Bodhāyana Śrauta Sūtraś*, 278.
- Karmavipāka**, see *Prāyascitta sudhānidhi*, 261.
- Karnāta**, a variety of music, 47, 75.
- Karnāṭaka** country, quarrel between cultivators and Pāñcālas in, 20; Vīra-śaivism in, 193.
- Karnāṭaka** generals, appointed viceroys in the Tamil areas, 14.
- Karnāṭaka śabdānuśāsana** (a grammar on the Kannaḍa language), by Bhaṭṭakalankadēva, 292.
- Karnāṭaka simhāsanādhiśvara**, a title of Vyāsarāya, 201.
- Karnāṭaka Vidyā vilāsa**, a title of Harihara II, 255, 289.
- Karpūra vasantarāja**, same as Ana Vēma Reddi, 268.
- Kārttigai** festival, 242.
- Kārtikāpūja** by *vipravinōdins* in the village of Raṅga-mahālu, 19.
- Kāśi**, 194.
- Kāśi kaṇḍam**, a work of Ati-vīra Rāma Paṇḍya, 297.
- Kāśikhāṇḍam**, a work of Śrinātha, 280.
- Kāsimkōṭa-Cennarāya** temple at Sōmapalem, 316.
- Kāśivilāśa Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita**, see *Kriyāśakti Paṇḍitar* 213.
- kassa**, white unstarched lawns, 131.
- Kastūri kaṭārikam** (musk), imported from Goa, and Cotangi, 148.
- Kasthūri Raṅgappa**, the image of, 323.
- Kaṭaka**, *vipravinōdins* in, 19.
- Kāṭṭu kōḍage**, grant, 85, 86, 89.
- Kāvaḍis**, 162.
- Kāvalgārs**, 166.
- Kāvalkāni**, see *Kākkunāyaka viḷāgam*, 112.
- Kavarars**, 29 n.123.
- Kāvēri**, River, 88, 174, 234.
- Kavirāśapaṇḍitar**, (a brahman scholar), works of, 296.
- Kavisārvabhauma**, (Kaviratna) 'best among poets', 280.
- Kāvyaalaṅkāra kāmadhēnu**, a commentary on, 267.
- Kāvyaaprakāśa** of Mammaṭa, 268.
- Kāvyas**, poems, 47.
- Kāyal**, a port on the southern extremity of the east coast, 155.

- ayamkulam, road connecting Tirunelvēli with, 161.
- Kāyasthas*, officers, 53.
- Kayilaikkalambakam*, by Kum-araguru svāmigaḷ, 299.
- Kerasthaḷada Vīraṇṇa, a vīra-śaiva married the daughter of king Dēva Rāya II, 193.
- Kēśava (god) multi worship offered to, 208.
- Kēśavamīśra, 266.
- Khanaha, houses, 56.
- Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khadya*, a commentary on, by Ānanda Pūrāṇa, 267.
- Khaṇḍugar*, a cubic measure in Kannaḍa-area, 169.
- Khas lands, lands owned by princes, 108.
- Kirātārjunīya* of Bhāravaḷ, 280: a commentary on, 266.
- Kodungallur, a port, 154.
- Koḍuvāy, a record at, register-
ing the provision of *kambu*
for meals for brahman travel-
lers, 60.
- Kōilkaṇakku* (*Ōlai-eḷuttu*), tem-
ple accountant, 227.
- Kokkōham*, Tamil translation
of, by Varatuṅgarāma Pān-
ḍya, 296.
- Koḷaga, a cubic measure in
Kannada area, 169.
- Kōlār, branch of Gōḷaki maṭha
at, 234.
- Kōḷāṭṭam* (stick play), 73.
- V.S.L.—49
- Kōlāvāmana Perumāl temple,
grant to the, 99.
- Koṇḍaimalai (modern Tiru-
niṇṇaṅkoṇṇai), 205.
- Kondama (Governess of Puli-
cat), permission denied by, to
build up an English settle-
ment at Pulicat), 142.
- Koṇḍama Nāyakkar (a chief),
one among the *nāṭṭavar* of
Iḍaiyārruparṇu, 22.
- Koṇḍapalli, route connecting
Vijayanagar with, 161.
- Koṇḍasamudra, a tank con-
structed by Rāyasam Koṇḍa-
marasayya, 85.
- Koṇḍavīḍu, a city in the East-
ern part of the V. empire, 3;
Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya laid seige of
the fort of, 42; Kumaragiri,
the ruler of, 148; reconquest
of, by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 153;
a record at listing the articles
of inland trade from, 131-2.
route connecting Vijayanagar
with, 161; tanks constructed
in the province of, 85.
- Koṇḍōju, a favourite barber of
Sādāśiva, 24.
- Konērunātha, author of the
Bāla Bhāgavatamu, 286.
- Koṇṅarāyar, (a chief), one among
the *nāṭṭavar* of Iḍaiyārru-paṇ-
ru-parṇu, 22.
- Koran*, placing of, before the
throne of Dēva Rāya, 211.
- Koravangis*, a kind of Telugu
work, 288.
- Korea, life and travels of an
Indian monk in 207.
- Kōṭikanyādānam Tātācārya,
See Tātācārya, 272.

Kovilkonda, road connecting Kampili with, 161; road connecting Maśūlipaṭam with, 161.

Kōvilūr, regulations regarding *Kanyādāna* in, 32 n.133a.

Kōyīkēlvi, general manager of the temple, 227.

Kōyilolugu (a work), on the construction of the muslim fortifications at Kaṇṇanūr, 185 n.6; on the removal of deities of Madura temple, 185; on the removal of the Śrīraṅgam deity, 187.

Kreyakam, red starched cloth, 131.

Kṛidābirāmam, a Telugu translation of the *Premābhirāmam*, 266.

Kriyāśakti, a village, 214.

Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita (Kāśivilāsa Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita, Kriyāśakti, Kriyāśakti guru), a *Kālamukha* pontiff, 235 *guru* of Caṇḍa Mādhava 265; *Kulakuru* of the early V. kings, 192, 213. mentioning of, in a grant by Mādhava-mantri, 213; part of, in restoring of peace in the country, 188; royal preceptor of Dēvarāya I, 213; religious tolerance shown by, 214.

Kṛṣṇa (God), re-installation of the image of, by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 216.

Kṛṣṇa (a music teacher of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya), presented with a pearl necklace by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 74.

Kṛṣṇa River, 152.

Kṛṣṇa-carita, a work of Vidyānātha, 269 n.80.

Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, abdication of throne for a short time in favour of Vyāsarāya by, 201; adappam of, 50-51; addition of certain ports to his empire by, 153; Allāsāni Peddana, a poet-laureate under, 269 n.180; augmentation of wealth to the treasury by, 178; author of the *Amuktamālyada*, 53; author of the *Jambāvatikalyāṇam*, 15, 71; brahman ministers and administrators, 16, 17; brother of Acyuta Rāya, 270; carried away an image of Viṭṭhala from Pandharpūr, 199; and the city of Nagalāpura, 3; conquest of Orissa by, 270; construction of a big tank near the capital by, 77; copper image of, at Tirumalai temple, 321; court held by, for spring festival, 244; daughter of, an expert in chess, 71; dress of, 60; economic policy of, as revealed in *Amuktamālyā* 164; embassies from, to the Portuguese, 134-5; emphasis laid by, on increase of irrigation facilities, 83, 175; encouragement given by, to private initiative in bringing lands under cultivation, 77; encouragement given by, to Vaiṣṇava scholars, 217; father of Tirumālāmbā, 271; the figure of, in a niche of the temple at Cidambaram, 318; gifts made to the Ahōbala Narasimha temple by, 217; gifts made to the temple of Naṭarāja at Cidambaram by, 219 n.121; gifts made the Śiva temples by, 216 and n.103 106; gifts made by, to god Veṅkaṭeśa, 217; grant of an *agrahāra* by to poet Nandi Timmayya 71 n.339; grant to Candracūda Saraśvati by, 232; grant to Sadāśiva Bhōdēndra,

233; Haribhaṭṭa a contemporary poet of, 308; Hazāra Rāmasvāmi temple constructed by, 307; and Tirupati, 217; improvements made by, to the Varadarājasvāmi temple, 217; indiscriminate charity to ascetics discouraged by, 171; *kanakābhiṣēka* of Vallabhācārya by, 200; Kṛṣṇaswāmy temple constructed by, 306; later half of the *Bhārata* in Kannada written at the instance of, 291; a learned author, 255; *Mañjariappa*, a work written in praise of, 295; and his muslim servants, 211; Nāḍendle Appa obtained a certain privilege from, 54; Nāḍindla Gōpa, the governor of Koṇḍaviḍu under, 285; Nuniz on the aḍappam of, 50-1; Paes on the elephants owned by, 127; Paes on the harem of, 41; Paes on the 'House of Victory' constructed by, 325; Paes on the wrestling practice by, 68; *Pārijātapaharaṇamu*, a work dedicated to, 283; the painting of, and his father in the palace, 339, 55; patron of Kumāra Sarasvati, a brahman scholar, 296; patron of Vyāsārāya, 269; Pedda Ahōbala Redḍi, a *diwān* under, 229 n.170; a play wright, 244; presented a pearl necklace to Kṛṣṇa, as *gurudakṣiṇa*, 74 prisoners of, offered as sacrifice at Nagalāpura by, 245; provision made by, for the supply of fresh water to the V. city, 82; Purandarāsa's visit to Vijayanagar during the days of, 292; *Raṅgamaṇṭapa* of the Śrī Virupākṣa temple, constructed by, 216, 305; *ratnābhiṣēka* of Vyāsārāya Tīrtha by, 201; reconquest of Udayagiri and Koṇḍaviḍu by, 42, 153; on the regulated programme of a king, 53; reign of, a glorious epoch in the literary history of South

India, 269; relief given by, to the Jaina temples, 205; replacement of Gōvinda Dēśika by Tātācārya, from the court of 221; responded to the reports made by Tattuvaprakāśa svāmigaḷ of Tiruvārūr, 295; routes followed by, in his military campaigns and religious tours, 161; Sāluva Timma, the prime minister of, 269; did not put Sāluva Timma to death since he was a brahman, 15; *Sangīta Sūryōdaya*, a work on music dedicated to, 270; a scholar in music and rhetoric, 74 sculpture of, and his queens at Viṭṭhala temple, 321; second embassy sent by, under the leadership of Retilim cherim, 135; spring festival celebrated by, 243; Tamil poets during the days of 294-5; towers provided to the temples by, 316; *Uru kavi vaibhavanivaha nidhāna*, a title of, 281; Vallabhācārya, defeated Vyāsa Rāya in a disputation in the court of, 201, 225; visit of, to Cidambaram in 1517-8, 219 n.121; and Viṭhōba temple, 217; Vyāsārāja, a contemporary of, 200, 236; wives of, 39; works of, 269, 281.

Kṛṣṇadhyānapaddhati, a work of Appayya Dīkṣita, 274.

Kṛṣṇadvāri, a *slēsa kāvya* by, 288.

Kṛṣṇama Nāyakkar, undertaking given by the *nāṭṭavar* of Idaiyārṟu paṟṟu to the king through, 22.

Kṛṣṇamarāśayyan (A. D. 1561), son of Aliya Rāmarāsayyan, 297.

Kṛṣṇa maṭha, founded by Mādhvacārya, 236.

Kṛṣṇa Miśra, *Prabōdha candrōyam*, a drama by, 270, 298.

- Kṛṣṇappa**, a *bommalāta* (puppet player), 71.
- Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka** (of Ceñji), *dhvajasthamba* erected at the Viṣṇu temple at Cidambaram, by, 220 n.121; and the *Gōvindarājaperumāl* temple, 224-5; *olla* given by, to Dutch to establish a factory at *Dēvanāmpaṭṭiṇam*, 139; order given to, to expel Dutch from *Dēvanāmpaṭṭiṇam* 139.
- Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka** (of Maḍurai), father of *Vīrappa Nāyaka*, 297; brother of *Cokkanātha Nāyaka*, portrait sculpture of, 322.
- Kṛṣṇa Rāja** (a Nandyala chief), Patron of *Pingali Surana*, 284.
- Kṛṣṇārjuna samvadamu**, (a Telugu poem), by *Gōpa*, 270.
- Kṛṣṇāṣṭami** festival, 241, n.204.
- Kṛṣṇaswāmy** temple, 306-7.
- Kṛṣṇavīrappa Nāyaka**, additions made to the *Mīṇākṣi* temple by, 319 n.24.
- Kṛtināyakunḍu** (Cinna Timma), 286.
- Kuccala**, unit of sq. measure in Telugu-area (= 8 *gurtus* or 25 acres), 169.
- Kudaimānyamm**, piece of rent-free land granted to persons who had to hold the umbrella over the king, 111.
- Kuḍikkāni**, a permanent and inalienable right of *kuḍis* to cultivate a land, 94.
- Kuḍinīṅgā dēvadāna**, *dēvadāna*, grant along with the *kuḍis*, 95.
- Kuḍinīṅga iraiyili**, tax-free grant along with the *kuḍis*, 95.
- Kuḍivāram**, 108.
- Kuḍiyiruppu kāniyākṣim** the right of living on a piece of land belonging to the land lord, 97.
- Kulaśēkhara Ālvār**, mention of a viṣṇu shrine near *Tillai* by, 219 n.121.
- Kuḷi**, unit of sq. measure in Tamil-area, (= 576 sq. feet), 168.
- Kulōttuṅga II**, caused the *Gōvindarāja* idol at *Tillai* to be thrown into the sea, 219 n. 121.
- Kulōttuṅga Cōlaṇ Ulā**, *Oṭṭakkūṭṭaṇ*, the author of the, 219 n.121.
- Kumārabāṅka-nāṭha**, *Jakkanār-ya*, the patron of, 290.
- Kumara Dhūrjaṭi** (grandson of *Dhūrjaṭi*), author of the *Kṛṣṇadēvarāya Vijaya*, 284.
- Kumaragiri** (of *Koṇḍavīdu*), supply of imported articles by *Tippayya Ceṭṭi* and his brothers to, 148; a patron of scholars, 268.
- Kumara Guruparar**, founder of *Dharmapuram maṭha* and a contemporary of *Tirumalai Nāyaka*, 236 teacher of *Velliyambala Tambirān*, 298.
- Kumaruguru svāmigal**, initiated by *Māṣilāmaṇi Dēsikar*, 299; works of, 299.
- Kumāra Kṛṣṇappa**, son of *Viśvanātha Nāyaka*, statue of, 322.

Kumārasambhava of Kālidāśa, 280; commentary on, 266.

Kumāra sarasvatī, a brahman scholar patronised by Kṛṣṇa-dēva Rāya, 296.

Kumāra Vālmīki, a Kannaḍa version of Rāmāyana given by 291.

Kumāra Vyāsa (Nāraṇappa, Cāmarāśa), works of, 290.

Kumbakōṇam, a pilgrim centre, 229.; a city in the southern part of the v. empire, 3; image of Baṅgāru Kāmākṣī, shifted to, 234.

Kumbla (Cumbola), 3; annual tribute paid to Portuguese by the ruler of, 134.

Kumudavati kalyāṇam, 287.

Kuncam, a cubic measure in Telugu area, 169.

Kūnimēḍu (Collim), 156.

Kuṇṇattūr, a Jaina temple constructed by Dēva Rāya II at, 204-5.

Kūrma purāṇam, Ativīra Rāma Pāṇḍya, the author of the, 298.

Kurnool, diamond mines in the district of, 116; branch of Gōḷaki maṭha at, 234.

Kurukāmānmiyam, a work of Perumāḷ Kavirāyar, 296.

Kurumbars, 12.

Kuṇḍirattu, a short anthology by Tattuvarāyar, 293-4.

Kuruṇi, same as *marakkāl*, 169.

Kuntha Jīnāllaya, (the present Ganigitti temple at Hampi)

construction of, by Irugappa Daṇḍanātha, 204.

Kuṭṭit-Tolkāppiyam, (See *Ilak-kanavilakkam*), 298.

Kuvalayananda, a work of Appayya Dīkṣita, 274, 275, 255.

L

Ladaru, a Right hand class, 26 n.108.

Laghu, Śvara Dīkṣita, the author of a, 270.

Lakṣadhyāji (Bhikṣamaṭha), Śāna Śiva of the lineage of, 235.

Lakṣmaṇa Daṇḍanātha, author of the *Śiva Tattvacintāmani*, 289.

Lakṣmaṇa Paṇḍita, author of a medical work, 266.

Lakṣmī, view of Vaḍagalai and Teṅgalai schools regarding the position of, 197 moon called the brother of, 223.

Lakṣmīkumāra; See Tātācārya, 272.

Lakṣmi Nārāyaṇa, author of the *Saṅgita Sūryōdaya*, 270.

Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa deity, 313.

Lakṣmīnārāyaṇapura, vi, 88.

Lakṣmī sāgara, vi. 108.

Lakṣmīsōbhane, a work of Vadirāja, 292.

Land Tenures, 105-112.

Laṅkādvīpa, 207.

League (= 3 miles), 328.

Lepākṣi temple, 315, 335, 337.

Līlāvaraha (Viṣṇu), 222.

Līlāvati by Bhāskarācārya, 284 n.124.

Līlāvati gaṇitamū, a mathematical work, 284 n.124.

Liṅga, author of the *Cōḷārājya sāṅgatyā*, 291.

Lingādhvari (son of Gōvinda Dīkṣita), works of, 278.

Liṅga mudra, boundary stones bearing the mark of, 92.

Lingāya(i)ts (Janganas). *satī* practice among the, 35; as vegetarians, 58;

Liṅgama Nāyaka of Vellore, 298; statue of, 322.

Liṅgapurāṇam, Ativīra Rāma Pāṇḍya, the author of the, 298.

Liṅgapurāṇamu, a work of Tenāli Rāmakṛṣṇa, 285.

Linschoten, on the brahmans' dress, 18; on car festival, 242; on child marriages, 33; on diamond mining and the revenue received by the king through that industry, 116; on the Dombaras, 25; on the dwellings of the poorer class of people, 57; about the fishes in India, 124 on *satī* practice among the brahman community, 36; on slavery in V. empire, 10.

Li Se, an inscription in Korea written by, in 1378.

Literature, Kannāḍa, 289f.; Sanskrit 254f; Tamiḷ 293f. Telugu, 279f.

Lolla Lakṣmīdhara (a scholar), works of, 270.

Longhurst, on the architectural style of the Zenana, 332; on the bas-reliefs in the 'house of victory', 325; on the supply of water to V. city, 326.

Lotus Mahal, 331.

Loyola, figure of, painted at the court of Veṅkaṭa, 340.

Luiz, a brahman convert, 249.

Luxuries, 64f.

M

Mā, unit of sq. measure in Thaṅjāvur (= 100 *kulī*), 168.

Maccapurāṇam, 296.

Macdonell, on the authorship of the Vedic commentaries, 263.

Macleane, on the *amaram* grant 110.

Māḍai Tiruvēṅkaṭanāthar (a scholar and officer under Tirumalai Nāyaka), author of the *Prabodha-candrōdaya*, 298; an *ulā* by Vīrarāghava on, 299.

Madālasa-caritra, a work of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 269.

Mādanatilka, same as *Jana-vāśya*, 268.

Madayagāri Mallanna, one of the *aṣṭadiggajas* of the V. court, 283; author of the *Rajaśēkhara-caritramu*, 270.

Madhava (Mādhavācārya), life and work of, (258-60); appre-

- ciation of, by Bukka, 259; a brother of Bhōganātha, 264; a brother of Sāyanācārya, 260; a commentator of the *Jaiminīya tō Nyāyamāla*, 106; definition of *vr̥ṣa* as bull kept for impregnation by, 98; identification of, 262 n.60; on the limitations of the titles of the king over land, 106; on the average out-turn capacity of land, 102; an orthodox house-holder, 260; titles adopted by, 260.
- Mādhava (Māyana), son of Sāyana, 259.
- Mādhava (Gaṇḍa Mādhava), life and work of, 265.
- Mādhavamantri (Governor of Candragutti, Araga and Koṇkana), mention made of Kriyaśakti Paṇḍita in a grant by, 213.
- Mādhavāmātya (i.e. Mādhava, the minister), 260.
- Mādhava Tattvasāra Sangraha*, a work of Akshōbhya Tīrtha, 266.
- Mādhava maṭhas* in V. empire, 236.
- Madhura (Madhura Mādhava), a poet lived during the period, 289.
- Madhura Mādhava, see Madhura, 289.
- Madhuravāṇi, a poetess in the court of Raghunātha Nāyaka, 278.
- Madhurāvijayam*, a work of Gaṅgadēvi, 255; on the conquest of Madurai, 265; description in the, of the sports of the courtezans, 45; on the muslim occupation of Cidambaram and Madura, 185-6.
- Madhava, teacher of Akṣōbhya Muṇi, 191.
- Madhvācārya, foundation of Kṛṣṇa maṭha by, 236; foundation of Uttarāḍi maṭha by, 200.
- Madhva-tantramukha bhūṣana* by Vijayīndra Tīrtha, 276.
- Madhva Tīrtha, a *Dvaita* scholar, 266; presided over Uttarāḍi maṭha, 200.
- Madigaru*, tanners or shoemakers, 25 n.108.
- Madras patam, English settlement at, 145; terms of the grant of, 145-6.
- Madurai, a city in the southern part of the V. empire, 3; architectural features of the palace at, 333; course of instruction adopted by the teachers at, 250; branch of Gōḷaki maṭha in the district of, 234; a route connecting Vijayanagar with, 161; migration of *Saurāṣṭras* to, 125; the Sundarēśvarar temple at, 319; Tirumalai Nāyaka Mahāl at, 333-4.
- Madurai Cokkanātharulā, a work of Tirumalainātha, 295.
- Maduraik-kalambakam*, a work of Kumaraguru svāmigal, 229.
- Māyana, father of Mādhvācārya, 258.
- Magadha, 207, 257.
- Maggiya Maggidēva, a Kannaḍa scholar, 290.
- Mahābhāgavatamu*, a work of Bammera Potana, 281.
- Mahābhārata*, 285.

Mahābhārata tātparya, a work of Appayya Dīkṣita, 274.

Mahābhūmi, public land, 106.

Mahācārya (a vaiṣṇava scholar) defeat of Śaiva scholars of Citrakūṭa by, 220, n.121.

Mahādēva Śaraśvati, grants by Vīra Narasiṃha to, 232; Candracūḍa Śarasvati, a disciple of, 232.

Mahājanas, 19.

Mahāliṅgadēva, gifts to, for performing *japa* in the temple of Timirēśvaradēva, 228; Jakkanārya, the patron of, works of, 289.

Mahāmuraḥa, a musical instrument, 73.

Mahānavami festival, celebration of the, 238 n.202; caps worn by women taking part in the, 63; dance before the idol during the, 72; description of the, 43; description of the royal throne, exhibited during the, 48; entertainment given by the *Dombaras* during the 25; presence of public women in the, 43; remission of the tax concerning the, 24; sculptures depicting scenes from the, 308; 325.

Mahānāyakacārya, petition made by some individuals to, 90.

Mahāpradhāni Araśar Tippa-rāśar, settlement of a local dispute by, 90.

Mahārāja of Cīnadēśa, a buddhist cave at Nāgapattinam constructed by, 207.

Mahārājas, priests of the followers Vallabhācārya, 200.

Mahima, a *śiddhi*, 195.

Mahiśūra Narapati Vijaya (a manuscript work of the seventeenth century), anti-brahmatikal tendencies of Rāma Rāya as revealed in the, 17.

Mahuan, description of ascetics by, 171; on the part played by brokers in valuation procedure, 150.

Majandūr (Baindūr), a town in the west coast of V. empire, 3.

Majapahit, Hayam Wuruk, the king of, 206.

Maḥor Henderson, on the *anicut*s constructed, 91.

Makara Saṅkrānti, festival, 244.

Malabar, dye stuffs shipped from, 130; goods imported at, 80, 104, 123; the payment of fishermen on dried fish in, 124; Pulicat had trade relations with, 156.

Malabarees, an enterprising community, 149.

Malā Baśava rāja carita (*Siṅgī-rāḥapurāṇa*), a work dealing with the eighty-four miracles of Baśava, 291.

Malacca, goods exported to, 123, 131, 137; goods imported from, 128; muslims brought goods from, 134; Pulicat had trade relations with, 156.

Malakappa (chief of Hanḍe Anantapuram), occupation of Ahōbalaṃ by, and the reconquest of the same by Śrī Raṅga, 222.

Mālatimādhava, a work of Bhavabhūti, 267.

- Mālavalli, an agreement among the people of, to keep the land sale transaction within their community, 99.
- Malayampaṭṭu, vi. 27-8.
- Maldiv islands, black rice sold in exchange for coir in, 154; ships built for south India in, 157.
- Mallai Cinnaiāh Ceṭṭi, a merchant, 148.
- Mallaṇāry of Udayagiri, construction of a tank by, 85.
- Mallaṇārya of Gubbi, author of the *Bhāvacintāratna*, 291.
- Malla Nāyaka, 252.
- Mallanna, one of the *aṣṭadigajas*, 283.
- Mallappa Oḍeya (son of Bukka I), 88; Viṣṇu Śūri, a contemporary of, 267.
- Mallikāmaruta*, a drama by Uddaṇḍa, modelled on *Mālaīmādhava*, 267.
- Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhyā, a biographical sketch of, in the *Ārādhyacaritra*, 291.
- Mallikārjuna Rāya (Mallikārjuna, Mallikārjuna Mahārāya), Āditya Rāya honoured by, 110, 252; a contemporary of Gaṅgādhara, 71; grants made by, in the *dāna-maṇṭapa* in the Virūpākṣa temple, 229; Kannaḍa literary productions during the reign of, 290; made over the village Lakṣmī sāgara to the officer of Svāti in order to populate the same, 108; patron of Gaṅgādhara, 268; portrait sculpture of, in the Hanumar temple at Hampi. 321.
- Mallikārjuna temple, sculptures in the, 314.
- Mallikārjuna vijaya* (Jana-vaśya), 268, 290.
- Mallisēna vāmana, see Vāmanācārya, 293.
- Malwa, migration of people due to the famine, from Deccan to 1173.
- Mālyavanta Raghunātha temple, 311.
- Mammaṭa* (author of *Kāvya-prakāśa*), 268.
- Maṇam*, a cubic measure in Kannaḍa-area, 169.
- Maṇavāḷa mahāmuni (a vaiṣṇava scholar), works of, 267; disciple of Tiruvāymoḷi Piḷḷai, 294; a disciple of Śrīśaila, 199; *Rāmānuja Nūṛrandādi*, a work of, 294; *Teṅgalais* headed by, 199.
- Manavāri* lands, same as *accuk-kattū* lands, 101.
- Maṇḍalapuruḍar* (a Jaina contemporary of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya), author of the *Nikaṇḍu Cūdāmaṇi*, a Lexicon, 295.
- Maṇḍalikas*, 70.
- Māṅgaḍu, vil, an agreement among the residents of, to keep the lands transaction within the village, 99; decision made by the residents of, regarding *strīdhana*, 32.
- Maṅgalor (Managalore, Mangalore), a town in the west coast of V. empire, 3; annual tribute to the Portuguese by the ruler of, 134; ginger shipped from the port of, 131; muslim merchants had their agents at, 133; ships took

- cargoes of black rice from, 154.
- Maṅgammāl (Rani Maṅgammāl), (the Nāyak queen of Madura), gift made to the *Darga* by, 212; palm leaf award given by, to the Saurāṣṭras, 29-30; image of, in Tirupparaṅkuṇṇam, 323.
- Mangappa Daṇṇāyaka, 253.
- Mañjariappa, a work of Jñānaprakāsa Dēśikar in praise of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 295.
- Mañjēśvar, a port in the Kanara country, 154; annual tribute paid to the Portuguese by the ruler of, 134.
- Māṇikkavāsagar (a Śaiva saint), 297.
- Mannārudāsa vilāsa, a yakṣagāna work by Raṅgarājamma, 288.
- Mantraśāstra, works of Lolla Lakṣmīdharam, 270.
- Manu, a law giver, 105; on widows, 38 n.159.
- Manucarita, by Peddana, 282.
- Manumanu Bhaṭṭa, author of the *Hayalakṣana Sāśtra*, 287.
- Marakkāl (*Kuṟuṇi*) a cubic measure in Tamil area (= 8 *nāli*), 169.
- Maṛaijñānasambandar of Cidambaram (a scholar of the days of Acyuta Rāya and Sadāśiva Rāya), works of, 297.
- Maṛaijñānasambanda, a follower of Meykaṇḍa, 194.
- Māraṇ-aṣapporuḷ, by Perumāl Kavirāyar, 296.
- Māraṇ Aṭaṅkāram, by Perumāl Kavirāyar, 296.
- Māraṅkiḷavi maṇimālai, by Perumāl Kavirāyar, 296.
- Māraṇ Pāppaviṇam, by Perumāl Kavirāyar, 296.
- Mārappa (the brother of Harihara), Cauṇḍa Mādhava minister under, 265.
- Marcellur de Bosa however, Dutchman who negotiated on behalf of the Kandyan king a treaty with the king of Denmark, 141.
- Mārgādāyam, a kind of tax, 166.
- Mārīciparinayam, a love poem by Mōhanāṅgī, 271.
- Mārkaṇḍēya purāṇa, 283.
- Marudavanakkavirāyan, a title conferred on poet Ramanātha, 228.
- Marutrāṭcaritam, a work of Śrīnātha, 279.
- Maryāda, agreement regarding, 33.
- Masala, a type of boat used in the coromandel coast. 158.
- Mascot, 159.
- Māsilāmani Desikar (the fourth head of the Dharma-puram maṭha), initiated Kumaraguru svāmigaḷ, 299.
- Māsilāmaṇi Sambandar, author of a *purāṇa* on the Uttarakōśamaṅgai, 297.
- Māsilipaṭam, 144, 156; Ant. Schorer as a Junior Dutch factor in 1609 at, 179 n.37; English settlement in 1607 at, 142; abandonment of, by

- the English in 1628, 144; factory reopened in 1630 at, 144; a road to Kōvilkoṇḍa from, 161; William Methwold, the chief in the English settlement at, 174.
- Maṭha, 94, 109; an educational institution, 8; occupations in, 9; privilege enjoyed by, to keep palanquins, 121.
- Maṭhapura, 109, 110.
- Matli Ananta, the works of, and his grandson, 287.
- Mathew Duke, letter of, to the company from Pulicat, 141.
- Maund, a unit of weight in the Telugu-area, 169.
- Māyaṇa, a son of Sāyaṇācārya., 261.
- Mecca, velvets imported from, 128.
- [*Mēghadūta* (of Kālidāsa), a work of Vēdānta Dēśika modelled on, 256.
- Mekalabomma, wetlands granted as *daśavanda* to, 89.
- Mēlakartas, 75.
- Melinde, gold imported into India from, 126; rice exported from South India to, 129.
- Melkōṭe, grant by Śrīraṅga to the Vaiṣṇava shrine at, 222; recitation of *Yatirāja Saptati* in the temple, 94, 107.
- Mēlvāram, overlordship, 94, 107.
- Mergan (Mirjan), a town in the west coast of V. empire, 3.
- Methwold, suspicions held against the Dutch by, 141.
- Meykaṇḍadēva the author of the *Śaiva Śiddhānta* movement, 193 n.24; the followers of, 194.
- Meykāval* (*tirumēṇikāval*), 'temple watchman', 227.
- Meyññāna māmuṇi, a disciple of Śikālivaḷḷal-Pandāram, 237.
- Meyjñānaviḷakkam* see *Prabodha candrōdaya*, 298.
- Military Architecture, 327.
- Mīmāmsa*, 273
- Mīmāmsa Nyāya*, 252.
- Mīmāmsanyāmāla vistara*, a work of Sudhindra Tīrtha, 277.
- Mōhanāṅgi, authoress of the *Mārīcipariṇayam*, 271.
- Mōhana Turangini*, a work of Kanakadāsa, 292.
- Mohavadaipparaṇi*, a devotional work of Tattuvarāyar, 294.
- Molla (a poetess of the sixteenth century), composer of the Telugu *Rāmāyaṇa*, 287.
- Moluccas, 140; abandonment of English factory at, 141; imports from, 128, 130.
- Moplahs, Portuguese drove out the, from the trade market, 134.
- Moreland, on the population of Vijayanagar, 5, 6 n.32; on the strength of the V. army, 6.
- Mōtupalli, vi., 156; English factory at, 144.
- Mudrakarta (Secretary), 21.

Muduśūryar and Ilañjūryar (the twin posts). 294.

Mughal court, 51.

Muhammad-bin-Tughlak, invasion of Hoysaḷa territory by, 184; appointed Jalāl-ud-din to rule over Madurai. 184.

Muhūrta Darśana (*Vidyā Mādhaviya*), a work of Vidyāmādhavaśuni, 266-7.

Muhūrta Dīpika, a commentary on *Muhūrta Darśana* by Viṣṇu śūri, 267.

Mūkkutti (nose ornament), 65.

Muktiniccayam, a work of Gurujñānasambandar, 297.

Muktiniścaya Pērurai, a work on the Śaiva Śiddhanta Philosophy, 236.

Mullamḍram (vi., North Arcot district) Jñānaśivācāryas of, 234.

Mummaṇikkōvai, a work of Vēdānta Dēśika, 294.

Mundinilai, a work of Maṇai-jñānasambandar, 297.

Munta, a cubic measure in Telugu-area, 169.

Murige Dēśikēndra, author of the *Rājendra vijaya*, 292.

Muslims (Moors), a commercial community, 133; pirate chieftains commissioned to attack the trade ships of, 160; provision of quarters to, 2; rule of, at Madurai according to an inscription, 185; V. king's duty to protect their religion against, 14; wheat as a staple food of, 80

Mutali Sahṛdaya, a *praśasti* on the king of Majapaṇit composed by, 207.

Muttambala mudali, the image of, in Tirupparaṅkunṇam, 323.

Muṭtu Aḷakādri (brother of Cokkanātha Nāyaka) portrait sculpture of, 322.

Muttu Kṛṣṇappa, royal patronage of, to the colleges, 250; the image of, 322.

Mutturāma Ayyar, statue of, 323.

Muttu Vīrappa, the image of, 323.

Mūvara Kōne Santati Parvatāvali, reference to, in the history of Kālamukhas, 236.

Mylapore (San Thome), a city in the southern part of the V. empire, 3; a deserted seaport during the days of Barbosa, 156; printed cloth exported from, 131; a road connecting Vijayanagar with, 161.

Myrobalan, a kind of dried fruit used for dyeing purposes, 115.

N

Nācana Sōmanātha Kavi (a court poet of Bukka I), village granted by Bukka I to, 279.

Naciketopākhyānam, a work of Duggupalli Duggaya, 281.

Nādiṇḍla Appa (a nephew of Sāḷuva Timma), a work dedicated to, 270; obtained certain privileges from the king as a mark of honour, 54.

Nādiṇḍla Gōpa (Governor of Koṇḍavidu) *Udbhatārādhyā caritamū*, a work dedicated to, 285; Koṇḍavidu inscription of, 132.

Nādiṇḍla Gōpa Mantri, a brahman minister under Kṛṣṇa-dēva Rāya, 16.

- Nāḍu*, 29, 172.
- Nāḍuvukarai parṟu*, the *Kaik kōlas* of, 23.
- Nāgabandham*, 'hood of cobra', a feature of Vijayanagar architecture, 302.
- Nāgakṛtāgama*, a poetical work composed in 1365, 206.
- Nāgakkal* a stone set up in the honour of *Nāga*, 247.
- Nāgalādēvi* (mother of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya), 3.
- Nāgalāpura*, city constructed by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya in honour of his mother, 3; houses in the city of, 56; Paes and Nuniz on human sacrifice at, 245; tank at, constructed by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 84.
- Nāga Nāyaka* (son of Malla Nāyaka), a grant made at the request of, 252.
- Nāgaṇṇa Voḍeyār* (minister of Dēva Rāya), restoration of a dam across the river Haridra by, 88.
- Nāgapattinam*, a city in the southern part of the V. empire, 3; a Buddhist centre, 207, Dutch seizure of the port of, 155. Portuguese settlement at, 138.
- Nāgarkōil*, a Jaina centre, 205.
- Nāgas*, worship of, 247.
- Nāgūr*, the *Darga* at, 212.
- Naiḍadam*, a work of Ativīra Rāma Pāṇḍya, 297.
- Nainār Ācārya* (Varadācārya), 199; a son and pupil of Vēdānta Dēśika, author of the *Piḷḷaiyandādi*, 294.
- Naiṣadha*, a commentary on, 266.
- Naiṣadha Dīpīka*, a commentary on the *Naiṣadha*, 266.
- Naiṣadham* of Śrī Harṣa, 279.
- Naiṣadha Pārijāṭīya*, a *ślēṣa-kāvya* work of Kṛṣṇadvāri, 288.
- Naḷābhhyudaya*, a work of Vāmana Bhaṭṭa, 268.
- Naḷa-caritra*, by Kanakadāsa, 292.
- Nalacaritra nāṭaka*, by Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, 276.
- Naḷakīrti Kaumudi*, a work of Vidyānātha, 269 n.80.
- Nāli* (= 2 *uri*), a cubic measure in Tamil area, 169.
- Nallān Cakravarti Veṅkatācārya* (one of the *Samāya-cārya puruṣas*), 224.
- Nāmāvali*, a work of Śrīnivāsayaṅvan, 271.
- Nāma Bhōdindra*, a pontiff of Kamākōṭi pīṭha at Kāñcī, 232.
- Nāmam*, *bhakti* mark on the forehead, 198.
- Nānakkūṭṭar* (a disciple of Tuṟaiyūr Śivajñānaprakāśa svāmi), author of the *Vrddhāchala-purāṇam*, 298.
- Nānārtha ratnamāla*, a work of Irugappa Daṇḍanātha, 255, 266.
- Nānaśivacārya*, a commentary on *Śivajñānabōdha* by, 298.
- Nānavinōda Kalambagam* a work of Tattuvarāyar, 294.
- Nandanandana*, a tāḷa designed by Ragunātha Nāyaka, 75.

- Nandavaram, an inscription at, recording a resolution of the *Vidvān-Mahājanas*, 33.
- Nandi Mallayya, a poet of the Period of Narasa Nayaka, 281.
- Nandi Timmaṇṇa, one of the *aṣṭadiggajas*, 283.
- Nandi Timmayya (a poet), granted an *agrahāra* by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 71, n.339.
- Naṅguneri, 87, 88.
- Nanneri*, a work of Śivaprakāśar, 299.
- Narahari Tīrtha (a *Dvaita* philosopher), commentaries of, 266.
- Narakadhvamsa-Vyāyōga*, by Dharmasūri, 278.
- Nāraṇa, a disciple of Vidyāranya, 266.
- Nāraṇa guru, see Nārāyaṇa of Nannilam, 296.
- Narapati*, a title, 106.
- Nāraṇappa, see Kumāra Vyāsa, 290.
- Nāraṇappayyar, statue of, 323.
- Narapativijayamu*, see *Ramarajiyamu*, 287.
- Narasa Bhūpālīyamu*, a work of Rāma Rāja Bhūṣana, 286.
- Narasāa Nāyaka, works dedicated to, 281.
- Narasimha Bhārati, a pontiff of Śṛṅgeri maṭha, 230.
- Narasimha Bhārati, same as Rāmacandra Bhārati, 230.
- Narasimha - chaturvēdimāṅgalam, 206 n.63.
- Narasimhadēva, gift for digging a tank, received by, 86.
- Narasimha Dīkṣita, grandfather of Appayya Dīkṣita, 273.
- Narasimhapurāṇa, a work of Haribhaṭṭa, 308.
- Narasimhapuranam*, a joint work by Mallayya, Ghaṇṭa and Śiṅṅayya, dedicated to Narasa Nāyaka, 281.
- Narasimharāya Mahārāya Sālūvā Narasimha, construction of the tank Narasambūdhi caused by, 84.
- Narasimha Tirupati, privileges to the colonisers of, 78.
- Narasiṅga, see Vijayanagar, 79, 138.
- Narasiṅgapuram, recitation of *Bhakti sañjīvinī* in the temple at, 251.
- Nārāyaṇa of Nannilam (Nārāṇa guru), Tāṇḍavarāya Svāmigal, a disciple of, 295.
- Nārāyaṇa Sāstri, 233.
- Nārāyaṇa Satakannu*, a work of Bammera Pōtana, 281.
- Nārāyaṇa vilāsam*, a drama by Virupākṣa, 266.
- Narēśwara*, a title, 106.
- Nārikēla pākam* (cocoanut like form of expression), *Āmuk-tamālyada*, a work admired as an example of, 282.
- Narsyngna (Vijayanagar), 128.
- Nartana Nirṇaya*, a work on music by Puṇḍarika Vitthala, 75.
- Narumdogai*, see *Verrivērkai* 298.

- Nasir-ud-din Sultan of Madurai), successor of Ghiyas-ud-din, 184.
- Nāṭakaparibhāṣa*, a work of Śarvajña Sangama, 74, 268-9.
- Nāṭakas*, dramas, 47.
- Naṭarāja temple at Cidambaram, restoration of worship in the, 298.
- Nāṭṭavar* of Iḍaiyārruparru, an undertaking given by the, 22.
- Nāṭṭār* of Tiruvāmattūr, an undertaking given by the, 21.
- Navabrndāvana*, an island in the Tungabhadra river, 202.
- Nāvalūr*, vi., 206.
- Navanitanāṭan, author of the *Navanitapāṭṭiyal*, a work of Navanitanāṭan, 295.
- Navaratnamālai*, a work of Vēdānta Dēśika, 294.
- Nāyakavāḍis*, appointed persons for the purpose of watching the crops, 93 n.103.
- Nāyakas* (*Amara Nāyakas*), 110; feudal men-at-arms, 109; *sati* among the, 36.
- Naick (Nāyak) of Madura, remarks of Barradas on, 51; Madurai as a centre of learning, under the, 250, the physical characteristics of, 323.
- Nāyak (of Thaṇjavur), dynasty sculptures at paṭṭiśvaram temple, 322; anxiety to open trade relations with British revealed by the, 143; promise to offer Kāraikāl to the British 'factors' on a yearly payment, 144. Tranquebar, acquired by the Danish East India Company from, 155.
- Navamani mā'ā*, a work dealing with the philosophy of Śrīkaṇṭha, 274.
- Nayamañjari*, a work of Sudhāndra Tīrtha, 274, 277.
- Nayamayukha Mālīka*, a work dealing with the philosophy of Rāmānuja, 274.
- Nayanār Gāṅgevarāyar, caused to make an agreement among the brahmins regarding bride price, 32 n.133a.
- Nāyanār Kacciya Rāyar, a chief, one among the *nāṭṭavar* of Iḍaiyārruparru, 22.
- Nāyankara* tenure, the same as *amaranāyaka* tenure, 110.
- Nadar, 50 n.214.
- Negai (the Mudgal beauty), refusal by, of the present of Dēva Rāya I, 41, n.175.
- Nellaittirupparimālai*, a work of Tamiḷākara Munivar, 299.
- Nelson, an immigrant, 29 n. 123. n.123.
- Nesara kōḍage*, piece of rent-free land granted for service rendered in the battle field at the cost of life, 111, 112.
- Nēmali parṛu, the *Kaikkōlas* of, 23.
- Nēmanna (a Jaina scholar), author of the *Jñāna bhāṣkara caritē*, 292.
- Nēmicandra (a Jaina scholar), a certificate of victory obtained by, in the court of Dēva Rāya II, 225.
- Nēminātha (a Jain Tīrthāṅkara), paintings related to, in the Vardhamāna temple, 339.

New year day, the exact date of celebration of, 241, n.206.

Nicobar islands, 130.

Nirholas Pimenta (Visited Ceñji in A.D. 1599), on the court of the Nāyak of Ceñji, 48.

Nicolo dei Conti, (an Italian), 326; on the capacity of Indian ships, 157; on the clothing of people, 61; on the dress of women, 63; on the festivals, 239-40, 241, 242, 243; on the incision made by people during the car festival, 246; on the king's harem, 41; on the population of the V. empire, 4; on the repayment of debts, 181; on the shoes worn by women, 63; on the size of the V. city, 328; on slavery in the V. empire, 10; on the use of footwear, 62, 121; on the walls of the V. city, 3.

Niḍūrttalapurānam, the authorship of, 296.

Nikaṇḍu Cūḍāmani, lexicon by Maṇḍalapuruḍar, 295.

Nikaṇḍu vyākhyā, a work of Dēvarāja dealing with lexicography, 268.

Nikitin (Athanasius), a Russian traveller, 325; on agricultural land, 79; on varieties of diamonds, 116; on the port of Calicut, 154-5; on the prices of articles in Calicut, 178; on the people of the Deccan, who went about barefooted, 62; on the shoes worn by the people, 122; on the standard of living among the people, 177; on the unsafety on account of piracy, 160; On villages and towns in the V. empire, 2.

Nīlananṭha Dīkṣita (a member of the family of Appayya Dīkṣita), a minister of Tirumala Nāyaka, 276; works of, 276.

Nī'akanṭha Śivācārya, author of the *Ārādhyacaritra*, 291.

Nīlakanṭha Vijayacampū, a work of Nīlakanṭha Dīkṣita, 276.

Nīlakēṣi, (a work), Samaya-divākaram, a commentary on, 293.

Nilēśvar, a port in the Kanara country, 154.

Niramba Alagiya Dēśikar, works of, 297.

Nirankuṣopākhyāna, a work of Radraya, 287.

Nīrkūli sarvamānyam, grant for maintaining the supply of water to the villages, 112.

Nītineri viḷakkam, a work of Kumaragurusvāmikal, 299.

Nītisāram, a work of Tamiḷā-kara Munivan, 299.

Niṭṭai viḷakkam, a work of Ambalavāna Dēśikar, 298.

Niyōgis, brahmans in the Telugu area, 16.

Nizāmpaṭam, See Peṭṭapoli, 143.

Nizām Shāh, 135.

Nīpa a title, 106.

Nuniz, 325; on the attendants in charge of wardrobe, 51; on the use of basket boats, 158; on a banquet prepared by the brother of Dēva Rāya II, 59, 60 n.266; on brahman priests, 18; on the beds in the palace and about

Acyuta Rāya, 66-7; on the beasts of burden, 162; on the breeding of livestock in the Deccan, 98; on the condition of ryots, 177; on the construction of a tank and the assistance given by Joao della Ponte for it, 85; on the custom of kissing of the royal feet, 50; on the custom of *sa'am* in the court of Vijayanagar, 49-50; on the dress of V.kings, 60; on dwelling in V. empire, 60; on the forenoon programme of the king, 53; on the harem of Acyuta Rāya, 41; on honest men given to merchandise, 150; on the human sacrifice made at Nāgalāpura, 245; on ivory articles 120; on the use of litters and palanquins, 121; on a local tax levied at the gateway in the capital, 166; on the marks of honour which Acyuta Rāya used to confer, 54; on members in the service of the king, 41, 42; on the payment made by an Adapanayaque to the imperial treasury every year, 116; on the performance by dancing girls before the idol of the king, 72; on the public women in the army, 43; on the punishment of Sāluva Timma, 15; on the royal estates, 108; on the royal kitchen, 59; on the sacrifice of prisoners of the Empire offered by the Emperor to please gods, 85; on *sati* practice, 34-5; on the saying of the people on *mahānavami* festival, 238 n.202; on the 'Secretary' in the V.court, 50; on the seed plots and cattle around Bankapūr, 79 on the slaughtered animals on the festival day, 239; on state patronage for the workman, 125; on women who held offices on women who held offices of responsibility, 42; on the wrestlers of the kingdom, 68;

identification of Collim of, with Kūnimēḍu, 156.

Nūṛondusthala (Hundred and one topics), a work of Jakka-nārāyaṇa, 289.

Nūtana Tuṅgabhadra, an irrigational canal at the village Modaya, 85.

Nyāya candrika, a work of Ānanda Pūraṇa, 267.

Nyāyadarpana Vēdāntasārā tika, 276.

Nyāya Dīpika, a work of Jayatīrtha Tikācārya, 266.

Nyāyamauktikamāla, a work of Sudhīndra Tīrtha, 277.

Nyāyāmṛta, a work of Vyāsa-rāja, 201.

Nyayamuktāvali, a work of Rāghavendra, 274, 277.

Nyāya pariśuddhi, a work of Vēdānta Dēśika, 257.

Nyāya ratnāvali, a work of Vādirāja, 276.

Nyāya Siddhāñjana, an incomplete text book of Vēdānta Dēśika, on Viśistadvaita.

Nyāyaśikhāmani, 276.

Nyāya vivaraṇa, a work of Jayatīrtha Tikācārya, 266.

O

Ōbammā, (queen of Pulicat), embassy sent by, to the British traders, 142.

Ōbi Rāju (brother in-law of Venkata II), permission got by Dutch to reconstruct the fort at Pulicat through, 140.

Obo (Oba Rāya), in the court of Venkata II, 48.

Oḍuva Gīriya, (a Vīrasaiva scholar), the story of Hariścandra written by, 291.

Ōlai-eḷuttu, See *Kōyilkaṇakku*, 227.

Oḷi maryāda, 33 & n. 134.

Ōṅgu kōyil purāṇam, a work of Tiruvambalamuḍaiyār, 294.

Onor, sheep and goats reared in, 98.

Oppert, Gustav, on the origin of the *Valaṅgai* and *Idaṅgai* classes, 26.

Orissa, Gajapati ruler of, 148.

Ormuz, 134, 153 ; commodities exported to, 80, 104, 129, 130, 131 ; muslims merchants of, 127 ; horses imported from, 148.

Ove Geede, a treaty concluded with Nāyaka of Thaṅjāvūr by, 142.

P

Paccar, a kind of rice, 80.

Paḍaivīḍu, 21, 22.

Paḍaivīḍu kingdom, voluntary agreement arrived at by brahmans in, regarding *Kanyādāna*, 32.

Padakku (= 2 *kuṟuṇi*), a cubic measure in Tamil area, 46, 169.

Pādarāya matha, Padmanābha and Śrīpāda Rāya, heads of the, 200.

Padarikārāma (a buddhist monastery at Nāgāpaṭṭinam), 207.

Pada vākya Pramāṇapārāvāraparīṇa, a title borne by the pontiffs of Sṛṅgēri matha, 231.

Paḍi (= 2 uri) a cubic measure in Tamil area, 169.

Padmanābha Tīrtha, immediate successor of Mādhvācārya, 200.

Pādukāsahasra (of Vēdānta Dēśika), a commentary on, by Appayya Dīkṣita, 274.

Pāḍuturai, a devotional song by Taṭuvarāyar, 294.

Padyapūraṇam (filling up literary verse puzzles), 47.

Paes, on beasts of burden, 162 ; on a bed-room in the palace, 66 ; on the boats rowed at Anegundi, 158 ; on brahmans, 15, 19 ; on the breeding places of livestock in the Deccan, 98 ; on the cap of gold brocade worn by V. kings, 61 ; on the caps worn by women who took part in the *Mahānavami* festival, 63 ; on the circumference of the city, 328 ; on the condition of chiefs and the treasury of the king, 178 ; on the construction of a tank by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 84 ; on contemporary paintings in the palace, 339 ; on the conveyances used in the empire, 120 ; on the cordial relationship among the women in the harem, 40 & n. 165 ; on the cultivation of lands in the V. empire, 79 ; on the customs of the harem, 40 ; on the daily programme of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 53 ; on the dancing girls, attached to temples, 45 ; on the dancing hall in the palace, 72 ; on the *Dīpāvali* festival, 241 ; on the dress of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 60 ; on the dwelling houses in V. city, 56 ; on the elephants owned by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 127 ; on the food

- stuffs in the of V. kings, 58 ; on the fortification of the V. city, 327 ; on the Garden produce, 81-2 ; on the harem of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 41 ; on the Hindu mendicants, 245 ; on the 'house of victory' constructed by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 324-5 ; on the human sacrifice made at Nāgalāpura, 245 ; on 'Indian corn', 80 ; on the luxurious ornaments used by the kings, 64 ; on the *Mahānavami* festival, 49 ; on a military review in the V. Empire, 239 ; on the ornaments used by women, 65 ; on a painted recess, 339 ; on the palace in the V. city, 55 ; on the plumes as tokens of high dignity, 51 ; on the population of the V. empire, 2 ; on the population of V. city, 4-5 ; on the position of Courtezans, 44 ; on the practice of wrestling by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 68 ; on the prices of articles in Vijayanagar, 178 ; on the production of grains, 80-1 ; on the quarters of woman-servants, 40 ; on the roads in the empire, 161 ; on the sacrifices offered before temples, 245 ; on the shoes used by the people, 121 ; on the slaughtered animals on the festival day, 239 ; on the streets and houses in V. city, 56 ; on the swing cots in use, 67 ; on the wealth of courtezans, 44 ; on women among brahmans, 39 ; on women musicians, 42 ; on the wrestling in the empire, 68.
- Pāka Reddis**, (Reddis of Pākanādu), 21.
- Pajavar maṭha**, 236.
- Pakṣadhara Miśra**, accepted the superiority of Vyāsarāya, 201.
- Palaki umbali*, See *dandega umbali*, 111.
- Palam* (= 3 tolas), a unit of weight in Tamil area, 169.
- Palanī-tala purāṇam*, a work of Bālasubrahmaṇya Kavirāya, 299.
- Palimār maṭha**, 236.
- Paliwanlu*, two tribes of cultivators, not of Karnāṭaka origin, 25 n. 108.
- Paḷliccandam* grant, 206.
- Paḷlikoṇḍanātha** of Nellore, privileges to be shown to *pāñcānas* during the festival days of 21.
- Palkuriki Sōmanātha**, 289.
- Palnāti vīra caritram*, by Śrīnātha, 280.
- Paḷuttāṇḍi Kuppācāri Ambalakāran**, applied for copper plate charter to Tirumalai Nāyaka, 50.
- Paluttankatti Jñānaprakāśar**, an younger contemporary of Śiṛrambalataḍi, 294.
- Pāmbāṭṭi Śittar**, 195.
- Pampa**, a Kannaḍa poet, 290.
- Pampākṣētra** (Hampi), 202.
- Pana*, Sectarian division, 124, 181.
- Panappāḍi**, revival of worship in the Jaina temple at, 205.
- Pañcadaśi* work by Vidyāranya, 258.
- Pañcadaśi prakaraṇa* a work of Bhārati Tīrtha, 260.

- Pañcāhaṇas*, social honour secured by a member of, at the car festival, 21.
- Pañcākṣari, Bhavacintāratna*, a work expounding the greatness of, 291.
- Pañcakṣara mantra*, the greatness of, dealt within a work of Oḍuva Girīya, 291.
- Pañcāḷa*, a Left hand caste, 25 n. 108; divisions among the 12, 20.
- Pañcamahākāvyas*, 279.
- Pañcamata bhañjanam*, by Tātācārya, 221.
- Pañcarātra āgama*, 257.
- Pañcarātra rakṣa*, a work of Vēdānta Dēśika, 257.
- Pañcāstikaya*, a commentary on, by Vāmanācārya, 293.
- Pañcatantra*, a work of Duba-
guṇṭa Nārāyaṇa, 281.
- Pañcavimśati*, 338.
- Pandāra śāstras*, a work on Śaiva Śiddhānta Philosophy, 236.
- Pandharpūr*, vitthala image at, shifted by Kṛṣṇdēva Rāya from, 199.
- Pāṇḍi-mandalādhipati*, a title of Īśāna Śiva, 235.
- Pāṇḍi-nāṭṭu mudaliar*, a title of Īśāna Śiva, 235.
- Pāṇḍitārādhyā caritra*, a work of Śrīnātha, 280.
- Pāṇḍiyan paḍitturai*, statue of a Pandyan king and a ṣetti on the, 323.
- Pāṇḍuraṅga mahātmya*, a work of Tātācārya, 272.
- Pāṇḍuraṅga Mahātmyamu*, by Tenāali Rāmakṣṇa, 285.
- Pāṇḍyan Chronicle*, on the destruction caused to the temple at Madurai by the Muslim invaders, 185.
- Paṇṇai*, a system of cultivation, 97.
- Pāpavināśa temple*, 315.
- Paramahamsas* (a class of ascetics), 259.
- Paramahamsa Parivrājaka-cārya-varya*, a title taken by the pontiffs of Srīngēri maṭha, 231.
- Paramānanda viḷakkam*, a work of Gurujñāna sambandar, 297.
- Paramarahasya mālai*, a work of Cidambaraguru Namaś-
śivāya Mūrti, 299.
- Paramaśivēndra*, a pontiff of Kāmakoṭi pīṭha at Kāñcī, 231.
- Paramatha bhañjanam*, a work of Vēdānta Dēśika, 257.
- Paramata timirabānu*, a work of Maṇaijñānasambandar, 297.
- Paramayōgi vilāsamu*, (a Telugu work dealing with the lives of the Ālvārs), by Siddharāju Timmarāju Bhūpāla, 287.
- Paramayōgivilāsamu*, a work of Tiruveṅgalanātha, 221.
- Paramōpadēśam*, a work of Maṇaijñānasambandar, 297.
- Paranjotiyar* (a contemporary of Ativira Rāma Pāṇḍya), author of the *Ciddambara pāṭṭiyal* 295; author of the *Tiruvīḷaiyā-
ḍar purāṇam*, 298, 299.

Pararājaśiṅgam (of Ceylon), Andakakkavi Vīrarāghava Mudaliyār wrote a *vaṇṇam* on, 299.

Parasangs (= 3½ miles), 328.

Parāśara, Mādhavācārya the commentator on the text of, 102.

Parāśara, the author of *Parāśārasmṛti*, 259.

Parāśaramādhaviyam, Mādhavācārya, minister of Bukka, as revealed in, 260.

Parāśarasmṛti, a commentary on, by Mādhavācārya, 259.

Parāśarasmṛtivyākhyā, a commentary on the *Parāśarasmṛti* 259.

Paraśiva (superior to Trimūrtis, brahman (according to Sivādvaitya) identified with, 194.

Paratatvaparakāśa a work of Vijayīndra Tīrtha, 276.

Paravas of the fishery coast, baptism of the, 209.

Parijātāpaharanam, a work of Raghunātha Nāyaka, 288.

Parijātāpaharanamu, a work of Nandi Timmanna, 283; connection of with *Satyavadhūprīnana* of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya, 269 n.80; mention of contemporary paintings in, 56, 340; a traditional account on the composition of, 284.

Parimala a work of Appayya Dīkṣita, 274.

Parimala, a work of Rāghavēndra, 277.

Parivattam, use of, as a social honour, 22.

Pariahs, (a community) their residence, 2; occasionally engaged in the textile industry, 123.

Pariśu, boat made of wicker and leather, 158, 163.

Parṛadai, tax on, 124.

parṛu, ward, 21.

Pārśva Jīnanātha at Gooty, a *baṣṭi* for, built up by Irugappa Daṇḍanātha, 204.

Pārvati parinaya a drama by Vāmana Bhaṭṭa, 268.

Pāsupatas a note on, 192

Patipāśappanuvāḍ, a work of Maṛajñānasambandar, 297.

pātri (actress ?), 71.

Patta katuynen, cloth with red stripes, 131.

Paṭṭanāṭṭu Pillai (a tenth century poet), 194, 195.

Pattīśvaram temple, the image of Buddha in the, 208.

Paṭṇūlkāraṇ (same as Saurāśtras), 30.

Paurāṇika Kavi Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa, grant to, by Bukka I, 254.

Pavācala State, Gaṅgādāsa, the ruler of, 71.

Pāvādai use of, as a social honour, 22.

Peda Kṛṣṇamācārlu (son of Gōvinda Dīkṣita), Acyuta Rāya made a grant to, 250.

Pedda Ahōbala Redḍi, a diwan under Kṛṣṇadēva Rāyā, 229 n. 170.

- Peddanna, authorship of *Amuktamālyada* attributed to, 282.
- Peda Kōmati, works of, 268.
- Peda Kōmati Vēma (of (Koṇḍavīdu), a patron of scholars, 268; author of the *Sangītacintāmaṇi*, 74.
- Pegu, 116, 123, 126, 129, 131, 156.
- Peṇṇai river, 23.
- Penukoṇḍa, one of the capitals of the later V. kings, 315; a city in the central part of V. empire, 3; drifting of V. kings from Vidyānagara to, in the south, 223; temples at, 315.
- Penugoṇḍa Vīraṇṇa (brother of Virupaṇṇa), construction of *Nūtana Tuṅgabhadra* canal by, 85.
- Periyadēva nāyinār, maṭha at Cidambaram, 237.
- Periyālvār (Viṣṇucitta), a work describing the story of, 281.
- Periyapaṭṇa (near Mysore), Doddiah, a scholar of 291.
- Periyapillaiyaṇḍāns*, senior servants under the *aḍappam* of the king, 51 n.217.
- Periyasvāmi Narasanāyaka* gift made for the merit of, 251.
- Pero Vax de Amaral, (a portuguese Missionary), *paravas* sought the help of, 209.
- Persia, 129, 131, 137.
- Persian Gulf, sea route through the, 158.
- Perumāḷ Kavirāyar, (poet), works of, 296.
- Perumbarrappuliyūr Nambi, author of the *Tiruvilaiyāḍar-purāṇam*, 298.
- Pettapoli (Peddapalli), modern Nizāmpaṭam, English factory at, 143, 144.
- Philip III, sovereign of Portugal, 138.
- Philippo Sasseti, (Italian traveller), on trade activities with Vijayanagar, 137; on the decline of trade between Portuguese and V. empire, 138.
- Piḍāgai* (hamlet), 1.
- Pietro della Valle, on the car festival, 247; on dancing girls, 45; on the dress of women, 62; on the head dress of women, 63; on the *hōli* festival, 243, on *kōlāttam* dance, 73; on the method of teaching, 248; on the practice of keeping houses neat, 56 n. 244; on the roads in the empire, 161-2; on *sati*, 33 on slavery in Goa, 10.
- Pillai Lōkācārya, the Teṅgalais headed by, 199; the images of the Madura temple taken to Malayālam country by, 185.
- Pīḷait-Tamiḷ*, 299.
- Pīḷaiyaṇḍādi*, a work of Nainār Ācāriyar in praise of his father, 294.
- Pimenta, on the car festival, 243, n. 242; on the controversy about the lawfulness of improvements made to the Gōvindarāja temple at Cidambaram 224; visit of, to a school at Madurai, 249.

Pina Virabhadra, author of the *Iaiminī Bhāratamu*, 280.

Piṅgali Sūranṇa, 270; one of the *astadiggajas*, 284 life and work of, 284—5.

Pirākāmyam, a *siddhi*, 195.

Piramōttirakaṇḍam, a work of Varatuṅgarāma Pāṇḍya, 296.

Poleas (a community), the residence of, 2.

Pollam, a unit of weight in the Telugu area, 169.

Ponani, a port, 154.

Pōṇḍicherry, 144, 324.

Ponnēri Kāyal, a Tamil school established at, 249.

Pen paṇḍāram, temple treasury, 227.

Ponparappu, revival of worship in the Jaina temple at, 205.

Ponvāśikoṇḍān, a street at Jambukēśvaram, 233.

Porto Novo, a port on the bank of the Vellār, 155.

Portrait sculptures in South India, 320—4.

Portuguese, annual tribute collected from the rulers of the ports by the, 134; the English and Dutch effort to provide a fleet for defence against the, 140; horse trade passed on to the, 127; piratical activities of, 160; purchase of cloth by the, 131, revival of Mylapore port with the coming of the, 156; trade carried on by the, 133, treaty between the, and V. king, 135-6.

Portuguese Company of India, a quasi commercial company, commerce handed over to, 138.

Pōsalīśvaram Uḍaiyār, the god at Kaṇṇanūr, 185.

Prabandhas, (*Drāviḍa Vēdas*), 74, 196; encouragement given for the recitation of, 251; eighteen kinds of description in an ideal, 283.

Prabandha, a kind of musical composition by Śrīpādarāya-svāmi, 74.

Prabhāvaḷis, 119.

Prabhāvatī Pradhyumnam, a work of Piṅgali Sūranṇa, 285.

Prabhudēva, see Allama, 290.

Prabhudēvasa ṣaṭsthaia jñāna caritra Vacanadatike by Mahāliṅgadēva, 289.

Prabhulingalīla, a Vīraśaiva work by Kumāra Vyāsa, 290.

Prabhulingamālai, a Kannada work by Śivaprakāśar, 299.

Prabodhacandrōdaya, a drama by Kṛṣṇa Miśra, 281.

Prabodhacandrōdaya, a drama by Vēdānta Dēśika on the model of the, 256.

Prabōdha candrōdaya, (*Mey-nānaviḷakkam*)? BY Māḍai Tiruveṅkaṭanāthar, 298.

Prabōdha Candrōdya nāṭaka, a commentary by Māḍaya-gāri Mallanna, on, 270.

Pradhāna Sakalāgama pārāvāra daṇḍanāyaka, Śaḷuva Timma known as, 269.

Prahlāda nāṭaka, a drama by Vijayarāghava Nāyaka, 288.

Prajña Simha, disciple of Sthavīra Vairōcana Simha, 206 n. 63.

- Pramāṇa Paddhati*, a work of Jaya tīrtha Tikācārya, 266
- Pramēya Dīpikā*, a work of Jayatīrtha Tikācārya, 266.
- Prameyasāna*, a commentary on, by Maṇavāla Mahāmuni, 267.
- Pranātārthihara, uncle of Vēdānta Dēśika, 256.
- Prapañca, a Javanese poet, author of the *Nāgaṛṭāgama*, 206.
- Prapañcadarpaṇa*, a Sanskrit authological work, 269 n. 80.
- Prapanna*, 197.
- Prapannāmṛtam*, of Anantārya, on the cause of devotion of Virūpākṣa to the Vaiṣṇava faith, 215 n.101; on the displacement of images at Maḍura temple, 185; on the influence of Tātācārya over Veṅkaṭa II, 272; on the defeat of Appayya Dīkṣita by Dodḍayācārya in a controversy, 221; on the consecration of Vaiṣṇava shrine at Cidambaram, 220 n.121
- Prapatti* (self surrender), 196, 257.
- Prāpti*, a *siddhi*, 195.
- Prasannāraghava* of Jayadēva, *Abhilaṣitarthadāyani*, a commentary on, 271.
- Prasasti*, 206.
- Pratāpa Bukka Rāya Maṇḍala Channel, 84.
- Pratāpa Rāyā (son of Maṅgappa Daṇṇāyaka) an engraver, 253.
- Pratāpa Rudra, credited with the authorship of the *Sarasvatīvilāsam*, 270.
- Pratāparudrīyam* of Vidyānātha Kavi, *Narasa Bhūpāliyam*, an adaptation of, 286.
- Praudadēva Rāya, Aruṇagiri-nātha, (poet) lived during the days of, 294.
- Pravacanasāra*, a commentary by Vāmanācārya, on the, 293.
- Prāyascitta samaccayam*, by Tamiḷākara Munivan, 299.
- Prāyaścitta-sudhānidhi*, (*Karmavipāka*), a work of Śāyaṇācārya, 261.
- Prēmābhirāmam*, a Telugu translation of, 266.
- Prithivipati*, a title, 106.
- Prolugaṇṭi Tippana, (an officer under Dēva Rāya II), *bhōga maṇṭapa* of the Viṭṭhala temple built by, 308.
- Pucca seer*, a unit of weight in the Telugu-area, 169.
- Pudumaṇṭapa* (in the Maḍurai temple), 319; life size statues in the, 322.
- Pulicat, a city in the eastern part of V. empire, 3; abundant rice cultivation in, 80; a centre of textile manufacture, 123; Dutch fort at, 139; an exporium of trade on the east coast, 156; English allowed on a joint account to erect a factory along side of the Dutch at, 140; Mylapore-Vijayanagar land route through, 161 Portuguese's attack (1612-3) on the fort at, and its re-establishment by the Dutch, 140; printed cloth exported from, 131; trade route connecting Vijayanagar with, 161.

Pūmālai (a work dealing with the garlands that could be used for adorning God), by Kamalai Jñānaprakāśa Paṇḍitar, 297.

Pundarikavalli, the Goddess in Cidambaram, 224.

Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala, author of Several works on music, 75.

Punyakōtivismāna, gilded by Tātācārya, 272.

Punyaslōka mañjarī, a work, 233.

Purandaradāsa, 74, 292.

Pūrnaliṅgam pillai, on the founder of Dharmapuram maṭha, 236.

Pūrṇānanda, a pontiff of Kāmakōṭi Pīṭha, 231; pilgrimage of, to Nepal, 232 n.179.

Puruṣārthasudhānidhi, a work of Sāyaṇacārya, 261.

Puroṣottama Bhārati, same as Rāmacandra Bhārati, 230.

Putrakāmēṣṭhi yāga, 308.

Puṣpagiri, branch of Goḷaki matha at, 234; temples at, 315-6.

Puṣpagiri maṭha, an Advaita maṭha, 191.

Puṣpasēna, teacher of Irugappa Daṇḍanātha, 204; construction of a *maṇṭapa* at the instance of, 204, 330.

Pustaka bhaṇḍāra (*Sarasvatī bhaṇḍāra*), 254.

Pūtanāharaṇa, a drama by Vijayarāghava Nāyaka, 288.

Putṭi, a unit of weight in the Telugu area, 169.

Putti maṭha, 236.

Putṭavidi, a work of Kamalai Jñānaprakāśa Paṇḍitar, 297.

Q

Quilon, a port on the southern extremity of the west-coast, 155; pirates around, 160; road connecting Kayanikulam and Tirunelveli through the kingdom of, 161.

R

Rādhāmādhava vilāsa, a work of Cintalapūḍi Ellaya, 287.

Rāgamālā, a work on music by Puṇḍarīka viṭṭhala, 75.

Rāgamañjarī, a work on music by Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala, 75.

Raganti Narasaraju (son-in-law of Tirumala), *Narasabhūpāliyam* dedicated to, 286.

Rāghava Pāṇḍavīyam, a *dvayārtha kāvya* by, Piṅgali Sūranna, 284.

Rāghavēndra, grandson of Kṛṣṇa, 74.

Rāghavēndra svāmi maṭha, 236.

Rāghavēndra Tīrtha, disciple of Sudhīndra Tīrtha, 202, 277; a pontiff of Rāghavēndra svāmi maṭha, 236; works of, 277.

Raghunāthābhyudaya, composed by Rāmaprabhadrāmbā, 46, 256, 278; on a gymnasium at Thaṇjāvūr, 69.

Raghunātha Caritrakāvya, by Vāmaṇa Bhaṭṭa, 268.

Raghunātha Nāyaka (of Thaṇjāvūr), accomplished women in the court of, 46; author of new *rāgās* and *tāḷas*,

- 75, 277; cession of Tanquebar by, to Danes, according to a treaty concluded with them, 142; *kanakābhiṣēka* by, 75; a learned author, 255; Madhura-vāni, a poetess in the court of, 278; a new type of dance, designed by, 73; portraits of and his queens in the Ramaswamy temple at Kumbakōṇam, 322; Rāmabhadraṁbā, a poetess in the court of, 256, 278; well received the Dutch captain who made his way to Thanjavur, 142; *Saṅgita suddhā*, a work of, 258; Sudhīndra Tīrtha honoured with *kanakābhiṣēka* by, 276; works of, 277, 288; Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita, a minister under, 277.
- Raghunātha Temple, 315.
- Raghunāthavilāsa*, a new type of dance designed by Raghunātha Nāyaka of Thanjavur, 73.
- Raghunāthavilāsa nāṭaka*, a work of Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita, 277.
- Rahasyas*, commentaries by Vēdānta Dēśika, 257.
- Rahasyatraya*, a commentary on, by Maṇavāla mahāmuṇi, 267.
- Rahasya trayasārā* (Tamil), a work of Vēdānta Dēśika, 257.
- Rāhulavarman, a Buddhist name relating to Kāñcīpuram, 206 n.63.
- Raicur, a city in the central part of the V. empire 3; public women in the army that marched to, 43; route connecting Vijayanagar with, 161.
- Rāja Cūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita, a son of Ratnakhēṭa Srinivasa Dīkṣita and a pupil of Veṅkatmakhi, 278.
- Rājagōpāla Rao, on the authorship of the work *Narasabhūpāliyam*, 286.
- Rājagōpālaviṭāsa*, a drama by Vijayarāghava Nāyaka, 288.
- Rājaguru*, kings followed by, on their expeditions, 17.
- Rājakāryabhaṇḍāra* (of Tiruvāmātur), an undertaking given to the, 21.
- Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāyan (c.A.D. 1350), reference made to in the Ēkāmrānāthan ulā 293.
- Rājanātha; father of Soṇāndri nātha, 268.
- Rājanātha Diṇḍima, *Acyutārāyābhyudayaṁ* by, 271; a court poet of Sāluva Nara-simha, 267.
- Rājarājan ulā*, a work of Oṭṭakkūttan, 219 n. 121.
- Rājaśēkhara caritramu*, a Telugu work dedicated to Nādiṇḍla Appa, 270.
- Rāja Vālmikī*, a title assumed by Harihara II, 255.
- Rāja Vyāsa*, a title assumed by Harihara II, 255.
- Rājēndra Tīrtha, a disciple of Akṣōbhya Tīrtha, 200.
- Rājendra Vijaya*, a work of Murgie Dēsikēndra, 292.
- Rakṣas Tangaḍi, the battle of, put an end to the construction work in the Viṭṭhala temple, 308; famine caused in the region round the capital after the battle of, 173; Hindu defeat at, 137; a legend relating the defeat of V. king at, 223 n.140; plunder acquired by the allied at the battle of, 178.

Rākhipūrnima, 241 n.206.

Rāma II (Rāmadēva), religious tolerance of, 223.

Rāma III, Ankuśarāya a feudatory of, 271.

Rāmabhadrāmbā, a poetess in the court of Raghunātha Nāyaka, 255-6, 278; the authoress of the *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, 46, 256; on the accomplished women in the court of Raghunātha Nāyaka, 46.

Rāmabhadriah, one of the *astadiggajas*, 283; life and work of, 285-6; Rāmarāja bhuṣana had a competition with, 286.

Rāmābhyudayam, a work of Rāmabhadriah, 286; Sāluva Narasimha credited with the authorship of, 267.

Rāmābhyudayam, a work of Diṇḍima Sārvabhauma, 267.

Rāmcandra, patronage to Cen-nubhaṭṭa by, 266.

Rāmachandra Bhārati, a pontiff of Śrīngēri maṭha, 230.

Rāmacandra temple at Paḍai-vīḍu, 296.

Rāmadhyānacaritra, a work of Kanakādāsa, 292.

Rāmakṛṣṇa, a commentator, 258.

Rāmakṛṣṇādhvarin (a scholar of the 16-7th centuries), works of, 276.

Rāmakṛṣṇa Josya, 252.

Rāmalingēśvara temple at Tad-patri, 315.

Rāmānanda, a new *tāḷa* styled by Raghunātha Nāyaka, 75, 277.

Rāmanātha (a poet), *Marudavanakkavirāyan*, a title conferred on, 228.

Rāmanāthapuram, branch of Goḷaki maṭha in the district of, 234.

Rāmanātha vilāsa, a work of Sadāśiva yōgi, 292.

Rāmānuja (a great Śrī-vaiṣṇava Philosopher), 195-6 consecration of the discarded idol of Gōvindarāja at Tirupati by, 219 n.121; opening verses of the certain inscription in praise of, 203-4; *Sankalpa Sūryōdaya*, a work to the system of, 256; teacher of Vēdānta Dēśika, 256; worship of, as a deity during the period of Śrīraṅga, 222.

Rāmānujakūṭam, provision made by private individuals for the maintenance of, 172.

Rāmānuja Nūṛṇandādi, a work of Maṇavāḷa Mahāmuni, 294.

Rāmappayya, Śēṇabaṣeṭṭi, the agent of, 20.

Rāmappayyan Ammānai a historical ballad dealing with the wars of a general of Tirumala Nāyaka, 299.

Rāmā Rāja, Ain-ul-Mulk Gilani and Amur-khān, the officers under, 212; ambassador sent to the victory of Goa, by, 135; anti-brahmanical tendency of, as portrayed in the *Mahisura Narapati Vijaya*, 17, an ardent follower of Śrīvaiṣṇavism, 221; caused a *Koran* be placed before him, 212; *de facto* ruler, 221; defeat and death of, as portrayed in *Jangama Kālajñāna*, 223 n. 140; explanation for his special predilection for the barbers, 24, 24 n.105; help given to Doddāyacārya to establish

- Gōvindarājasvāmi worship at Cidambaram by, 221, pleasure in music on the *vīna* derived by, 74-5; preference of, to Tātācārya, 17 quarrel of, with the Portuguese and invasion of Mylapore, 136; Rāmarāja Bhūṣana, the court poet of, 286; Tāllapākkam family of Śrīvaiṣṇava teachers honoured by, 221; Tirumalāmba, the wife of, 271; the treasury of, 332; the Vaiṣṇava shrine at Cidambaram restored by, according to the *Prapannāmrtam*, 220 n. 121.
- Rāmarāja Bhūṣana (Bhaṭṭu Mūrti), one of the *aṣṭadiggjas*, 283; life and work of, 286; Rāmabhadriah had a competition with, 286.
- Rāmarāja Nāyaka (of Ikkēri), patronage to Vādirāja and his disciple by, 276.
- Rāma Rāja Tirumala Rājayya, Bandarasayya, the agent of, 20.
- Rāmarājiyamu (*Naraptivijayamu*), a work of Veṅkayya, 287.
- Rāma Rao, on the authorship of the Vedic commentaries, 264 n.64
- Rāmāvarṇa Sangraha, translation of, into Sanskrit by Madhura-vāṇi, 278.
- Rāmāyāmātya, author of the *Svaramēlakalānidhi*, 74-6; two books of Sūraṇṇa dedicated to a subordinate of, 270.
- Rāmāyaṇa, 265, 270, 285, 288.
- Rāmayaṇa tātparya sangraha, a work of Appayya Dīkṣita, 274.
- Ramēśvaram, a city in the southern part of the V. empire, 3; a pilgrim centre, 229; route connecting Vijayanagar with 161.
- Ramollasa Tripuravijaya, a work of Bhōganātha, 264.
- Raṅga, son of Venkata, prince, 52.
- Raṅgābharāṇa, a *tāla* designed by Raghunātha Nāyaka, 75.
- Raṅganahaḷu, vi., worship in the Cennakēśava temple at, by, *vipravinōdin*, 19;
- Raṅgarāja Dīkṣita, father of Appayya Dīkṣita, 273.
- Raṅgarājamā (a poetess and a wife of Vijayarāghava Nāyaka). a *yaksagāṇa* work by, 288.
- Rāni Bennūr, Bhatkal Vijayanagar road through, 161.
- Ranravāgama, a commentary on *Śivajñānabōdha*, a section of the, 298.
- Raogy, a pirate who had his headquarters at Honavar, 159.
- Raśamañjari, a work of Kṛṣṇa-dēva Rāya, 269, 269 n.80.
- Rāśarnavasudhākara, by Sarvajña saṅgama, 74, 269.
- Rastell, letter written to England about the famine by, 174.
- Rathasaptami festival, 243 n.210.
- Ratilīla, a *tāla* designed by Raghunātha Nāyaka, 75.
- Ratirahasya, a work in Sanskrit by Haribhaṭṭa, 270.
- Ratiratnadīpika, a work of Dēva Rāa, 267.
- Ratnabhaṇḍāra, the keeper of, of Harihara III, 266.
- Ratnābhisēka gift, 20.
- Ratnakaraṇḍaka, a work of Ayatavarma, 290.

- Ratnākara varṇi* (a Jaina poet), author of the *Bharatesa Vaibhava*, 292.
- Ratnākhēta Śrīnivaśa Dīkṣita, śūrappa Nāyaka, the patron of, 272; father of Rāja-cūḍamaṇi Dīkṣita, 278; works of, 278.
- Ratta koḍage*, piece of land (rent-free) given to the family of those who were unjustly killed in battle, 111.
- Ratnagiri ulā*, a work of Kavi-rāja Pillai, 296.
- Rāvaṇahasta*, musical instrument, 47, 75.
- Rāvīpāti Tripurāntaka, a *vīdhināṭaka* of, 266.
- Rāyarājaguru Maṇḍalācārya (Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita), 213.
- Rāyarājaguru Pitāmaha (Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita), 213.
- Rayasam Koṇḍamarāśu, a brahman minister under Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 16, 185.
- Rāya pakṣi sāluva*, 70.
- Rāyasam Tīrumalaiyan, 22.
- Reals*, a coin (less than a penny), 178.
- Recarla (family), Sarvajña Siṅgama a member of the, 268.
- Red sea route, 158.
- Redḍis, 29 n.123.
- Redḍis of the Telugu country settled in the Tamiḷ area, 30.
- Redḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu, court pandits of the, 268.
- Reis*, 114, 130, 178.
- Rēkai*, a tax, 88.
- Rēkai*, (*gadyāṇa*), 279 n.121.
- Rēkhaṇḍas*, a linear measure, 84.
- Religion, (184-247).
- Retilim Cherim (chetṭi), Governor of Barcelor, 135.
- Revanasiddhar of Cidambaram, author of the lexicon *Akarāti Nikaṇḍu*, 298.
- Rg Prasthana*, by Sudhīndra Tīrtha, 277.
- Rg Śākha*, 250.
- Rg. Vēda*, 252.
- Rg Vēda bhāṣya*, by Sāyaṇācārya, 261.
- Rials*, 143, 144.
- Ricao, a Jesuit father, 340.
- Rice, on *satikal*, 38.
- River transport in V. empire, 157-8.
- Robert de Nobili, see D. Nobili, 209.
- Roelant Crape, (a Dutch captain), made his way to Thanjavur after the fight with the Portuguese, 142.
- Rosyl, 98.
- Rṣabhadēva (a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara), paintings relating to, in the Vardhamāna temple, 339.
- Rṣis* of the Vāṇiar caste, 23 n.100.
- Rudrayya (Telugu poet), author of *Nirankuśopākhyānam*, 24, 287; interview of, with the king, 24.
- Rudramāhēśvaras*, 46.
- Rukminikalyāṇa*, a work of Rāja Cūḍamaṇi Dīkṣita, 278.
- Rukmanipariṇaya Yakṣagāṇam* a work of Raghunātha Nāyaka, 288.

S

Śabda Kaumudī, a work of Sundaresvara Sastri, 278.

Śabdika Sārvabhauma, a title of Sundarēśvara śāstri, 278.

Saccaritra rakṣa, a work of Vēdānta Dēśika, 257.

Saccidānanda Bhārati, a pontiff of Sṛṅgēri maṭha, 230.

Saḍadhyāya, a Sanskrit work, 284.

Saḍagōpālan, hymns of, 251.

Sadāśiva Bhōdēndra Saraśvati, Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's grant of Udayambākkam to, 233; compilation of *Punyaślōka-maṇjari* by, 233.

Sadāśiva brāhman, composition of *Gurūratnamālā* by, at the instance of Atmabōdhēndra, 231.

Sadāśivakōna (an irrigation channel), 90.

Sadāśiva Rāya (Sadāśiva, Sadāśiva Mahārāya), friendship of with the Portuguese, 135. Kṛṣṇappa Nāyakka, as the *aḍappam* of, 51 n217; prohibition of dowry custom among the *vidvanmahājanas*, during the time of, 33; special favours shown by, to barbers, 24; and Śrīvaiṣṇavism, 221; Śūrappa Nāyaka the agent of, 23; the Telugu poet Rudrayya's interview with, 24.

Sadāśiva Sarasvati, a successor of Candracūḍa Saraśvati, 232.

Sadāśiva Yogi, author of the *Rāmanātha vilāsa*, 292.

Sadāśivēndra, a pontiff of Kāmākōti pīṭha at Kāñci, 231.

Saḍdarśanas, works of Lolla Lakṣmīdhara, 270.

Saḍbhāsācandrikā, a grammar on six *prakṛts*, 272.

Sādhya, 107.

Śaḍiravāśagan paṭṭinam (Saḍ-ras), 165.

Sadvihāra (same as Kāñci-puram), 206.

Sagar road connecting Ikkēri with, 161.

Sagrāgacandrōdaya, a work on music by Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala, 75.

Sahagamana, see *Sati*, 33, 36.

Sāhityacintāmaṇi, a work on music by Pēda Komaṭi, 268.

Sāhityaratnākara, a work of Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita, 277.

Sāhityasudha, a work of Govinda Dīkṣita, 277.

Sāhitya works, 292.

Saiva Bhāṣya, a work of Śrīkranṭha, 194, 273 : *Śivārka-maṇi Dīpika*, a commentary on, 273.

Śaivācārya kṣētras, lands granted to Śaivācārya maṭhas, 110.

Śaivādirāyar Vasantarāyaguru, 250.

Śaiva paribhāṣai, a work of Śivāgrayōgigal, 297.

Śaivaśamayaneri, a work of Maṛaijñānasāmbandar, 297.

Śaivāmnayasāra, a work of Cauṇḍa Mādhava, 265.

Śaiva Sannyāsa naddati, a work of Śivāgrayōgigal, 297.

Śaiva Siddhānta, Meykandadēva, the author of the cult of, 193; some works on, 236.

Śaivism, (192-5).

Sakalāgamasāram, a work of Maṛaijñānasambandar, 297.

Sakalakathāsāra sangraha, a fragmentary manuscript copy of the work *Prapañcadarpaṇa*, 269 n.80.

Sakalakathāsārasangraha, a Sanskrit work of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 269.

Sakalakathāsāra sangraha, a work of Rāmabhadriah, 286.

Sakalakalāvalli mālai, a work of Kumaragurusvāmigal, 299.

Sālam, custom of making, 49, 239.

Salākapuruṣas, 295.

Sālivāhanasaptasati, a work of Śrīnātha, 279.

Sāliyas, a community engaged in textile industry, 123.

Saizette, (province), given to Portuguese, 135.

Sāluvābhyudayam, a work of Rājanātha Diṇḍima, 267.

Sāluva Gōpa, son of Tirumal-ayyadēva, 294.

Sāluva Gōpa Tippa, brother of Tirumalayyadēva, 294.

Sāluva Gōvinda Rāja, a brahman minister under Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 16.

Sāluva Narasimha, Diṇḍima family flourished under, 267; followed by Vyāsa Rāya, in his southern expedition, 17; interested in the revival of worship in temples, 205; *Iaimini Bharatamu*, a work dedicated to, 280, a Sanskrit scholar, 287; Śrīpādarāja, a scholar, 267, Śrīpādarāja, a Śrīpādarāyasvāmi, a guru of, 74.

Sāluva Naraśiṅgarāya Daṇṇāyaka (Śellappa), a brahman minister under Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 16.

Sāluvas, as the followers of Śrīvaiṣnavism, 215-6.

Sāluva Timma, a brahman minister under Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 16; 269 Nādiṇḍla Appa, a nephew of, 270; not put to death by the emperor since he was a brahman, 15; works of, 269.

Sāmavēda Samhita bhāṣya, by Sāyaṇācārya, 261.

Samayācāryas, 11, 224.

Samaya-divākaram, a commentary on the *Nīlakēśi*, by Vāmanācārya, 293.

Samayasāra, a commentary on the, by Vāmanācārya, 293.

Sambanda Saraṇālaya Svāmi, a pontiff of Dharmapuram maṭha, 237.

Samba Śakti, a Kālāmukha pontiff, 235.

Sāmi Ceṭṭi (brother of Tippayya Ceṭṭi), important role of, in the foreign trade carried on by his brother, 148.

Sampath Kumāra, (son of Gōvinda Paṇḍita), a village granted to, 25.

Sampradāyakula Dīpikā (a work of the 16th century), on a meeting at the court of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya presided over by Vyāsarāya Tīrtha, 201.

Sāmrājyadurandhara, a surname of Mādhavācārya, 260.

Sānanda Gaṇeśa, a work dealing with the story of, 291.

Sanbai, a Jaina Centre, 205.

Sandeham telidal paṭalam, a part constituting the work *Kaivalya navaṇitam*, 295.

Śaṅgā, a wife of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 40 n.165.

Śaṅgam, Madurai as the ancient seat of, 250.

Śaṅgama, husband of Kāmāmbikā, 189.

Śaṅgama II, Bitragunta grant of, 264; Sāyaṇa as the minister of, 260, 261.

Śaṅgama Dēvi, wife of Śrīgiri-nātha Voḍeyār, 172.

Śaṅgama Dynasty, followers of Kāḷāmukha school, 213.

Śaṅgamēśvara Mahānandī, a pilgrim centre, 229.

Śaṅgītacintāmaṇi, a work on music by Pedakōmaṭi Vēma of the Reddy Dynasty, 74, 268.

Śaṅgītapura, a place in the west coast area of V. empire, 3.

Śaṅgītaratnākara, a commentary on, by Sāraṅgadēva, 74.

Śaṅgītasāra, a work of Vidyāraṇya, 258.

Śaṅgīta Sudhā, a work of Raghunātha Nāyaka, 258, 277.

Śaṅgīta Sudhākara, a work of Sarvajña Śaṅgama, 74, 268-9.

Saṅgīta Sūryōdaya, a work of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, dedicated to Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 270.

Śaṅgu privilege of the use of, 23.

Saṅkalpa Sūryōdaya, an allegorical drama by Vēdānta Dēśika, 256.

Śaṅkara Bhārati, same as Rāmaçandra Bhārati, 230.

Saṅkarābhudaya, by Rāja Cūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita, 278.

Śaṅkara Nirākarnam, work of the 12th century by Umāpaṭi Śiva, 193 n.24

Saṅkarpanirākaraṇam, a work of Maṛaijñānasambandar, 297.

Saṅkarpanirākaraṇa urai, a work of Jñānaprakāśar, 297.

Saṅkrānti festival, 170

Sanmārga Śittiyār, a work of Ambalavāṇa Dēśikar, 298.

Sanmatasthāpanācārya (Śrī Śaṅkara), 191, 313.

Santānamallēśvara temple, 316.

Santānaśivacārya, head of a line of Śaiva Ācāryas and preceptors of certain sects of merchants, 234.

Sāntikīri, author of the Jaina work *Śāntināthacarita*, 291.

Śāntināthacarita by Sāntikīrti, 291.

San Thome, (Mylapore), 136; Fr. Pimenta founded a school at, 249.

Sārādā a poetess of the court of Dēva Rāya II, 280.

Sārānāgati (*prapatti*), a doctrine of *bhakti* developed by the Ālvārs into that of, 196.

Sarasvati Bandāra (Library), at Arulala Perumal temple, 254.

Sarasvatī vilāsam, a work on law, 270.

Sārṅgadēva, author of the *Saṅgītaratnākara*, 74; Tānapācārya, a descendant in the scholastic line of, 75.

Sārṅgadhara caritram by Ceruakuri Venkaṭakavi, 288.

Sarvabhatta, great scholar and astrologer, 251.

Sarvadarśana Sangraha, authorship of, 259.

- Sarvajña, (a Jaṅgama priest), on the death of Rāma Rāja in a prophetic strain by, 233, n.140.
- Sarvajña Sadāśiva Bhōdōndra, a pontiff of Kāmākōti pīṭha at Kāñcī, 231.
- Sarvajña Saṅgama (a member of the Recarla family), works of, 74, 268-9.
- Sarvamānyam*, (tax-free grant to Brahman), 1, 77, 102, 110, 172.
- Sarvatantra-svatantra*, a title of Sadāśiva Bhōdēndra Saraśvati, 233; a title given to Appayya Dikṣita, 275.
- Sāśanācāryas*, engravers of royal edicts, 253.
- Śāstrasāra*, a religious work by Vṛitta Vilāsa, 289.
- Śatadūsani*, an anti-advaitic work of Vēdānta Dēśika, 257.
- Satakatraya*, a work of Maggiya Maggidēva, 290.
- Satakatrayam*, a work of Turaiyur Śivaprakāsa svāmī, 298.
- Śatalekhini*, women in the court of Raghunātha of Thaṅjāvūr, skillful in the art of, 46.
- Śatāparādha strō'ra Padymāra*, a work of Jayatīrtha Tikācārya, 266.
- Śati* (*sahagamana*) in the V. empire, (33-8).
- Śatikal*, erection of, 33, 37, 38.
- Satpadi* metre, 291.
- Sattsthala*, 291.
- Satsthalaajñānārāṇṇṭa*, a work of Toṇṭada Siddhēśvara, 290.
- V.S:L.—53
- Satsthala Siddhanta of Viraśaivism, 306.
- Śattige umbaḷi*, rent-free land for the maintenance of an umbrella apparently for the king, 111.
- Śātvika Brahma Vidyā Vilāsa*, a work of Tātācārya, 272.
- Satya pariṇayam*, a work of Ēkāmranātha, 271.
- Satyavadhū pariṇana*, a work of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 269; and the Telugu work *Pārijātapharaṇamu*, 269 n.80.
- Satyēndra Cōlakathē*, a work dealing with a story of a Cōla king, 291.
- Saundaryalahari* of Śaṅkara, a commentary on, 268; a commentary by Lolla Lakṣmīdhara on, 270; Tamil translation of, by Kavirāśa Paṇḍitar, 296.
- Saundaryalahari urai*, by Ellappa Nāvalar, 298.
- Saurāṣṭras, (29-36) & 30 n.; as immigrants to Vijayanagar and Madurai, 125; palm leaf award given by Maṅgammāl of Madurai to, 29-30.
- Sāvaṇa Uḍaiyār, Nāyanār Gāṅgēyarāyar an officer under, 32 n.133.
- Sāyanācārya, (Sāyana) brother of Mādhavācārya, 260; brahman minister under Harihara II, 16; death of, 264; identification of, 261 n.60; Minister of Kampa, Saṅgama II, Bukka I and Harihara II, 260; regard of, for his brother 265; works of, 260.
- Seer*, a measure, 102, 179, n.37.
- Śekku*, oil mill or press, 114.
- Śekku kaḍamai*, a tax, 114.

Selinganallūr, vi., 23.

Sellappa (Sāluva Naraśiṅgarāya Daṇṇāyaka), 16.

Śembiyamaṅgalam, vi., 97.

Semmans, change of profession by, 28.

Seṇbaṣeṭṭi, (The agent for the affairs of Rāmappayya), settlement of a dispute by, 20.

Śeṇians, Telugu weavers, 30.

Śeñji (Ceñji), 21, 22.

Śērai Kavirāja Piḷḷai, works of, 296.

Sēsācala (Tirupati), *tulāpurusa* and other gifts made by Tirumala I at, 222.

Sēsādri Ceṭṭi (of Porto Novo), a dependant of Mallai Cinnaiah Ceṭṭi, 148.

Śessvaramīmāmsa, a commentary on Jaimini's Dharmasūtras, 257.

Sētopurānam, a work of Niramba Aḷagiya Dēśikar, 297.

Sēvalūr, vi., rural agricultural credit provided by the temple authorities at, 101.

Śevvaiccinḍuvar, a Tamil version of *Bhāgavatam* by, 299.

Śevvaiccōḍuvar, author of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇam* in Tamil, 295.

Sewell, on the royal estates, 108; on the use of quicksilver in gold mining, 117; on the size of the V. city, 329.

Sēyur Murugaṇ ulā, a work of Kavirāja Piḷḷai, 296.

Shāliāt, a port, 154.

Shankar Pandurang Paṇḍit, on the identification of Mādha-vācārya with Sāyanācārya, 261.

Shaykh Zaynu'd-Din, author of the *Tahfatal Mujāhidin*, 133.

Shimoga, an epigraph from, recording the, respect paid to private ownership of property, 107.

Sidalāyanakote, vi., 89-90.

Siddhalinga, a vīraśaiva scholar, 338.

Siddalinga yati, see Toṇṭada Siddhēśvara, 290.

Siddhamāṭṭṛaka alphabet, 206 n.63.

Siddhana mantri (a minister of Dēvarāya II), *Vikramārka-caritram*, a work dedicated to 280.

Siddhānta Kaumudi, a work of Bhaṭṭogi Dīkṣita, 275.

Siddhānta Śāstras, 236.

Śiddhāntaśikhāmaṇi, a work of Śivaprakāsar, 299.

Siddhars, a monotheistic creed in the Tamil country, 194

Siddharāju Timmarāju, *Abhilaṣi-tārthadāyani*, a work dedicated to, 272.

Siddharāju Timmarāju Bhūpāla (a nephew of Tirumala I), author of the *Paramayōgi-vilāsamu*, 287.

Siddhis, eight, 194-5.

Śikālivallal Paṇḍāram, teacher of Meññā Māmuni, 237.

Śikariṇi mālā, a work of Appayya Dīkṣita, 274.

Śikkil, vi., Jñānaprakāsa Paṇḍitar appointed the superintendent of the temples at, 297.

Simhācalam, route along the coast connecting Vijāyanagar with, 161.

- Simhalalita*, a rāga designed by Raghunātha Nāyaka, 75.
- Simhavikramapaṭṭana, modern Nellore, 148.
- Śiṅgana (a son of Sāyaṇācārya, 261).
- Singanna Odeya, (the grandson of Kamapana J.) 214 n.96
- Śiṅgapirān, a Kāṇiyāla brahman officer, 187.
- Śiṅgaya Bhaṭṭa (a hydraulic engineer under Bukka II), construction of a channel by, 84.
- Śiṅgayya (a poet), 281.
- Singirājapurāṇa*, See *Mālā Basavarāja carita*, 291.
- Siranga, (a cāuri bearer of the king Mallikarjuna), Hanuman temple at Hampi constructed by, 321.
- Śiṅṅrambalāḍi (a Tamil poet), 294.
- Śirūr maṭha, 236.
- Siruvera tank at Penugonḍa, 84.
- Śittānta Śikāmaṇi*, a work of Ambalavāṇa Dēśikar, 298.
- Śivādvaita*, a school of Śaivism in V. empire, 194.
- Śivāadvaita nirṇaya*, a work of Appayya Dīkṣita, 274.
- Śivabhakta vilāsa*, a work of Srinivāsayaṅṅan, 271.
- Śivabhōgasāram*, a work of Gurujñānasambandar, 297.
- Śivacetasa*, a title of Candracūḍa Sarasvati, 232.
- Śivadarumōttaram*, a work of Maṇaijñānasambandar, 297.
- Śivādhyāna Paddhati*, a work of Appayya Dīkṣita, 274.
- Śivāgrayōgigal of Sūryanārkkōil (a brahman scholar), works of, 297.
- Śivajñānabōdham*, (an important work on the Śaivasiddhānta theology), 291 ; a commentary on, 298.
- Śivajñāna Siddiyār Purapakka urai*, by Jñānaprakāśar, 297.
- Śivajñāna Siddiyār urai*, by Niramba Aḷagiya Dēśikar, 297.
- Śivajana Siddhiyār urai*, by Śivāgrayōgigal, 297.
- Śivākamaṇi Dīpika*, a commentary on *Śrikanṭha Bhāṣya* by Appayya Dīkṣita, 249.
- Śivākarnāmṛta*, a work of Appayya Dīkṣita, 274.
- Śivalīlārnava*, a work of Nīlakanṭha Dīkṣita, 276.
- Śivaliṅga (a Redḍi prince) a commentary by, 269.
- Śiva Mahimā*, a work of Appayya Dīkṣita, 274.
- Śivānanda Bōdam*, a work of Kamalai Jñānaprakāśa Paṇḍitar, 297.
- Śivanēri pirakāśam*, a work of Śivāgrayōgigal, 297.
- Śivaprakāśa (a śittar of the 17th century), a polemic to refute the Christian creed composed by, 195.
- Śivaprakāśap peruntiraṭṭu*, a work of Svarūpānanda Dēśikar, 283-4.
- Śivaprakāśasvāmi of Turaiyūr, restoration of worship in the Siva temple at Chidambaram by, 297 ; works of, 297 ; teacher of Nānakkūttar, 298.
- Śivaprakāśar of Tiraimaṅgalam, works of, 299.
- Śivapūjavidhi*, a work of Appayya Dīkṣita, 274.
- Śiva pūśai Agaval*, a work of Kamalai Jñānaprakāśa Paṇḍitar, 297.

- Śivarātri, festival, 244.
- Śivarātri mātmyam*, a work of Śrīnātha, 280.
- Śivārcana Candrika*, a work of Appayya Dīkṣita, 274.
- Śivārkamaṇi Dīpika*, by Appayya Dīkṣita, 194, 273, 274, 275.
- Śivasamudram, route connecting Vijayanagar with, 161.
- Śivaskandavarman, an early Pallava king, 189.
- Śiva Tattvacintāmaṇi*, a philosophical work by Mahāliṅga-dēva, 289.
- Śivatattva Vivēka*, by Appayya Dīkṣita, 274.
- Śivavākyam*, an anthology of hymns of the *śittars*, 195 n. 26.
- Śiva Vākyar, ridicule of, on idol worship and pilgrimages, 194.
- Skāndapurāṇa*, 280.
- Slavery in V. empire, 10 f.
- Smārta maṭhas*, growing influence of, 235.
- Smārta Pañcopāsakas* (same as *Smārtas*), 191.
- Smith, V. A., on the portrait scriptures in India, 320, on the statue of Narasimha in the Mālyavanta Raghunātha-svāmi temple, 311.
- Smṛtaratnākara*, a work on *Dharmaśāstra* by Hārīta Veṅkaṭācārya, 267.
- Smṛti*, on King's sovereignty, 106.
- Social conditions in V. empire, (1-75).
- Social divisions, 14f.
- Social Institutions, 31f.
- Sodaśayadastōtra*, by Vēdāntā Dēśika, 257.
- Sodemaṭha, 236, 276.
- Śokkanātha Veṇba*, a work of Gurujñānasambandar, 297.
- Śola*, a cubic measure in Telugu area, 169.
- Sollage* (manam), 169.
- Sōmanātha Kavi, a commentary on *Tālamahodadhi* by, 271.
- Somapalle, Vijayanagar painting in the temple at, 335.
- Somavalkiyōgānanda prahasana*, a farce by Aruṇagirinātha, 268.
- Soṇādrinātha, same as Diṇḍima Śārva bhauma, 268.
- Spring festival, 243.
- Spaniard's, 140.
- Śrī Bhāṣya, Tattvaṭika*, a work on, 257.
- Śrīdharadēva, author of the *Vaidyāmṛa*, 291.
- Śrī Jayanti festival, 243.
- Śrigāramañjari*, a work of Bhōganātha, 265.
- Śrīgirnātha Voḍeyār, 172.
- Śrīkākuḷam, a pilgrim centre, 229.
- Śrīkaṇṭa (Śrīkaṇṭha Śivācārya), Appayya Dīkṣita, a follower of, 273; Bhōganātha, a disciple of, 264; founder of *Śivādvaita* school of Saivism, 194; guru of Mādhava, 260.
- Śrīkaṇṭha Bhāṣya*, a commentary on, by Appayya Dīkṣita, 249, 275.

Śrīkaṇṭhamata pratiṣṭhapanā-cārya, a surname of Appayya Dīkṣita, 273.

Śrīkūrman, route along the coast connecting Vijayanagar with, 161.

Śrīmuṣṇam, grants to the Vaisṇava shrine at, 221, 222.

Śrīnātha, author of the *Hari-vilāsam*, 148; a court poet and the *Vidyādhikāri* of the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom, 279; defeat of Diṇḍima Bhaṭṭa by, at the court of Dēvā Rāya II, 280; a scholar patronised by Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, 268; works of, 279, 280.

Śrīnivāsa (Garuḍavāhana), 229; author of the *Dīvyasūri-caritam*, 268.

Śrīnivāsa Ayyaṅgar, M., on the menial work taken up by earlier inhabitants of the Tamil country, 28; on the origin of *Valaṅgai* and *Iḍaṅgai* classes, 26.

Śrīnivāsayaajvan (a poet of the time of Acyuta Rāya), works of, 271.

Śrīpāda, author of the work *Vāgvajra*, 267.

Śrīpātha Rāya (Śrīpāda Rāja, Śrīpādarāyasvāmi), (one of the heads of the Pādarāya maṭha and a contemporary of Saḷuva Narasimha), 200; *guru* of Saḷuva Narasimha, 74; works of, 74, 292.

Śrīperumbudūr, grants to the Vaisṇava shrine at, 221, 222; Rāmānujakūṭam at, 221.

Śrīpurāṇam, see *Tiruppukal*.

Śrī Ranga I, Bhaṭṭakalankadēva, a court poet of, and also Venkaṭa II, 292; continued the old formula of making obeisance to Śiva, Viṣṇu and Ganēśa in his grants, 222;

Eṭṭūr Kumāra Tirumala Tātā-cārya, received patronage at the court of, 222; provision made by, for the recitation of Yatirāja saptati, 222; restoration of worship in the Ahōbalam temple by, 222; Śrī Vaisṇavism, under, 224; Tātācārya, the *guru* of, 272; Velugoṭi Timappa Nāyanigāru, as agent under, 21.

Śrī Raṅga III (successor of Venkaṭa III), confirmation of the grant of Madras paṭam by, 146, 147; decision made by the *nāṭṭār* of the village of Tiruvāmāttūr, regarding the privileges offered to the artisans during the reign of, 21; improvements to the Gōvindarāja shrine at Cidambaram by, 224; Kadiripati, a scholar of the days of, 288; the routes of processions at Cidambaram fixed by, 224; a staunch vaiṣṇava, 223.

Śrīraṅgam, a city in the southern part of the V. empire, 3; additions made to the temple at, 318-9; a pilgrim centre, 229; portrait sculptures in the temple at, 322; tulāpuruṣa and other gifts made by Tirumala I at, 222.

Śrīraṅgam Vāmaṇa Temple, 222.

Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa, a city in the Central part of V. empire, 3; Ankuśarāya, a feudatory of Rama III, in charge of the territory of, 271; route connecting Vijayanagar with, 161.

Śrīranga Rāyapaṭam, 147.

Śrīśailam, a city in the eastern part of the V. empire, 3; branch of Gōḷaki-maṭha at, 234; a pilgrim centre, 229.

Śrī Saṅkarācārya, foundation of, Kāmakōṭi pīṭha at Kāñci by, 231; Śaṅkarābhudaya, a biography of, 278.

Śrī Surēndra Tīrtha Śrīpāda, a pontiff on Rāghavēndra svāmi maṭha, 236.

Śrīvācanabhūṣaṇa, a commentary on, by Maṇavāla Mahāmuṇi, 267.

Śrī Vādirāja Svāmi, a member of the Dāsakūṭa organisation, 74.

Śrivaishnava brahmans, settlement of a dispute between cultivators and pancalas, 20.

Śrī Vaiṣṇavism, 195-200 encouragement to, by Śrī Raṅga, 224; Eṭṭur Kumāra Tirumala Tātācārya, a scholar of, 222; progress of, during the time of Sadāśiva, 221; Rāmānuja, the great philosopher of, 195; the teachers of, in the time of Veṅkaṭa, 223.

Śrī Veṅkaṭēsa, (of Tirupati), Veṅkaṭa II made grants in the presence of, 223.

Śrī Vibhūdēndra Tīrtha, foundation of Rāghavēndra svāmi maṭha by, 236

Sri Vijayēndra Tīrtha Śrīpāda (a pontiff of Rāghavēndra svāmimaṭha), 236.

Śrīvilliputtūr, a city in the southern part of the V. empire, 3.

Sri Virupaksa, a Kannada work, 222.

Śrī Virūpākṣa temple at Hampi 304-5) 56; additions made by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya to the 216; drama enacted during the caitra festival in 244, 268, 269; the dwindling importance of, 215-6; paintings in the 336.

Śṛṅgaradaṇḍakamu, a work composed by Tirumallayyangār, 74.

Śṛṅgāra Dīpika, a work on poetics, 280.

Śṛṅgāra Kīrtanalu, a work of Tirumallayyangār, 74.

Śṛṅgāra maṇjari, a work on music by Annamācārya, 74.

Śṛṅgāra Sankīrtanalu, a work on music by Annamācārya, 74.

Śṛṅgāra Srkuntalam, by Pina. Vīrabhadra, 281.

Śṛṅgēri maṭha, 191, 230-1 death of Vidyāranya of the, 191 n.17; early V. Kings relations with, 214; Vidyāśankara temple at, 311-13.

Śrutarañjanī, a commentary on the *Gītāgōvinda* by Cerūkūri Lakṣmīdhara, 272.

Śrutilāla prakāśaka, by Vādirāja, 276.

Standard of living, 177f.

Sthalapurāṇams, 299.

Sthānattār, inspection of a place by, for an arbitration, 90.

Sthānika (temple priest), 31, 86; rights and duties of, 227.

Sthavira Vairōcana Simha, teacher of Pranjñasimha, 206 n.63

Strīdhana, dowry, 32, 99.

Subhāsitanīvi, a work of Vēdānta Dēśika, 257.

Subhāṣita sudhanīdhi, a compilation work of Śāyaṇācārya, 261.

Sudarśana aṣṭaka, a work of Vēdānta Dēśika, 257.

Śuddha Śaiva, type of Pāśupa Śaiva sect., 234.

Sudhīndra Tīrtha, a pontiff of Rāghavēndrasvāmi maṭha, 236; Rāghavēndra Tīrtha, the disciple of, 202, 277.

Sudhīndra Tīrtha (of Sumatindra maṭha), honoured by Raghunātha Nāyaka of Thanjāvūr and the emperor Veṅkaṭa, 276; works of, 276.

Śūḍikoḍutta Nācciyar, 281.

Śūḍikoḍutta Nācciyār, shrine of in the *Gōvindarāja* temple, 224.

Sutra bhasyas of Ananda Tīrtha, 266

Śukasapatati, a work of Kadiri-pati, 288.

Śukla Yajurvēda samhitā bhāṣya, by Śāyaṇācārya, 261.

Śuktinaipuni Jñānacitāmaṇi, a work of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 269.

Sulādi Gīta, a scientific musical composition by Śrīpādarāya-svāmi, 74.

Sulavari, tax, 88.

Sulbamīmāmsa, a work of Vedic *Trigonometry, 278.

Sultans of Delhi, interference in South Indian politics by, 184.

Sultan of Golkonda, heavy exactions demanded by, 144; assurance given to English by the, 145.

Sumatra, 128, 131, 156.

Sundara Pāṇḍya, question of succession between Vira Pāṇḍya and, 184.

Sundara Pāṇḍyam, (Sanskrit), a Tamil translation of, by Anadāri, 297.

Sundarēśvarar (the god at Madurai), *Tiruvīḷaiyāḍal purāṇam*, a work dealing with the sports of, 298.

Sundarēśvara Śāstri (Cokkanātha makhin), works of, 278.

Sūpaśāstra, a work on cookery, 291.

Śūrana, (a poet), unfinished works of, 270.

Śūrappa Nāyaka (agent of Sadāśiva), 23; Ratnakēṭa Śrīnivāsa Dīksita in the court of, 272; Ratnakhēṭa Śrīnivāsa Dīksita composed a drama at the instance of, 278.

Surat, 243-4.

Sūryanārkoil (Thanjavur district), a maṭha at, 298.

Sūryanārāyana Rao, on the account of Abdur Razaāk about the three day festival, 240 n.203.

Śūrya Siddhānta, 252.

Sūtasamhita Tatparya Dīpika, a commentary on the, 213, 265.

Sutta Koḍage, 111.

Svāminātha Dēśikar, See *Īśāna Dēśikar*, 237.

Svaramelakalānidhi, by *Rāma-yāmātya*, 74-5.

Svarga vilāsam, 'Celestial pavilion' at Madura, 333.

Svarnaksmā, gift, 218.

Svarṇamēru, gift, 46, 271.

Svarōciṣa Manu carita, by *Allasani Peddana*, 283.

Svarūpānanada Dēśikar, author of the *Śivaprakāśap-perundi-rāṭṭu*, 293-4.

Svāti, officer, 108

Syādvādamañjari, a commentary by *Vāmanācārya* on the, 293.

T

Tadpatri, Temples in, 315.

Taḥfatal-Mujāhīdīn, a work of *Shaykh Zaynu'-Din*, 133.

Taittiriyadīpika, a work of *Vidyāraṇya*, 258.

Taittirīyāranyaka bhāṣya, a commentary on *Vēda* by *Śāyaṇācārya*, 261.

Taittiriyasamhita bhasya, by *Sayanacarya*, 261.

Tāḷa Dīpika, a work on music, 267.

Tālamahōdadhi of *Achyuta Rāya*, a commentary by *Sōmanātha Kavi*, on, 270.

Talikoṭa (Rākṣas Tangdi), battle of; Portuguese accounts of the battle at, 6.

Tāḷlapākkam family of musician poets, 74, 221, 268.

Tāḷlapāka Tirumalācārya, (a *Vaiṣṇava* teacher), 223.

Tāḷlapākkam Tiruvēngalanātha (a *Vaiṣṇava* teacher), honoured by *Rāmarāja*, 221; author of the *Paramyōgivilāsamu*, 221.

Tambūra, a musical instrument, 73.

Tamiḷākara Munivan, works of, 299.

Tammāḷa, servants of a temple, 60.

Tāmparaparni, River, 186.

Tānappācārya, teacher of *Veṅkaṭa Makhi*, 75.

Tāṇḍavarāya Svāmigal, author of the *kaivalya navaṇītam*, 295.

Thaṇjāvūr, a city in the Southern part of the V. empire, 3; the average fertility of wet lands in, 102 consecration of a temple for *Bangāru Kāmākṣi* at, 234; famine experienced in 1402-3 in the district of, 174; a gymnasium at, 69; *Pratāpa Sīmha* (1739-63), the ruler of, 234.

Tantraśikhāmaṇi, a work of *Rāja Cūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita*, 278.

Tanūr, a Port, 154.

Taoists of China, 171.

- Tarkapari bhāsa (a Sanskrit work), *Tarukkaparipāḍai*, a translation of, 299.
- Tarukkaparipadai*, by Śiva-prakāsar, 299.
- Tarkatāṇḍava*, a work of Vyāsarāya, 201.
- Tātācārya** (Eṭṭūr Kumāra Tirumāla Tātācārya, Kumāra Tātācārya, Laksmikumāra and Kōṭikanyādānam Tātācārya, 222, 272; life and work of, 272; appointed to the place of Gōvinda Dēśika by Rāma Rāya, 17; author of the *Pāñcamata bhañjanam*, 221; deep hatred shown by, towards, Appayya Dīkṣita, 225; guru of Veṅkaṭa, 223; help to Doddacārya to restore worship in the Gōvindarāja-svāmi shrine at Cidambaram by, 221; influence of at the court of Veṅkaṭa, 223; Patronised by Srī Ranga, 222; replaced Gōvinda Dēśika from the court of Kṛṣṇa-dēva Rāya, 221.
- Tātasamudram, a tank near Kāncī dug by Tātācārya, 272.
- Tātparya Candrikā*, a work of Vyāsarāya, 201; 257.
- Tātparya Dīpikā*, a commentary on the *Sūtasamhitā* by Cauda Mādhava, 213. 265.
- Tatra Kansthāba*, a work of Bhaṭṭogi Dīkṣita, 275.
- Tattra mañjari*, a work of Rāghavēndra, 277.
- Tattuvarāyar, a śittar, 195.
- Tattuvarāyar, a disciple of Svarūpānanda Dēśikar, 293; works of, 293.
- Tattvamuktākālpa*, by Vēdānta Dēśika, 257.
- Tattuvaprakāśa svāmigal, author of the work *Tattuvaprakāśam*, 295; his petition to Kṛṣṇa-dēva Rāya, 295.
- Tattuvaprakāśika*, a commentary on Haradatta's *Giriśāsruti-sūkrtimāla*, 269.
- Tattvaprakāśika*, *sudhā*, a work of Jayatirtha Tikkācārya, 266.
- Tattvaṭika*, a work of Vēdānta Dēśika, 257.
- Tattvatraya, a commentary on, *Manavāla Mahāmuni*, 267.
- Tattvavilakka paṭalam*, a part constituting the work *Kai-valyanavanītam*, 295.
- Tāyikuñḍanāṭaka*, a drama, 71.
- Taylor, on the dispute between Śaiva and Vaisnava brahmins, 27 n.114.
- Tāyumānavar (a Tamil Mystic poet), death of, 230.
- Tēkal, a record at, registering a grant to dancing girls, 46.
- Telugu generals, appointed viceroys in the Tamil area, 14.
- Temples in the Andhra area, 315-6; in the Karnāṭaka area, 311-4; in Taḍpatri, 315; in the Tamil country, 316-20.
- Tenāli Rāmakṛṣṇa, one of the *aṣṭadiggajas*, 283; life and work of, 285.

- Teṅgalai Vaiṣṇavas, a group which preferred Tamil *prabandhas*, as a medium for worship, 196.
- Terumallēśvara temple at vi., 78.
- Tepperumālnallūr (Padaiparru), Hīriyūr, 338.
- The State and Social Welfare, (170-183).
- Thomas Ivie, (chief of Masūlipatam) authorised Francis Day, to explore the coast for a better place, 145.
- Thomas Munro, Sir, on the irrigation system under V. kings, 91.
- Timireśvardeva Temple, 228.
- Timmasamudra, tank constructed by Rāyasam Kondamara-sayya, 85.
- Timmana kavi (son of Bhās-kara kavi), 29.
- Timoja, a pirate having his headquarters at Hanāvar, 159.
- Timmōja Koṇḍōja, *mānya* given by king Śadāśiva to, 24.
- Timma Rāju (son of Rāma Rāju Kōṇēṭayyadēva), 21.
- Timmaraśa, 253.
- Tippa, father of Vallabharaya, 266.
- Tippayya Ceṭṭi, a merchant prince, Harivilāsamu, of Śrī-nātha dedicated to, 148, 280.
- Tirucitrakūṭam, mention of a viṣṇu shrine at, by the Ālvārs, 219 n. 121.
- Tirukkacci temple, 314.
- Tirukkālattinādar Kaṭṭalaikkaliturai mālai*, by Śērāi Kavirāja Pillai, 296.
- Tirukkalattinadar ula, a work of Kavi Raya Pillai, 296.
- Tirukkālukuṇṇam, 299.
- Tirukkoḍuṇṇam (modern Pirāṇmaḷai), *Arbattumūvan tirumadam* at, 235.
- Tirukkoṣṭhiyur, 185.
- Tirumalai, credited with the authorship of *Śrutarañjani*, 272; father of Venkata II, 65 gifts to viṣṇu temples by, 222; image of, in the Tirumalai temple, 321; Pingali Suranna appears to have been a contemporary of, 285; Siddharāju Timmaraju Bhūpāla, a nephew of, 287; uncle and father-in-law of Raganti Narasarāju, 286.
- Vasu caritramu, a work dedicated to, 286.
- Tirumala (Tirumaladēva Mahārāya), son of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, grant of land by, for the study of Vēda, 252; Nuniz on the punishment of Sāluva Timma, murderer of, 15.
- Tirumalācārya, (a Vaiṣṇava teacher from the Tāḷlāpākkam family), honoured by Rāmārāja, 221.
- Tirumala Ceṭṭi (brother of Tippayya Ceṭṭi), 148.
- Tirumalādēvi (Tirumaladēvi-yamma), a wife of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 40 n. 165, 42, 321; copper image of, at Tirumalai temple, 321.
- Tirumalai (Tirupati), 217.
- Tirumalainātha (a poet), 295.

Tirumalai Nāyaka, Kumāra Guruparar, a contemporary of, 236; Māḍai Tiruveṅkaṭa-nāhar, an officer under, 298; of, 276; Pudumaṇṭapa at Madurai temple built up by, 320.

Tirumalai Nāyak Mahāl, 333-4.

Tirumalairājan paṭṭinam, the Dutch tried to found a factory at, 139; a port in the coromandel coast, 155.

Tirumalāmbā, authoress of the *Varāḍambikāparinayam*, 46, 255, 272; queen of Acyuta Rāya, 255.

Tirumalāmbā (wife of Rāmarāja and daughter of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya), identification of, with Mohanāṅgi, 271.

Tirumanattun Nambi (son of Singapirān), 187.

Tirumala Śrīnivāsācārya, a Vaiṣṇava teacher, 223.

Tirumalayya Dēva, (son of Sāluva Gōpa), a patron of Tamil literature, 294.

Tirumaluvāḍipurāṇam, by Kama-lai Jñānaprakāśa Paṇḍitar, 297.

Tirumallayyangār (son of Anna-mācārya), works of, 74.

Tirumaṅgai Ālvar, 219 n.121.

Tirumēnikāval, See *Meykāval*, 227.

Tirumēṇṇalipurāṇam, 298.

Tirunāmanallūr, an inscription at, recording the withdrawal of social privileges, 22.

Tirunāmattukkāṇi, 110.

Tirunāvalūr maṭha, 237.

Tirunelvēli, a city in the southern part of the V. empire, 3; road connecting Kāyamkulam with, 161.

Tirunārāyaṇapuram (Meḷkote), the image of god at Madurai taken to, 185.

Tiruniṇrankoṇḍai, Guṇabhadra, a head of the maṭha at, 295.

Tirunūṇṇantādi, a work of Avirodhanātha, 293.

Tiruppanālvār, 257.

Tiruppanandāl maṭha, 237.

Tiruppaṇi mālai, a Tamil work, 319 n.24.

Tiruppaṇi Śiṅgariengar (an agent of king Śrīraṅga appointed for supervising the renovation works at Kāñcī), 222.

Tirupparaṅgipurāṇam, by Niramba Ālagiya Dēśikar, 297.

Tirupparaṅkunṇam, a branch of Goḷaki maṭha, at, 234; the images of Rāṇi Mangammāl and Muttambala Mudali in temple at, 323.

Tirupparuttikuṇṇam (Jiṇa Kāñcī), the Vardhamāna temple at, 330.

Tirupati (Tirumalai, Śēsagiri), a city in the eastern part of the V. empire, 3 copper images of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya and his wives at, 217; coronation of A.D. 1514, 217; Mylapore-Vijayanagar land route through, 161, a pilgrim centre, 229; route connecting Vijayanagar with, 161.

Tirupatikōvai, a work of Perumāl Kavirāyār, 296.

Tirupattīśvarapurāṇam, 298.

Tiruppugal, a work of Arunagirinātha, 294.

Tiruppugal (Śrīpurāṇam), a work dealing with the lives of the sixty three *śalāpuruṣas*, 295.

Tirupurāntakam, branch of Goḷakī maṭha at, 234.

Tiruvaḍirāja, an agent of Sadāśiva in the, 23.

Tiruvaiyār mātāmya, a translation of, into Tamil by Gōvinda Dīkṣita, 298.

Tiruvaiyāru purāṇam, a work of Nīramba Aḷagiya Dēśikar, 297.

Tiruvalaṅjuḷi, the image of Buddha in the temple at, 208.

Tiruvalaṅjuḷ purāṇam, 298.

Tiruvali Āḷvar, shrine of, in the Gōvindarāja temple, 224.

Tiruvallikkēni, grants to the vaiṣṇava shrine at, 222.

Tiruvambalamuḍaiyār (Maṇaiṇānasambadar) author of the *Oṅgukōyil purāṇam*, 294.

Tiruvāmāttūr, vi., depopulation and rehabilitation of, 88; a record registering a sale transaction at, 85; *sarvamānya* gift to a *catra* attached to the temples at, 172.

Tiruvaṅṇiṇṇiyapurāṇam, by Kaḷandaikūmaran, 299.

Tiruvaṅṇāmalai, 22, a city in the southern part of the V. empire, 3; additions made to the Śiva temple at, by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 216; artisan communities in, 22; a pilgrim centre, 229; route connecting Vijayanagar with, 161.

Tiruvaṅṇāmalaiyārvāṇnam, a work of Kavirāya Pillai, 296.

Tiruvarankād, a port, 154.

Tiruvārūr, festival procession at, 45.

Tiruvārūr kōvai, a work of Ellappa Nāvalar, 298.

Tiruvārūr nāṇmaṇi mālai, a piḷḷait Tamil by Kumaraguru-svāmīgal, 299.

Tiruvārutṭayan urai, by Nīramba Aḷagiya Dēśikar, 297.

Tiruvāvaḍuturai maṭha, Namaśśivāya Dēśikar the head of, 237.

Tiruvāymoḷi, 196, īḍu a commentary on the, 196.

Tiruvāymoḷi Piḷḷai, Manavāḷa Mahāmuṇi, the disciple of, 294.

Tiruveṅgalanātha, grant by the Dombaras to the temple of, 25.

Tiruveṅkaṭanāthan maṭha, 237.

Tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam, 96.

Tiruvīlaiyāḍarpurāṇam, by Paraṅjōtiyār, 298.

Tiruvilakku kudi, servants in charge of lighting, 227.

Tiruvīlandurai a temple of Buddha at, 208.

Tiruviriṇṇaiyapurāṇam, a work of Ellappa Nāvalar, 298.

Tiruvorṇiyūrpuraṇam, a work of Jñānaprakāśar, 297.

Tola, a cubic measure in Telugu-area, 169.

Tōḷappar, See Hārīta Veṅkaṭācārya, 267.

Fontāda Siddhalingēśvara temple at Edēyūr, 338.

Toṇṭada Siddhēśvara (Siddhalinga Yati), a vīraśaiva poet lived during the time of Virūpākṣa III, 290 ; works written about, 291.

Toṇṭada Siddhēśvara Purāna, a work, 291.

Tōṭṭiyans (Kambaḷattārs), 29.

Tranquebar, a port in the coromandel coast, 155.

Trilōkasāra, a work of Ratnākara Varṇi, 292.

Triminipaṭam (Tirumalairājan paṭṭinam), 139.

Trincomalai, cession of, to the Danes, 142.

Tripīṭaka of Kumārilasvāmi, a commentary on, 278.

Triśula (trident), boundary stone with the mark of, 2.

Tuias (Tiyas), people engaged in the preparation of wine, 115.

Tulābhāra ceremony, 218.

Tulāpuruṣa gift, 222.

Tuḷuva rulers, importance gained by Śrīvaiṣṇavism under the, 216.

Tūm, a cubic measure in Telugu area, 169.

Tuṅgabhadra River, 326.

Tūni (= 2 padakku), a cubic measure in Tamil area, 169.

Turaṅgālika, a tāla designed by Raghunātha Nāyaka, 75.

U

Ubhaya bhāṣā cakravarti, a title assumed by Vāmanācārya, 293.

Udāharaṇa mālā, a work of Bhōganātha, 265.

Udāharaṇamu, a work of Tirumallayaṅgār, 74.

Uḍaiyār Dēvaraśa Uḍaiyār, 87.

Uḍaiyārpālaiyam, migration of Candraśēkara Saraśvati from Kāñchi to, and from there to Thaṅjāvūr, 234.

Udayagiri, 85, a city in the eastern part of the V. empire, 3; reconquest of, by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 153, 216; route connecting Vijayanagar with, 161.

Udayagiri Virupaṇṇa, See Virupākṣa, 266.

Udayanodaya, a work of Śūranna, 270.

Udbhaṭārādhyā Caritramu, a work of Tenāli Rāmakṛṣṇa dedicated to Nādiṇḍla Gōpa, 285.

Uddaṇḍa, author of the drama Mallikāmaruta, 267.

Uddhāna Vīrabhadra Svāmi Temple (consecrated in 1546), a prismatic liṅga in the, 306.

Uddhara, the capital of the eighteen Kamapaṇas, 3.

Ugabhogā, scientific musical composition by Śrīpādarāyasvāmi, 74.

Uḷakku, (= 2 ālākku), a cubic measure in Tamil area, 169.

Uḷḷal, frequent wars of the Portuguese with the rulers of, 136.

Umāmahēśvara temple, 316.

Umāpati Śiva (Umāpati Śivācārya), the fourth in the Spiritual succession to Meykaṇḍa, 193 n. 24, 194, 294.

Umbaḷige tenure (*umbaḷi* tenure), rent-free land granted to persons for public services, 111.

Upākarma, a brahmanical ceremony (renewal of the sacred thread), 29.

Upasamhāra vijaya, a work of Vijayīndra Tīrtha, 276.

Uppa Kuntipale, a village granted to a puppet player, 71.

Uppilians, salt manufacturers, 30.

Uri, (= 2 *uḷakku*), a cubic measure in Tamil area, 169.

Uriyadi, a sport, 241 n. 204.

Uru kavi vaibhavanivāha nidhāna, a title of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 281.

Usāpariṇayam, by Vāmana bhaṭṭa, 268.

Uttama Nambi (one of the *stānattār* of the Śrīraṅgam temple), 187.

Uttarādi *matha*, headed by Madhava Tīrtha, established by Madhvācārya, 200.

Uttārādi *matha*, founded by Vidyānidhi Tīrtha, 236.

Uttaraharivarma, a work of Nācana Sōmanātha Kavi, 279.

Uttarakōśamaṅgai, a Purana on the, 297.

Uttara Narasimha Purāṇa, by Haribhaṭṭa, 270.

V

Vaḍagalai and *Teṅgalai* schools of Vaiṣṇavism, 196-8.

Vaḍakuḍi, Jñāṇaprakāśa Paṇḍitar appointed the superintendent of the temple at, 297.

Vaḍamalāi, Aṇṇagalayyan (an administrator of the Tamil districts), author of the *Iruśamaya viḷakkam*, 295.

Vaḍamalaiyār (a paṇḍit of Āruvanpādi), a gift of land made to, 228, 296.

Vādavābhyudayam, a commentary on, 274.

Vādāvali Adhyātmāmṛta tarāṅgiṇi, a work of Jayatīrtha Tikācārya, 266.

Vādirāja (Vādirāja Tīrtha), (a pontiff of Sode Maṭha), author of the *Yuktimalikā*, 236 life and work of, 276 ; a member of the Haridāsa movement, 292 ; the successor of Vāgiśa Tīrtha, 202 ; a teacher of Vēdavēdya Tīrtha, 276 ; works of, 276.

Vādirāja Purandaradāsa, a member of Dāśakūṭa, 202.

Vaḍugas, 29 n. 123.

Vāgiśa Tīrtha, predecessor of Vādirāja Tīrtha in the Sode Maṭha, 202.

Vagrants, same as *Lingāyats*, 193.

Vaidarbhī, style followed by Gaṅgadēvi, 265.

Vaidīkādvaita Siddhānta, 231.

Vaidīka mārṅa pratiṣṭhāpana-cārya, one of the titles borne by the V.kings, 189.

Vaidīka Pāsupatas, 192.

Vaidyāmṛta, a work on medicine by Srīdharadēva, 291.

Vaidyanātha Dēśikar of Tiruvārūr, a work on Tamil grammar by, 298; a disciple of Aghōra Munivar, 299.

Vaidyanātha Nāvalar, a pontiff of Dharmapuram maṭha, 237.

Vaidyarāja Vallabha, medical work by Lakṣmaṇa Paṇḍita, 266.

Vaikhānasa Sūtra, the image of Tillai Gōvindarāja set up according to the ritual of, at Cidambaram, 219.

Vaikuṇṭha varnane, by Vādirāja, 292.

Vaiṣṇava Siddhānta pratiṣṭhāpanācāryah, a title of Vyāsarāya, 201.

Vaiśyas, 58.

Vallabha Amātyūdu, (Kavi Dēvēndra), 284.

Valaṅgai, a group of communities, 25.

Vallabhācārya, founder of Vallabha cult, (199-200): *Kanakābhīṣēka* of, by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 200: Victory of, over Vyāsarāja Tīrtha in a

philosophical disputation in the court of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 200, 201, 225.

Vallabharāya, (Vallabhāmātya), a governor under Harihara III, 266; son of Tippa, 266.

Vallabha sect, (199-200).

Vallappa (a brother of Cokkanātha Nāyaka), portrait sculpture of, 322.

Vālmīkicaritram, a prose work by Raghunātha Nāyaka, 288.

Vāmana, boundary stones bearing the mark of, 92.

Vāmana Bhaṭṭa, author of the *Vipranārāyaṇa caritra*, 268.

Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa, a scholar patronised by Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, 268.

Vāmanācārya, (Milliśēna Vāmana), author of the *Mērumandra Purāṇam*, 293; *ubhaya bhāṣa cakravartī*, a title assumed by, 293.

Vāmana kṣētra, temple at Śrīraṅgam, 222.

Vamśabrāhmaṇa bhāṣya, by Sāyanācārya, 261.

Vanamāli, a work of Śūranna, 270.

Vāṇiyar (oilmonger), 114; preceptors of, 234; traditional account on the, 23, n.100.

Van Linschoten, on brahmins, 16.

Varadācārya (Nainār Ācārya), leader of the *vaḍagalais* and the son and successor of Vēdānta Dēśika, 199.

- Varadāmbika pariṇayam*, a work of Tirumālāmbā, 255, 271; on the marriage of Acyuta Rāya with Varadāmbā 46.
- Varadan (Arulāladāsar), *Bhāgavatam* in Tamil by, 296.
- Varadarāja Aiyaṅār, a Tamil version of *Bhāgavatam* by, 297.
- Varadarāja Pañcaśat*, by Vēdānta Dēśika, 257.
- Varadarājastava*, a work in praise of god Varadarāja of Kāñcī by Appayya Dīkṣita, 274.
- Varadarājasvāmi temple at Kāñcīpuram, grants made to the, by Acyuta Rāya, 218; improvements by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya to the, 217; Vijayanagar paintings in the, 335.
- Varāhapurāṇa* (Telugu) by Haribhaṭṭa, 270.
- Varāha purāṇam*, a joint work of Mallayya, Ghaṇṭa and Śingayya dedicated to Narasa Nāyaka, 281.
- Varāki mālai*, a work of Kavi-rāśa Paṇḍitar, 296.
- Varalakshmi purāṇam*, a joint work by Mallayya, Ghanta and Singayya dedicated to Narasa Nāyaka, 281.
- Vāram*, system of sharing the Income from the land between the landlord and the tenants, 95-96.
- Vārāṇāśi, 200.
- Varapati Āṭkoṇḍāṇ (of the Koṅgar family) Villiputtūrar, patronised by, 293.
- Varatuṅga Rāma Pāṇḍya (a cousin of Ativīra Rāma Pāṇḍya), three *andādis* by, 296.
- Vardhamāna (a Jain Tīrthaṅkara), paintings related to, in the Vardhamāna temple, 339.
- Vardhamāna temple at Tirupparuttikunṇam, Irugappa paid special attention to the, 330; paintings in the, 335, 338.
- Varṇāśrama dharma*, (Institution of caste), 14, 191; kings as the protectors of, 14.
- Varthema, on the breeding places of livestock in the Deccan, 98; on the building of vessels at Calicut, 157; on the condition of the people in Malabar, 177; on the nakedness of the common people, 61; on the procedure adopted in trade by merchants and brokers, 151; on the repayment of debts, 181; on rice cultivation in V. empire, 92; on the richness of the V. king, 178; on the safety prevailing in the empire, 166; on the shoes worn by the people, 122; on sugar production, 114.
- Vārttikābharaṇam*, a commentary on, by Veṅkaṭamakhi, 278.
- Vasco da gama, on the clothing of the rich and poor, 61; on prices of articles in Calicut, 178.
- Vaśiṣṭādvaita*, 256.
- Vastrarakṣakas*, tailors, 124.
- Vasucaritramu*, a work of Rāmārāja bhūṣaṇa, 286; the description of a nose, by Timmana incorporated in the 284.
- Vātti*, village teacher, 248.
- Vātula Agāmas*, 298.

- Vedamārgapratīṣṭhāpanācārya*, one of the titles borne by the V. kings, 189.
- Vēdamāṭha at Kāñci, 250.
- Vēdānta cintāmaṇi* (a translation of the Kannāḍa version of a part of Sankarācārya's *Vivēkacūḍamaṇi*), by Śivapṛakāśar, 299.
- Vēdānta Dēśika (Vēdāntācārya), 196, 222, 252 (256-8); considered as an *avatār* of the *ghaṇṭā* of Veṅkaṭanātha by *Teṅgalais*, 198; decided in favour of Akṣōbhyaṃuṇi, while arbitrating a controversy between the latter and Vidyāraṇya, 189; invitation sent to, to work together by Vidyāraṇya, 190; Nainār Ācāriyar 81 the son and pupil of, 294; necessity to perform duty according to *varṇāśrama* emphasised by, 198; *Pillaiy-andādi*, a work in praise of, 294; removal of the image at Śrīraṅgam by, 185; repair and consecration of Gōvinda-rāja shrine by, 219 n.121; Tamil works of, 294.
- Vēdhānta paribhāṣa*, a work of Appayya Dīkṣita, 276, 278.
- Vēdānda śikhāmaṇi*, 276.
- Vēdānta Sūtras*, interpretation of, by Rāmānuja, 196.
- Vēdānti Rāma Rājayapa, settlement of a dispute by, between cultivators and *pañcālas*, 20.
- Vēdārtha tattva nirṇaya*, by Lingādhvari, 278.
- Vēdavēdya Tīrtha*, a disciple of Vādirāja, 276.
- Vēdic commentaries, 262.
- Vēli* (= 20 mā), unit of sq. measure in Thaṇjāvūr, 168.
- V.S.L.—55
- Vellār River, 155.
- Veḷḷi Ambalavāṇasvāmi Tambirān, a pontiff of Dharmapuram māṭha, 237.
- Veḷḷiyambala Tambirān (disciple of Kumaraguruparar), author of the *Nānābharava-vilakkam*, a commentary by, 298.
- Vellore, 138; Jalakanṭhēśvara temple at, 317.
- Velugoṭi Timappa Nāyanigāru, an agent of Śrī Raṅga Rāya, 21.
- Vēmabhūpāla carita, by Vāmana Bhāṭṭa, 268.
- Vēmana (a poet of the 17th century, moralist and reformer), 287, scant regard of, for the institution of caste and the position of brahmans, 17, 18n, 74.
- Vengalāmba (a queen of Tirumala), image of, in the Tirumalai temple, 321.
- Veṅkaṭa II (Venkaṭapati Rāya), Ananda Namaśśivāya Paṇḍāram lived during the days of, 299; Appayya Dīkṣita patronised by, 255; belief of, in Vaiṣṇavism seen from the coins of, 223; Bhāṭṭa-kalankadēva, a poet in the court of, 292; change in the imperial policy of the empire with the accession of, 223; court of, 48; *cowle* from, to the Dutch to build a fort at Pulicat, 139; death of, in 1614, 143; Dēvalu Pāpa Rāya, a chief under, 172; embassy sent by, to the British traders at Masūl'paṭam, 142; famine conditions in 1614 followed by the death of, 174; figures painted by the Portuguese for, 138;

garden party given by, to his wives, 52 ; grants of, in the presence of God Veṅkaṭeśā, 223 ; grant by, to promote the study of Vēdas, 252 ; influence of Tātācārya over, 272 ; and the Jesuits, 210 ; and the Jesuit painters, 340 ; *Kuvalayānandā*, a work written at the request of, 275 ; order of, to expel Dutch from Dēvanāmpaṭṭinam, 139 ; order of the state procession of, 52 ; permission of, to Dutch to re-establish their fort at Pulicat, 140 ; renewal of certain grants to the *Darga* by, 212 ; royal endowments for colleges by, 250 ; statue of, at Tīrumalai temple, 321 ; Sudhīndra Tīrtha honoured by, 276 ; Tātācārya *guru* of, 223 ; wives of, 40.

Veṅkaṭa III, predecessor of Śrī Raṅga III, 145 ; a staunch Vaiṣṇava, 223 ; Venkaṭappa, the chief of Wandiwash under, 145.

Venkaṭādri (Damarla Veṅkaṭappa), 145.

Veṅkaṭādri, The *Svaramela-kalānidhi* by Rāmāyāmātya written at the suggestion of, 75 ; a description of the installation of, as *Yuvarāja* in *Varadambikapariṇayam*, 271.

Veṅkaṭādri Rāja, son of the Nandyala chief Kṛṣṇa Rāja, 284.

Veṅkaṭa Makhi (son of Gōvinda Dīkṣita of Thaṅjavur), author of the *Caturdandiprakāśika*, 75 ; patronised by Vijaya-rāghava Nāyaka, 277 ; teacher of Rāja Cūḍamaṇi Dīkṣita, 278.

Veṅkaṭa pagoda (coin), 223.

Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka (of Ikkēri), Vādirāja and his disciple patronised by, 276 ; Veda Vedyā Tīrtha patronised by, 276.

Veṅkaṭappa Nāyudu, the secretary of Velugoṭi Timappa Nāyanigar, 21.

Venkaṭaramaṇa Temple at Tādpatri, 315.

Veṅkaṭeśa (god), Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's bathing of, with gold pieces, 217.

Veṅkaṭa Tātārya (Śrī-vaiṣṇava teacher) ; honoured by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 217.

Veṅkayya, author of the *Rāmārājīyam*, 287.

Vennalakaṇṭi Śūranna, author of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, 281.

Vēnugīta by Śrīpādarāja, 292.

Vēpūr, pontiffs incharge of the maṭha at, 250 n.6.

Verrivēṛkai (*Narumdogai*), a work of Ativīra Rāma Pāṇḍya, 298.

Vībhūti kāṇikkai, a tax, 88.

Vickrama Cōḷadēva Perumāl, a dispute submitted for arbitration to, 27 n. 114.

Vidhināṭakam, by Śrīnātha, 280.

Vidvān Mahājanas of Nandavaram, resolution of, regarding dowry, 33.

Vidyābhūṣana Dīkṣita (a disciple of Vidyāraṇya) an *agrahāra* grant by Cennappa Uḍaiyar to, 214.

Vidyādhikāri, 279.

- Vidyā Mādhava (Vidyā-mādhavasūni), 266 ; a commentary by, on *Kumārasambhava*, 266.
- Vidyā Mādhavīya*, See *Muhūrta Darśana*, 266.
- Vidyāmādhavāsuni, author of the *Muhūrta Darśana*, 266.
- Vidyānagara see Vijayanagar, 19.
- Vidyanātha, identification of, with Agastya, 269 n.80.
- Vidyanātha Kavi, author of the *Pratāparudriyam*, 286.
- Vidyānidhi Tīrtha, foundation of Uttarādi maṭha by, 236.
- Vidyāraṇya (Śrīpāda), 214, 230, 252, Akṣōbhya Tīrtha, a contemporary of, 200 ; a controversy between Akṣōbhya-muni and, 189, 191 ; death of, at Hampi, 191 n.17 ; help rendered by, to Bukka I and Harihara II in the task of religious revival, 189 ; invitation sent to Vēdānta Dēśika to work together by, 189-90 ; life and work of, (258-60) ; mentioned in a copper plate of Harihara II, 264 ; Nārāṇa, a disciple of, 266 ; painting of, in the temple of Virupākṣa, 336 ; part of, in the foundation of the V. empire, 188 ; Śrī Virupākṣa temple and, 305.
- Vidyāsaṅkara temple at Sṛṅgēri, 311-13.
- Vidyā Tīrtha, 258 ; a pontiff of Sṛṅgēri maṭha, 214, 230 ; a guru of Mādhava, 260 ; help rendered by, in the restoration of peace in the country, 188.
- Vijaya Bhūpati (king), Daṇḍapalle copper plate grant of, 213-4.
- Vijayadaśami, festival, 240 n.203.
- Vijayadhvaṇya Tīrtha, a commentary on the *Bhāgavata* by, 236.
- Vijaya Gaṇḍagōpāla Dēva, a Telugu-Chōḍa king, a grant by, to the maṭha at Kañcī, 231.
- Vijayanagar city (Bisnagar, Hampi, Vidyānagara), bazaars in, 327 ; Dēva Rāya II, constructed a stone temple for Arhat Parsvanātha at, 204 ; fish supply to, 124 ; fruit gardens in, 82 ; groves of trees in, 57 ; irrigation works in, 326 ; legend regarding the foundation of, 117 ; military architecture in, 327 f. ; Nicolo dei Conti on the size of, 3-4 ; paintings in the temples in, 335 ; palaces and public buildings in, 324-5 ; population of, 4, 5, 5 n.32 ; roads connecting various parts of V. empire with, 161 ; size of, 328-9 ; town bell in, 57.
- Vijayanagar court, *Bhava Sṛṅgāra Bhūṣana* Bhisana enacted in the, during the festival of God Virupākṣa. 268 ; pageantry of, 51.
- Vijayanagar Empire, agriculture and land tenures in, (76-112) ; agricultural and industrial population in, 11 & 12 ; architecture, sculpture and painting in the, 301-340 ; articles of agricultural production in, (76-82) ; articles of trade in, 126-32 ; artisans in, 20-22 ; Barbosa on the prosperity of, 79, 138 ; brahmins in, 15-19 ; Buddhism in,

206-08 ; charity and famine relief in, 170-6 ; child marriages in, 33 ; Christianity in, 209-10 ; cities in, 3 ; classes of people in, 8, 9, 10 ; colonising in, 14 ; commercial communities, in, 133-51 ; communication and transport in, (152-63) ; courtezans in, 43-7 ; court life in, 48-54 ; Debt and interest in, 180 ; Dombaras in, 25 ; Duelling in, 69 ; education in, 248-54 ; educational system and institutions in, 8 ; extended in the west upto Goa by Vira Vasanta Mādhava, 16 ; factors for the general poverty of the people in, 182 ; festivals in, 238-44 ; food crops in, 58 ; formation of new villages in, 77 ; games and amusements in the, 68-75 ; housing in, 55-7 ; industries in, 113-25 ; inland trade in, 160 ; institution of slavery in, 10 ; irrigation in, 82-91 ; Islam in, 211 ; items of expenditure of the people in, 182-3 ; Jainism in, 203-6 ; Kaikkōlas in, 22-3 ; livestock in, according to Barbosa, Nuniz and others, 98 ; local dues lived on articles of trade in, 166 ; luxuries during the period of, 64-7 ; marriages in 31-38 ; masonry in, 122-3 ; methods of agriculture in, 91-104 ; migrations in, 7 ; migration of saurastras to, 125 ; mines and metallurgy in, 115-9 ; native merchants in, 147-51 ; no census department in, 4 ; occupations in, 8 ; piracy on the west coast in the days of, 159-60 ; police system in, 166 ; population in, 6-7 ; ports in, 153 ; pottery in, 122 ; prevalence of famines encouraged slave trade in, 174 ; prices of articles in, 178 ; prostitution as a profession in, 45 ; public eating houses in, 60 ; religion in (184-247) ;

religious monuments in, 305ff. ; right hand and left hand castes in, 25 ; salt manufacture in, 118 ; Saurāṣṭras in, 29-30 ; *sati* in, 33-8 ; *smārtas*, a religious group in, 191 ; social consciousness among the different communities in, 19 ; social divisions in, 14 ; social institutions in the, 31-47 ; special privileges enjoyed by Courtezans in, 44 ; the spreading of Śrī vaiṣṇavism in, 213-226 ; status maintained by brahmans in the social polity of, 17 ; status of women in the, 39-47 ; strength of the army in, 6 ; systems of land tenure in, 105-12 ; temples and maṭhas in the social life under, 227-237 ; textile industry in, 123 ; theatres in the days of, 71 ; Timōja, a pirate practically a commandant of the fleet of, 159 ; Tottiyāns in, 29 ; village gods and deities, 245-7 ; *Vipravīnōdins* in, 19 Vīraśaivism, in, 193 ; weapons of war used in, 119.

Vijayanagar kings, dietary of the, 58 ; dress worn by, 60-61 ; economic policy of the, 164 encouragement given to *Daraga* by, 212 ; ideal of, as recorded in an inscription of 1376 ; 188 ; large harem owned by, 39-41 ; life of, 48 ; *nāga* worship by, 247 ; significance of certain titles of, 189.

Vijayarāghava Nāyaka, Ceruakuri Venkaṭakavi patronised by, 288 ; works of, 288 ; Raṅgarājammā, the queen of, 288.

Vijaya Raṅga Cokkanātha Nāyaka of Madurai, grant by, to the Saṅkara maṭha at Jambukēśvaram, 233.

- Vijayavitasa*, a work of Ceruakuri Venkata-kavi, 288.
- Vijayāndra Tīrtha (of Madhava maṭha at Kumbakōnam), a contemporary of Appayya Dīkṣita, 202 ; controversy of, with Śiva guru of a maṭha at Kumbakonam, 225 ; disputations with Appayya Dīkṣita, 192, 225 ; patronised by the Nāyak kings of the Thanjavūr, 276 ; works of, 276.
- Vikramārka Caritiam*, by Jakkaṇa, 279, 280.
- Village, self sufficiency of, 99.
- Village, gods and deities, 245f.
- Villiputtūrar, author of the Tamil *Bhāratam*, 293.
- Villiyānūr, vi., an inscription recording a protest by Kaikkolas from, 22 n.99.
- Vinikonda, 54 ; Vallabharāya the governor of the fort of, 266.
- Vinuri Vēdādri *Pāṇḍuraṅga Mahātmyamu* a work dedicated to, 285.
- Vipranārāyaṇa Carita*, by Vāmana bhaṭṭa dedicated to Vēma Bhūpāla, 268.
- Vipravīnōdins*, in V. empire, 19f.
- Vira Bālāla III (Hoysala king), defeat of, by Ghias-ud-din and the murder of, 184.
- Vira Bāṇajigas, Hoḷeyas under, 10 ;
- Vīrabhadra rāja, author of the *Vīrabhadra Vijaya*, 291.
- Virabhadra Vijaya, by Virabhadra Raja, 291.
- Vīrabhadra Vijaya*, by Bommera Potana, 280, 281.
- Virakai* (hero-hand), set up at Vanavolu, 36.
- Vīra Kampanṇa, See Kumāra Kampana, 255.
- Vīra Kamparāya caritam*, a work of Gangadevi, 46.
- Vīrakavirāyar, author of the *Ariccandirapurānam*, 296.
- Virakta Toṇṭadūryana Siddhēśvara*, a work, 291.
- Vīra Naraśimha, 205 ; grants made to the Kāñcī maṭha by, 232.
- Vīraṇṇa Nāyaka, 315.
- Vīra Nāraśiṅgayya Mahārāya, 90.
- Vīra Pāṇḍya, the question of succession between Sundara Pāṇḍya and, 184.
- Vīrappa Nāyaka of Madurai, son of Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka, 297 ; royal writ granted by, to the artisan community, 20-1 ; statue of, 322.
- Vīrapaṇṇayya Nāyaka, 315.
- Vīrarājendra śōlappurumpālī*, a Jain temple, 205.
- Vīraśaivācāra Pradīpikā*, by Gurudeva, 289.
- Vīraśaivāgama sampanna*, title assumed by Dēva Raya, II, 193.
- Vīraśaivāmṛta Pūraṇa*, 291.
- Vīraśaiva Siddhānta Tantra*, 289.

Vīraśaivism, an influential religion, 193.

Virasaṅgha pratiṣṭhācārya, a title of Gunabhadra cārya, 205, 295-6.

Vīra Sōmēśvara (Hoysala king), the Pōsaḷīśvaram Uḍaiyār temple at Kaṇṇanūr constructed by, 185 n.6.

Viravasam, English factory at, 144.

Vīra Vasanta Mādhava, extended V. empire in the west upto Goa, 16.

Vīraya (son of Baśavaya of Koṇḍanūr), stone charter to, for encouraging reclamation, 78.

Virēśa temple, 315.

Viriñcipuram, *Kaikkōlas* of, 22; portraits of Nāyaks of Vēlūr, in the temple at, 324.

Virupākṣa (god), considered as the lord of the Nāgās, 247; drama enacted in the V. court during the festival days of, 244, 268, 269; the supposed curse on V. kings by, 223 n.140; work describing the audience hall of, 290.

Virūpākṣa II (Udaagiri Virūpaṇṇa, Udayagiri Virūpaṇṇa), son of Harihara II, 266; consultations with Vidyāraṇya by, 214; literary productions in Kannada during the reign of, 290; privileges granted to those that colonised Narasimha Tirupati during the days of, 78; transfer of faith to Śrīvaiṣṇavism by, 215 n.101.

Virupākṣam, an Advaita *matha* at, 191.

Virupākṣa Paṇḍita, author of the *Cenna Baśava Purāṇa*, 291.

Virupākṣa temple at Mupinapura, a grant of, Rāma II, to the, 223.

Virupaṇṇa, brother of Peṇugonḍa Vīraṇṇa, 85.

Virupaṇṇa, on the death of Rāma Rāja in a prophetic strain by, 223 n.140.

Viśiṣṭaadvaiṣṭa, a text book on, by Vēdānta Dēśika, 257.

Viṣṇucitta, see Periyālvar, 281.

Viṣṇucittiya, see *Amuktamālyada*, 281.

Viṣṇumāyāvilāsa, by Cintalapūdi Ellaya, 287.

Viṣṇupurāṇa, by Vennalakaṇṭi Sūraṇṇa, 281.

Viṣṇu Sūri, *Muhūrta Dīpikā* by, 267.

Viṣṇu Tatva Rahaśya, a work of Appayya Dīkṣita, 274.

Viss, a unit of weight, 169.

Visvakṣēna (Viṣṇu), 223.

Viśvanātha Nāyaka, statue of, at Madurai temple, 322.

Viśṭara, a commentary on *Jaiminiyanyāyamālā*, 259.

Viśvappa Nāyaka, statue of, 322.

- Viśvēśvara Śivācārya** (of Bikṣāmaṭha), a contemporary of Īśāna Śivācārya, 234 ; gift of land by, 228 ; intimate connection of, with the local temple, 234 ; Vaḍamalaiyār, the recipient of a grant of lands from, 296.
- Viṭhōba** (God), consecration of a temple by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya for, 217.
- Viṭhōbha cult** (Viṭṭala cult), the development of, 199 ; in Mahārāṣṭra country, 217.
- Vitthalasāmin temple** (308-10), 271 ; gifts made by Acyuta Rāya to the, 218 ; Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya built portions of the, 216-7.
- Vitthaṇṇa Uḍaiyār**, a brahman minister under Dēva Rāya I, 16.
- Vivarāṇa**, a commentary on, by Ānanda Pūraṇa, 267.
- Vivarnapramēya saṅgraha**, a work of Vidyāraṇya, 258.
- Vivarnavraṇam Pāṣaṇḍakhaṇḍanam**, by Vādirāja, 276.
- Vivēka Cūdāmani** of Sāṅkarācārya), Vēdanda Cintāmani, a translation of the Kannaḍa version of a part of the, 299.
- Vivēka pañcakadaipa paṇcka**, 258.
- Vōḍāccēri**, Jñānaprakāśa Paṇḍitar appointed the superintendent of the temple at, 297.
- Voḍūru Tirumalammā** (Tirumalāmbā), 46 ; identification of, with the poetess Tirumalāmbā, 271.
- Vritta Vilāsa**, two religious works of, 289.
- Vṛṣaba** (Baśava), 193.
- Vyāsa**, Sāyanācārya, incarnation of, 261.
- Vyāsācala Mahādēvēndra**, a pontiff of Kāmakoṭi pīṭha at Kāñcī, 231.
- Vyāsarāya** (Vyāsa Tīrtha Yatīndra Vyāsa Rāya), a Madhva teacher and a contemporary of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 200, 252 ; abdication of throne by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya for a short period in favour of, to avert a calamity, 201 ; accompanied Sāluva Narasimha to the south, 17 ; construction of the tank Vyāsasamudra by, 85 ; defeated by Vallabhācārya, in a philosophical disputation in the court of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 200, 225 ; a disciple of Brahmanya Tīrtha, 201 ; Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, the patron of, 269 ; life and work of, 200-2 ; a maṭha founded by, 236 ; presided over a meeting held at the court of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, 201 ; predecessor of Vādirāja, 276 ; services of, to the Haridāsa movement, 292 ; works of, 201.
- Vyāsarāja maṭha**, founded by Vyāsarāya, 236.
- Vyāsasamudra**, a tank constructed by Vyāsarāya, 85.
- Vyāsa Tīrtha Yatīndra**, see Vyāsa Rāya, 217-8.
- Vyavahāra mādharma**, a section newly added to *Parāsaramṛti*, 259.
- Vyāsatraya**, 201.

W

Warangal, branch of Gōḷaki maṭha at, 234.

Weapons of War, 119f.

Weights and measures, 168f.

Weinaski broker, 150.

White head, remarks of, on village gods, 245.

Wilk, on the rules of the system of slavery, 11.

William Forster, on the religious tolerance under the Mughals, 226.

William Methwold, chief in the English settlement at Maśuli-ṣaṭam, effects of civil war as explained by, 174.

Wilson, on the limitations of the titles of the king over the soil, 105.

Wodigarū, a Right hand class, 26 n.108.

Women, status of, 39f.

X

Xavier, figure of, painted at the court of Veṅkaṭa, 340.

Y

Yādavābhyudayaṃ, a *mahā-kāvya* by Vēdānta Dēśika, 256 ; a commentary on, 275.

Yādavas of Dēvagiri, 184.

Yāgadhūma, 186.

Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita, son of Gōvinda Dīkṣita, the minister of Raghunātha Nāyaka, 277 ; works of, 277.

Yanjñarāśar, an *adhikāri*, 90.

Yajñatantra sudhānidhi, a work of Sāyaṇa, 260.

Yajñatantra sudhūnidhi, a work of Mādhavācārya, 261.

Yakṣagāṇas, 288.

Yāmala (*Rudrayamala*), 251.

Yāmalaka Bhārata, commentaries on, by Narahari Tīrtha, 266.

Yantroddhāra Hanuman (at Hampi), installed by Vyāsārāya, 201.

Yatirāja Saptati, a poem by Vēdānta Dēśika in praise of Rāmānuja, 222.

Yātraprabandha, a work of Samarapungava Dīkṣita, 275.

Yemen, ginger exported to, 131.

Ying Yai Sheng Lan, on the musical instrument of the people of Calicut, 73.

Yuktimallikā, a work of Vādirāja, 236, 276.

Z

Zamorin (of Calicut), English established their factories under the protection of, 143.

Zenana enclosure, within the Lotus Mahal, 331.

VIJAYA NAGAR

Empire

PORTS AND TOWNS

